功能语言学与适用语言学

Functional Linguistics as Appliable Linguistics

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黄国文 常晨光 戴 凡 主编

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Functional Linguistics as Appliable Linguistics

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CONTENTS

目 录

Functional Linguistics as Appliable Linguistics at Sun Yat-sen University

HUANG Guowen

Sun Yat-sen University

【内容简介】

作为本论文集的"代前言",本文有三个目的:(1)勾画中山大学近10年来的系统功能语言学教学与研究情况和有关学术活动;(2)介绍本论文集中所收集的论文和中山大学 "功能语言学" 博士论文摘要;(3)简述作为适用语言学的系统功能语言学。

As the title of this volume suggests, the focus of this collection is on M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and its appliability. The three non-Chinese authors are internationally leading systemicists and in the papers they have demonstrated how SFL as a general theory of language works in the educational field and in linguistic analyses of language. The Chinese authors on the other hand show us how they have used SFL in their linguistic studies in different research areas: Genre Studies, Functional Syntax, English Usage, Translation Studies, Stylistics and Narratology, and Code-switching Studies. Since all the Ch.nese authors, except Professor Fang Yan, who is an eminent systemicist in Tsinghua University, P. R. China, are strongly connected with Sun Yat-sen (Zhongshan) University, here I would like to report some SFL activities/studies undertaken at this university.

It has been over 10 years since the course "Introducing Systemic Functional Linguistics" was offered to our MA students at the School of

Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. During these years, more and more MA students take M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics as their research focus and conduct their postgraduate studies within the framework of SFL. The first group of PhD students came to study SFL at Sun Yat-sen University in 1998 and the year 2001 witnessed the first two graduates. Since 2001, there have been 17 students working on SFL who have received their PhD degrees from Sun Yat-sen University. These graduates are now playing very important roles in teaching, studying, promoting and applying SFL in different universities in China.

In August 1999, the International Conference on "Discourse and Language Functions" was held at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. There were over 100 participants who came from more than 40 universities and colleges in America, Australia, Britain, Canada, Hong Kong, Macau and other Chinese cities. Plenary speakers (in alphabetical order) include: Robin FAWCETT (Cardiff University, UK), Peter FRIES (Central Michigan University, USA), M.A.K. HALLIDAY (The University of Sydney, Australia), Ruqaiya HASAN (Macquarie University, Australia), HU Zhuanglin (Peking University, China), Christian MATTHIESSEN (Macquarie University, Australia), and WANG Zongyan (Sun Yat-sen University, China). That was the very first international conference on linguistics ever hosted by the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, and it was a major event in the academic history of the school. In terms of post-conference publications, the outcome of this conference was two collections of papers (i.e., Huang and Wang 2002, Huang 2002).

In July 2002, we hosted the International Conference on "Discourse and Translation" at Sun Yat-sen University, and the focus was on the appliability of SFL to translation studies. Plenary speakers (in alphabetical order) include: Mona BAKER (UMIST, UK), Basil HATIM (The American University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates), HUANG Guowen (Sun Yat-sen University, China), LUO Xuanmin

(Tsinghua University, China), Kirsten MALMKJæR (Middlesex University, UK), Christina SCHaEFNER (Aston University, UK), TAN Zaixi (Hong Kong Baptist University, China), and ZHANG Meifang (Sun Yat-sen University, China). This endeavour was followed by another international conference on "Functional Linguistics and Translation Studies", organized by the Centre for Translation Studies and the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, which was held on the Zhuhai Campus of the University in December 2006. Plenary speakers at this conference include Juliane HOUSE (Hamburg University, Germany), HUANG Guowen (Sun Yat-sen University, China), and ZHANG Meifang (University of Macau, China). The outcome of this conference was the collection of papers on functional linguistics and translation studies (Wang 2006). Also in December 2006, The Functional Linguistics Institute and the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University hosted the Symposium on "Functional Linguistics and Discourse Analysis" and the theme was "Systemic Functional Linguistics as Appliable Linguistics". Christian MATTHIESSEN (Macquarie University, Australia), WU Canzhong (Macquarie University, Australia), LIN Yunqing (Beijing Normal University, China), YANG Xinzhang (Xiamen University, China), YANG Bingjun (Southwest University, China), CHANG Chenguang (Sun Yat-sen University, China), LI Guoqing (Jinan University, China), WANG Yong (Central China Normal University, China), and HUANG Guowen (Sun Yat-sen University, China) were among the invited participants, and Christian MATTHIESSEN gave a keynote speech on "Systemic Functional Linguistics — appliability: areas of research".

After a brief review on the SFL activities/studies at Sun Yat-sen University, I now turn to the editing of this collection. The articles in this volume have been selected to reflect the appliability of SFL in a number of research areas. M.A.K. Halliday's "Some factors affecting college-level English teaching in 21st century China" was based on a keynote speech given at the International Forum on College English

Textbooks hosted by Fudan University, China, in September 2005, and it was first published in a special issue (No. 2, 2006) on "Functional Linguistics and Applied Linguistics" of the journal of *Educational Research on Foreign Languages and Arts* (Guangdong Teachers College of Foreign Language and Arts) (see Huang 2006a, pp.11 –27). J.R. Martin's "Grammar meets genre — reflections on the 'Sydney School' " first appeared in *Arts* (the Sydney University Arts Association; 22, 2000. pp. 47 –95) and was also included in the special issue on "Functional Linguistics and Applied Linguistics" (see Huang 2006a, pp. 28–54). FANG Yan's "Constructing a harmonious world — Linguistic studies on *The Analects of Confucius*" first appeared in a special issue on "Discourse Analysis" of *The Journal of English Studies* (Sichuan International Studies University) (see Huang 2006b, pp.43 –50). Both CHANG Chenguang's "Idiomatic expressions in English: a textual analysis" and WANG Jin's "Code–switching in newspaper discourse: with reference to the Chinese/English learned contact in the mainland of China" were written especially for the present volume. Part One of R.P. Fawcett's "Establishing the grammar of 'typicity' in English: an exercise in scientific inquiry" was first published in the special issue on "Functional Linguistics and Applied Linguistics" of *Educational Research on Foreign Languages and Arts* (see Huang 2006a, pp.71 –91) and Part Two (Fawcett 2006) appeared in the following issue of the same journal (i.e., No. 3, pp.3–34). HUANG Guowen's book review of Suzanne Eggins' (2004) "An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics" first appeared electronically in "LINGUIST List: Vol–16– 1590. May 18 2005. ISSN: 1068 – 4875 (Wed, 18 May 2005 21:41: 36)".

As was mentioned earlier, the past six years have witnessed the graduation of 17 PhD students from Sun Yat –sen University whose degree theses are concerned with studies of Halliday's SFL and its appliability. These studies fall into a number of research areas: Genre Studies (YU Hui 2001, LI Guoqing 2002), Functional Syntax (ZENG Lei

2001, YANG Bingjun 2002, HE Wei 2003, HE Hengxing 2004, WANG Yong 2006, DENG Renhua 2006, QI Xi 2006), English Usage (DING Jianxin 2002, CHANG Chenguang 2003), Translation Studies (SHANG Yuanyuan 2003, WANG Peng 2004, LI Fagen 2005, SI Xianzhu 2006), Stylistics and Narratology (DAI Fan 2004), and Code—switching Studies (WANG Jin 2005). The "Synopses of Functional Linguistics PhD theses completed at Sun Yat—sen University" (YU Hui *et al*) in the present volume will give readers ideas of what Sun Yat—sen University PhD graduates have done in this field and this will, to a certain extent, reflect a Chinese approach to the studies of Halliday's SFL and its appliability in the Chinese context. Some of these PhD theses have been revised and published as monographs (e.g. Yu 2003, Yang 2003, Chang 2004, Dai 2005, Shang 2005, Li 2006, Zeng 2006).

As Coffin (2001: 94) points out, "Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is primarily a linguistic theory" and "one of the main purposes for Halliday...in developing SFL has been to create a theory for solving a range of problems faced by potential 'consumers' of linguistics." In recent years, Halliday (e.g. 2006a, 2006b) has been talking about Systemic Functional Linguistics as appliable linguistics. For him, linguistics should be appliable. His interest and emphasis has always been on linguistic theory as a resource for solving problems — he calls it an "appliable" theory — in many aspects of our life, including education, culture, health and safety. In his opinion, the critical feature of language is that it is a resource for making meaning — a "semogenic" (meaning—creating) system; thus wherever people seek to intervene, they are working with meaning (Halliday 2006a). Here is what Halliday (2006b: 19) says about his view of the theory of language for solving a range of language—related problems:

> I have always tried to work with a functional orientation to language; not eschewing theory, because without theory there can be no consistent and effective practice, but treating a theory as a problem-solving enterprise and trying to develop a theoretical

approach, and a theoretical model of language, which can be brought to bear on everyday activities and tasks. I call this an 'appliable' linguistics: appliable rather than applicable, because the word "applicable" refers to one particular purpose, whereas "appliable" means having the general property that it can be put to use in different operational contexts.

Here, I want to add that the reason for us to use "Functional Linguistics as Appliable Linguistics" as the title of the present volume is to highlight the appliability of SFL, and we hope this collection will provide readers with some examples of treating SFL as appliable linguistics.

Finally, on behalf of the other two editors (Dr CHANG Chenguang and Dr DAI Fan), I would like to thank the journal of *Educational Research on Foreign Languages and Arts* (Guangdong Teachers College of Foreign Language and Arts, China), *The Journal of English Studies* (Sichuan International Studies University, China), and "LINGUIST List" (http://linguistlist.org/, U.S.A.) for allowing us to reproduce the papers that first appeared in their journals. We would also like to express our sincere thanks to the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, especially the Dean of the School, Professor WANG Bin, for the warm support to the compilation of the present collection.

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Some Factors Affecting College-level English Teaching in 21st Century China

M.A.K. Halliday

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【内容简介】

在本次报告中,Halliday指出, 过去60年里中国英语教学发生了巨大变化,其影响因素可归纳为技术的(technical)和社会的(social)两个方面。

Halliday首先从口语和书面语的关系入手讨论技术因素的影响。在人类文明发展史上口语和书面语最初是截然分开, 并在功能上互补:书面语用于记录事件,成为效仿的典范,而转瞬即逝的口语则用于日常的人际交往。印刷术的发明使书面语的持久性和不可互动性得到强化,进一步加剧了两者的分离。

技术发展影响了外语教学的理论和实践,20世纪初外语教学成为常规职业,书面语的权威地位使其成为语言教学的主要方式。但实践证明,并非掌握了读、写就能学会听、说,在制订外语教学课程和评估方式时,可以根据不同的教学目标对听、说、读、写四种技能有所侧重。20世纪50年代计算机技术 (computing) 和录音技术 (audio record-ing) 的发明对外语教学产生了深刻影响, 磁带录音机(tape-recorder)使真实交际情景下的自然语言得到记录和保存,这加强了口语语篇的有效性, 从录音中可以发现口语同样具有被认为只属于书面语的功能变异,因此口语和书面语的分离状况被弱化了。录音机将口语转换为"物体",而计算机则将书面语转换为"事件",在两者的共同影响下口语和书面语更为相似了, 技术革新对教师和教材都提出了更高的要求。

磁带录音机、计算机以及后来的手机等新发明不仅改变了语言

的接收方式(即听、读),也影响了语言的产生方式(即说、写)。20世纪80年代新型交际形式电子邮件(email)出现,"text","email"等名词还被用作动词,反映出书写过程与说话一样具有互动性。另外从英语拼写变异也可以看出书面语篇的变化情况。英语单词的拼写相对稳定,但也出现了借用外来语、美语商标中的变异以及使用字母和数字来表示同音词等个性化的拼写方式。Halliday指出随着技术的发展,印刷时代以来形成的书面语和口语之间的"功能互补性"已不复存在,人们使用语言的方式、对语言的态度都在发生变化,这给语言教学带来新的启示。

关于影响21世纪中国大学英语教学的社会因素,Halliday指出,这包括决定一种语言地位的社会、政治和经济等因素,英语经历了"书面语言—标准语言—国际语言—全球语言"四个发展阶段,成为目前唯一的全球(global)语言。首先书面语言在其演变过程中发展出多种形式,特定的功能要求特定的语法结构,开辟了语义潜势的新领域。随着社会政治的发展,统治者需要统一的语言来巩固政权,其中一种方言逐渐演变为标准语言。标准语继续发展,通过纳入新的语域和语篇体裁不断扩大其意义潜势。伴随着政治统治和军事征服,一个国家的标准语超出了原有范围在多国使用,发展为国际语言。就英语来说,这一过程是在三个语言环境中进行的:一是在北美和澳大利亚等"内部圈(inner circle)"地区通过移民实现;二是在被称为"外围圈(outer circle)"的印度次大陆、东西非、南亚等地殖民统治的结果;三是过去五六十年里大量移民进入英国和内部圈地区对当地英语发展的影响。内部圈和外部圈的英语在表达层(即发音)和内容层(即语义)方面都与英国本土的英语不同。

为了适应不同的地区和文化,英语扩大了自身的意义潜势,从标准语言到国际语言的转变增加了语言的功能范畴。英语从书面语到标准语再到国际语言转变的推动力来自英国本土,但从国际语言到全球语言这一转变的推动力则来自美国。英语之所以能成为全球语言,与它是当今资本世界的主要语言并且其使用者分布最广有关,但跟英语语言系统内部的特征无关。

目前大学英语教育的重点已经转移到公共英语或实用英语,它面向的是口译、翻译等职业,以及出国深造等学习目的,强调听、说能力。过去中国英语专业教学十分重视语音,外语类学生要经过严格挑选和训练。但目前国内一些从事对外交流行业的职员,其英语口语水平并不理想,这有导致中国式英语(Chinglish)的危险。Halliday指出,浓重的中国式发音会造成交际困难,良好的口语还是必要的。

Halliday最后指出,调查大学毕业生使用英语的实际需求对当前中国大学英语教学有重要意义,具体方法可以采用社会语言学研究中的"语言日记"法,同时加入语域理论来调查中国语言学习者的语言使用情况。目前懂英语的中国人和懂汉语的外国人在人数上很不平衡,但随着中国经济实力的增强,学习汉语的外国人会越来越多。语言学家的任务是思考未来语言的发展情况:人们对语言资源有什么要求,以及为了适应这些要求语言将如何演变。

<div align="right">(陈瑜敏)</div>

0   An introduction

As my friends and colleagues here already know, I am not, and never have been, a teacher of English. Well: to say I **never** have been a teacher of English is not exactly true: for the first twelve or thirteen years of my adult life I was, in fact, a language teacher; and within that time I was teaching English, part-time, for one year — at Peking University, in 1947–48. But for the remainder of that time, apart from one year in which I taught Russian, I was teaching Chinese, as a foreign language, to speakers of English. So I was teaching a language of which I was **not** a native speaker, which is an advantage when you are teaching adult, or adolescent, beginners — a point I shall return to in my talk tomorrow [1]. But just in order to finish these introductory

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[1]   See M.A.K. Halliday, "Some theoretical considerations underlying the teaching of English in China". The Journal of English studies(四川外语学院《英语研究》)14 (2006/4: 7–20).

remarks about myself: for the rest of my career I was teaching linguistics, which is a very different kind of teaching activity — although one that is still relevant to my talks on this occasion, because throughout my working life many of my students have been teachers of English. So while it is true to say that I never, or almost never, taught any English, I have been a foreign language teacher, and I have taught numbers of others who were, or subsequently became, teachers of English as a foreign language.

I gave my first foreign language class on 13 May 1945, which is just over sixty years ago. It was a dictation class, in Chinese, to a group of language trainees in the British armed services. We were using Gwoyeu Romatzyh, which is much the best resource for teaching Chinese to foreigners — I shall return to that topic also, at a later point. Sixty years is a long time, and I might seem justified if 1 was to claim that my age and experience gave me some added authority in the area of foreign language teaching, including the teaching of English in China. Age — yes: I am supposed to have attained the age of wisdom, when presumably I don't need to think any more; I just need to stay quiet and look wise. But experience? The problem with any claim that one has experience is this: things change too quickly. The most obvious fact about the language teaching situation today, and especially perhaps about the teaching of English, is that it is very different from anything that was happening sixty years ago. And, almost more than any other activity in the field of education, the teaching of a foreign language is sensitive to the demands and the constraints of the environment.

So let us consider some of the major changes that have taken place, over the past sixty years, which might affect the teaching of English in China. We can group these, perhaps, into two broad categories, which I will call the **technical** and the **social** (or socio-political, to suggest a broader perspective). There have been massive shifts both in the technology and in the socio-political conditions that are associated with language use. Let me elaborate on these two factors, each in turn.

1   The technical aspect

When I first started as a language teacher, there were no tape recorders, and no easy ways of making copies of an existing text. In our department at the University of London we had disc recording equipment, so that students could not only listen to gramophone records of the foreign language but also record and listen to their own performance; but this was time-consuming and expensive. To make multiple copies of anything, you had to type the text on to a waxed skin and run it through a cylindrical press (which I think was still operated by turning a handle, though that is probably a memory from my earlier schooldays!). Then one of our Chinese colleagues, a brilliant all-round scholar named Yu Dawchyuan, built a copying machine by creating an arc between two powerful light sources — a technical marvel, but rather complicated to operate. Since Fudan University is now a hundred years old, there may be some among my audience who remember those prehistoric times.

Since then we have had a number of technical novelties, coming into and sometimes soon disappearing from the scene: we have had programmed learning; we have had language laboratories with teacher-student interface and increasingly elaborate audio-visual equipment; we have had computer-assisted language learning, as well as learner-centred self-access programmes of various kinds; and all of these developments have affected the relationship between the learner and the teacher, as well as the relationship between the learner and what is being learned. And what is being learned, the perceived content of a foreign language course, has itself been transformed by advances in the technology: in particular by the computerized corpus, the facility for storing, accessing and processing huge quantities of language data on a scale that was never possible before. Here the most powerful agency is the combination of the computer and the tape recorder — or, since tape

is no longer the preferred recording material, the combination of computing with some form of audio recording. We have been able to store written language ever since writing evolved, because that is what written language is: it is language that is **stored** in some medium or other, perhaps even carved in stone like the Chinese classics in the Bei Lin in Xi'an. But spoken language is ephemeral: it doesn't exist, it just happens; and until it could be captured in some way, and transformed into an object which could be held under attention and studied, we had very little understanding of exactly what it was we were trying to teach — unless, that is, we were teaching the language simply as a treasury of texts, as something to be encountered only in the form of writing.

It is clear that all this new technology has had an impact on the theories and practices of language teaching, even if not quite as dramatic as some commentators have suggested (or as some practitioners had hoped). When each new technique is introduced, there will be people who say "now the teacher is no longer needed; all the learner requires is a programme and some mechanical device with which to operate it". In fact, it seems that the opposite is the case: each new technical resource makes new and greater demands on the language teacher — and therefore on the professional training that the teacher needs to receive. I do not think that the foreign language teacher is likely to disappear from the scene.

What about the foreign language textbook? I don't think that is going to disappear either (otherwise we wouldn't be holding an international forum on the subject). Of course the textbook is also affected by the new technology, because it now takes its place alongside all the other educational resources, and may, in some instances, be designed as an ancillary to something else — for example as text accompanying an audio-visual language course. Again, the new technology places **more** demands, not fewer, on the foreign language textbook, because the textbooks have to become more varied, and more versatile, than they were in earlier times.

But when we consider the effects of technology on our theory and practice in teaching a foreign language, on our decisions about curriculum, about materials and so on, it is not only the technology of language **teaching** — the technology of the language class — that is the relevant issue. What is equally relevant, though in a different way, is the technology of language use; and this too has undergone some rather fundamental changes. Language evolved as speech: that is its only original mode, and it is the mode in which each human child first learns language, unless debarred from this facility by being deaf. But alongside of language there evolved another mode of making meaning, using the visual channel: people made pictures, for example on the walls of caves (no doubt also on other, less long-lasting surfaces like sand). These were semiotic events in their own right, although they were not constructed using language. Then at some period in the history of some human groups these two modes of meaning converged: the visual symbols came to function as symbols of other symbols. That is to say, the pictures were **reinterpreted** as standing for elements of (spoken) language: either words, and parts of words, like Chinese characters, or syllables, and parts of syllables, like the scripts of Sanskrit or Arabic, or English. There were now two distinct modes of language, the spoken and the written. But they were different, because while people had never been taught to speak — they had learnt to speak, as small children, just by copying others — if they wanted to read and write they had to be taught.

So that is where language education began, and that is where the "four skills" come from. To know a language is to speak and listen and read and write; and when we teach a foreign language we design our courses and our assessments around these four skills, giving them differential value according to the perceived goals of the learners, or according to the goals that we decide they should achieve. These may be purely local goals, specific to one institution or to one category of student; or they may be formulated as a matter of policy, perhaps on a

national scale. During the Second World War, certain of the pilots in the British Royal Air Force were taught just to listen to and understand spoken Japanese, so they could intercept radio communication between Japanese pilots and their controllers on the ground; this was a very specific goal, involving just one of the four skills, and only small numbers of learners were taking part. Even on a much larger scale one may still decide to teach just one of the skills: thus after the war was over the Japanese Ministry of Education introduced the teaching of English in educational institutions all over the country — but they concentrated entirely on reading; they wanted their people to have access to material published in English, but were concerned to defend Japanese culture against the impact of America symbolic power, which they felt would penetrate all aspects of Japanese life, at that time, if English was taught also as a spoken language. On the other hand, in the usual pattern of foreign language teaching as part of school education in more typical circumstances, it would be taken for granted that all four skills were to be acquired.

This concept of language skills, with those of reading and writing being recognized as distinct from those of speaking and listening (even though both involve the two aspects of production and reception), accords with the historical evolution of literate societies, in which written language and spoken language have always been clearly separated. Speaking and writing had distinct and complementary functions: written language was for keeping records, whether the cycles of the calendar, or the exploits of rulers, or the inventories of goods being transported from one place to another in the course of trade; and for more esoteric purposes such as religious observances and divination. Spoken language was used in the ways in which it had evolved from the start, as the ultimate foundation stone of daily life: in the enactment of personal and socially sanctioned relationships and in the semiotic construction of shared experience — getting along with other people, and making sense of the world around. As time went by, of course,

written language expanded its scope and took over some of this eco-social space, transforming it in the process into the realms of poetry, history, philosophy, technology and science; but the distance between the two was still maintained, because these activities were the prerogative of an elite minority, and so the written language could follow its own course, with the highly conservative forms of its lexicogrammar becoming more and more remote from the continually evolving grammatical structure and vocabulary of the discourses of ordinary speech.

So by modern times the written languages of the traditional societies in the Eurasian culture band, Chinese, Sanskrit, Latin and (later) Arabic, had all diverged rather markedly from the spoken languages of their communities, even if they continued to function in a spoken form (like Latin as lingua franca among clerics all over Europe). Not that these written languages hadn't changed — they had. The **forms** may have been archaic; but the **meanings** that were construed in *wenyan* (literary Chinese) in Tang and especially in Song times were very different from those of the Zhou and Han; likewise, medieval Latin was very different from the classical Latin of ancient Rome. Texts in these later varieties are much more easily rendered into the languages of today, because despite retaining words and structures from an earlier period, semantically they had evolved along with the spoken languages of daily life. There is much less insulation between spoken and written language at the level of meaning than there is at the level of wording — which is hardly surprising, because the wordings of the written text persist through time: they remain as models to be imitated; whereas the meanings are the part of language that is hidden from view.

But at a certain moment in history, technology intervened once more. Writing had always been a tedious process, because even with the invention of flat surfaces for writing on, like parchment and paper which would accept markings in ink, you could make only one copy of the text at any one time. But then the Chinese invented printing, so you could

make multiple copies; and when movable type was introduced the same printing press could turn out indefinitely many different texts. Of course the scribes did not disappear overnight; even in the early Ming dynasty the *Yongle Dadian* was written out by hand (which was a pity, because most of it didn't survive). But printing became a major factor in keeping speech and writing apart: not only was writing permanent, freed from the moment of time as it always had been, but now a writer could produce a work in hundreds of copies which would be read by people he didn't know and with whom there was no possibility of interacting; whereas speech, as it always had been, was ephemeral, it was gone with the wind, and most people throughout their lives seldom talked to anyone they didn't already know, and moreover the listener could usually answer back. So the two modes of language, the spoken and the written, were now about as far apart as they could be.

This was the situation up until the beginning of the twentieth century, the time when the teaching of foreign languages was becoming recognized as a regular profession. By this time, in Europe, Latin was no longer the lingua franca, and it was no longer generally spoken; but it still carried prestige, as the foundation of European culture, and so was widely taught in the schools. It was taught, however, purely as a written language; so when it became the model for the teaching of modern foreign languages they too were taught through the written mode — with the assumption that if you learned to read and write the foreign language you would automatically be able to listen to it and to speak it as well. This does work with some learners, but they are a rather small minority; for most, the result of trying to learn a spoken language this way is complete failure — as it was for one of the pioneers of modern language teaching theory François Gouin. Gouin was a French student of chemistry, who went to pursue his studies at a university in Germany; he had been taught German for six years in a French lycée, but when he arrived in Germany he couldn't even order himself a glass of wine, so he gave up chemistry and became a language teacher instead. His

ideas were taken up in several places, including the Chinese Department in the University of London where I first went to study Chinese in the year 1942. They were quite sensible ideas, and they worked remarkably well.

But by that time, in the middle of the century, the age of print, with the clear disjunction between language in its written mode and language in its spoken mode, was already coming to an end. The first major advances in the technology of language use, the telegraph and the telephone, had extended the range of the performance of writing and speaking, transmitting written language at great speeds and spoken language over great distances; but they hadn't altered the relationship between the two. This change really began with the phonograph, when Edison and Bell managed to get speech sound incised on wax cylinders; their technique soon evolved into that of the gramophone record, which is still around if you happen to be lucky enough to have a turntable which turns at the right speed (gramophone records are now collectively referred to as "vinyl"). Now for the first time speech had been held down and objectified, so that the same utterance could be listened to over and over again. But the recorded utterance was not yet a natural speech event — it was not spontaneous. It had been consciously composed, rehearsed and performed in a recording studio; thus it was a pastiche of spoken language, rather than being a real instance of language in the spoken mode.

The critical invention for the preservation of speech was the tape recorder (or rather, the wire recorder, which preceded it for a very short time — when I was a student of Wang Li, at Lingnan University in 1949–50, he had a wire recorder for his dialect field work; but the wire kept breaking off, and ending up as cloud of spun metal somewhere in the corner of the room). For simplicity we can date the appearance of the tape recorder at 1950, though in fact it had been invented some years earlier. With the tape recorder, for the first time you could record natural speech in interactive settings and situations: interviews,

seminars, and above all informal conversation. The first people who did record were amazed at the hesitations, false starts, rewordings and other strategies of verbal management; and they used their findings to demonstrate how inferior speech was to writing — a prejudice to which they were already committed by the received traditions of a literate culture: all societies that have writing will value it more highly than speaking, because of the special functions with which writing has always been associated. What these scholars failed to realize was that writing, too, requires such verbal management; but the writer crosses things out, and destroys all the earlier drafts, so the rejected bits do not appear in the final version.

Furthermore, most of those early transcripts were taken from academic seminars, where speakers do tend to hesitate a lot because they are having to think out what to say, and are listening to themselves as they go along. When people started observing casual conversation, as I did myself in my research into child language development in the early 1970s, it turned out that this was far more fluent and well-formed: there were very few unfinished structures, or changes of direction in mid-stream. The notion that speech was somehow less organized, less orderly than writing turned out to be simply a myth. In some respects, in fact, speech is **more** organized: it tends to make more complex sentences than writing.

What the tape recorder did, and what all sound recording devices do, is to turn spoken language into a thing — an object, locked into existence so that it stays in place through time. It no longer simply evaporates without a trace. This has had a number of practical applications. In Common Law, for example, a spoken contract is as legally binding as a written one; but with the spoken contract this was difficult to enforce, because if there were no witnesses how do you prove that the words were actually spoken? Now the evidence is there, on the tape. Interviews of suspected criminals by the police used to be presented in court in the form of a written transcription that had been

made by the police themselves; now such interviews are recorded as they take place. The validity of spoken discourse has been enhanced.

But apart from such practical applications, the technology of sound recording has had a deeper impact. It has lessened the ideological distance, the disjunction that used to exist between speech and writing. We can listen to recordings and realize that all the functional variation that has traditionally been associated with writing — genres of literature, institutional registers of administration, law, the professions — are just as much a property of speech; and the creativity, the inventiveness that we value so highly with writers is something that speakers also can achieve — as was well recognized in traditional, oral societies. Speech has started to regain some of the prestige that it had lost when languages were codified in writing.

We can use the same date, 1950, to mark the other technical advance that has impacted on language: the computer. If the tape recorder transformed speech into an object, the computer did just the opposite: it transformed writing, the written text, into an event. On the computer screen, the written text unfolds in front of you in time, just like speech. Reading becomes more like listening: we can scroll the text up before our eyes, retaining under attention as we do so probably about the same amount of text as we retain when listening to speech. So the distance has been reduced from this end also: speech has become more like writing, while writing has become more like speech.

But that, it has turned out, was only just the beginning. We only have to look around us, on any street or in any shopping centre in Shanghai, to see the effect that the computer, or electronic technology, has had on the habits of language use. The tape recorder, and the computer screen, changed the way in which language was presented to the **receiver**: in other words, they affect the processes of listening and reading, because the spoken word can be made permanent — it can be repeated as often as the listener desires, while the written word can be made transient — it disappears off the screen unless you stay it. And

this, in turn, influences the processes of speaking and of writing: you may be speaking for the record, monitoring yourself all the time as you go along; or you may be writing just for the present moment. Your speech becomes less spontaneous, your writing more spontaneous; the two channels become more alike. Now consider the small electronic device you hold in your hand: it started as a mobile telephone, but now you can use it to "text" — to send written messages instead of speech, and to write in ways that look rather different from writing of the traditional kind. Here, with the latest wave of digital language technology, there is a direct effect on the **producer**: not only have spoken and written text become more alike in the way they appear to the receiver, but even in the process of production speaking and writing have became less distinct.

This has happened because the **act** of writing is now almost as interactive as the act of speaking. There is a new verb in English to refer to this; we now talk about "texting", and the receiver is treated grammatically as the Goal, the direct object of the process: you **text** your friend, and he or she will text you in return. Previously we talked about "writing to" somebody; originally this meant getting a piece of paper, getting a writing implement (a pen, or, later on, a typewriter), putting written symbols on the paper, putting it in an envelope, sealing it, writing or typing the address of the receiver, sticking a stamp on the envelope and putting it into a special box, a red box in England, a green box here in China. In the 1980s this complex set of operations was overtaken by electronic technology and the "letter" was typed into a computer and sent by e-mail, meaning electronic mail; but it was still called a "letter", and it was still "written to" somebody and "sent" (if no longer "posted"). This was soon felt to be inappropriate, however, and instead people started saying "I'll email you", with the word email turning into a verb (and losing its hyphen, in the written form). Emailing someone didn't really seem like writing a letter to them; and when it comes to texting them, the concept of a "letter" seems very wide of the

mark.

This change in the way of **talking about** the writing process, reflecting its changing nature as an interactive event, may lead us to ask whether the process itself — the production of written text, and the product that results from this process — is also undergoing some manner of change. I think we can observe two things happening in English, one as it were inside the writing system and the other somewhere on its borders; and both are ways of relaxing some of the rules and doing away with some of the traditional boundaries.

The first concerns spelling, that highly ritualized feature of English life. English spelling was not always regulated and expected to conform. When English was first widely used as a written language, its spelling varied considerably; this was partly because there were so many different dialects, but also because, after it had borrowed so many words and word-forming (morphological) devices from other languages, its phonology became highly complex, and anyway those other languages (French and Latin) already had their own written forms; so there was much uncertainty, and people could choose to spell more or less as they felt appropriate. But in the fifteenth century there was a great increase in adult literacy and in schooling for the education of children; and over the next century and a half — the period spanning the lifetimes of Shakespeare and of Milton — spelling became fixed, more or less in the form that is used today.

But it is complex, and, although not as chaotic as it seems, it has many irregularities; so ever since that time there have been attempts to reform it. A succession of linguists from about 1600 onwards have suggested and promoted alternative spelling schemes, sometimes dealing with just one or two features but in many cases offering complete revised orthographies for the entire language. None of these revised spelling systems has been generally adopted; partly because no adult population will adopt a measure by which they would simply render themselves illiterate, but also because most of the systems were rather

closely tied to the sounds of individual words, giving a kind of phonemic representation which is not well suited to the English language (in English as in Mandarin Chinese a phonemic spelling works as a notation to be used for special purposes, like teaching the standard language to speakers of other dialects, but it is not a satisfactory basis for a general script). So English has retained its rather old–fashioned spelling system, just as Chinese has continued to use its original characters.

There have of course always been minor changes: the Americans adopted a few of Noah Webster's emendations, though not as many as Webster would have liked — enough to make it look different from the British; advertisers like to put funny spellings on their products, which they can then register as trademarks, like *pinecleen* and *kleenmaid* and *ezyglide* and *cofi–cosi* (the last is a wraparound padded cloth for keeping the coffee warm), and occasionally such spellings come into general use, like *lite* for light in the sense of low in alcohol, to distinguish it from light in colour as opposed to dark. People also use funny spellings as markers of individuality, for example in the names of their houses or on the license plates of their cars; and here, since the total number of symbols is restricted, perhaps to six, as well as using letters to stand for a homonymous word (like U for "you") they are allowed to use numerals alongside the letters, so we find hybrid "spellings" such as CON1OT for "content" — presumably a car–owner who is satisfied, either with the car or with some other quality of life.

This last seems a very minor extension; after all, numerals, like letters, are still abstract symbols, and they are still members of a small finite set: the alphabet of 26 letters has simply been enlarged by the addition of the numerals 0–9, making 36 symbols in all. But it is the thin end of the wedge, because it opens up the potential for extending the "alphabet" in much more elaborate ways. And this leads to the second of the happenings that I referred to a few moments ago.

All writing systems make a clear distinction between the written

symbol, whether letter, syllabic sign or character, and any other form of visual representation, such as a picture, a diagram or a graph. But there is a long tradition in English of a kind of graphological play known as "rebus writing", where pictures are built in to the text as part of the wording. The picture may stand for whatever it is depicting; or else it may stand for the syllable (or other stretch of sound) that figures in the name of the thing depicted, as if you were to write "idea" with a picture of an eye followed by a picture of a deer. In other words, the symbol functions either like the radical or like the phonetic in a Chinese character of the xingsheng (phonetic compound) type. Sometimes, in fact, it may be a composite symbol of just this kind, hence exactly like a xingsheng character, although these are rather less common in texts of the traditional rebus type.

Rebus writing used to be a standard feature in books written for young children. Like many other forms of childsplay, it had had a serious origin: it was used as a technique in heraldry, in the coat-of-arms of a noble family in medieval European society. After this use was forgotten it survived as a game; but this too largely disappeared in the last century, although primary school teachers sometimes brought it in as a classroom activity, since it helped to draw children's attention to language. But now it serves once more as a resource for interactive writing, with which the writer once again becomes freed from the conventions of spelling and puts an individual stamp on the written text.

Whether these particular practices, of spelling words in new and individual ways, or of introducing elements other than alphabetic symbols — letters and punctuation marks — into the written text, will spread among those who are using English in the future, we cannot tell. The large number of non−native speakers using the language may help to make this happen, since they are less committed to the standard forms. But what is already clear is that the boundaries are shifting: the boundary between what is "correct" spelling and what is not, and the boundary between what is a written symbol and what is not; and also

the familiar boundary between writing and speech, not only between written and spoken text but also between the **functions** of writing and speaking in today's society: the "functional complementarity" between the two, which has been the typical feature of a literate society, has now largely disappeared. Thus there are changes not only in the way people use language but also in their attitudes to language; and these affect the expectations of the learner, as well as the environment, the contexts for which the foreign language is being learned. All this is bound to have some relevance for our language pedagogy. But now let me turn to the other major change that I spoke about at the beginning. I have discussed the technical aspects; now let me look at the socio-political, where we have to take special account of the case where the language being taught is English. The technological changes are going on in many languages; in the second aspect, English is (so far) unique.

2   The social aspect

The changes I have been talking about so far have probably been taking place, in some form or other, wherever the technology has become available. Of course the practice will differ, in the actual forms it takes, in different language communities. I do not know how the young people are emailing each other and sending text messages in Chinese, but I am sure they are, and if I stayed longer in any major Chinese city I would no doubt be able to observe them.

But the next topic is different. The changing patterns I want to talk about now are rather specific to English. I have called this aspect the "social"; this is short for social, political, economic — all the factors that together define the particular **status** of a language, its functioning and its position in the world.

There are a number of languages in the modern world which are often referred to as "international", in that they serve beyond their regional and national borders as some kind of *lingua franca* for people

of various mother tongues. This is not a new phenomenon; it happened in medieval and even in classical times with Greek in the eastern Mediterranean, Latin over much of the rest of Europe, Sanskrit in India and beyond, Arabic in southwest Asia and north Africa — and of course ancient Chinese, which spread at one time over Vietnam, Korea and Japan. In the modern world this process was a result of the expansion of Europe, as European colonizers took their languages with them: Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, English and Russian all spread across different regions in this way. Today we can think of an international language as one that operates in more than one nation state; this would include all the above, and it would include also German, Arabic, Malay, Hindi-Urdu, Swahili and perhaps Tamil; and again Chinese, not classical Chinese now but Mandarin, because, outside China, Mandarin is an official language of Singapore.

I shall have more to say about the status of Chinese tomorrow, in relation to the particular situation we are concerned with, where Chinese is the L1 and English is functioning as L2. But for now let me concentrate just on the status of English. English is an international language, and it shares that status with about a dozen other languages (depending on the exact criteria we use to define "international" here). But, among this group of languages, English stands out, because it is also functioning with another status in which it is at present unique. English is not only international, it is also "global"; and at this moment in history it is the only language we could so define.

I find it useful to make this distinction between international and global even though there is no clearcut line dividing the two, because it affects the way we conceptualize the task of teaching English as a foreign language. I also find it helpful to locate this in its historical perspective, so that we can track the ways in which a language comes to expand — to expand its functional scope and, as part of the same process, to expand its meaning potential. English is the topic of our discussions here, so English will be the case to be discussed; but it

should be said at the start that there is nothing special about English, nothing **intrinsic** to the language that enabled it to expand the way it did. Every human language has the same potential, and would be equally capable of developing in response to — in fact, as a necessary part of — the social-historical movements in which its speakers are involved, as active participants.

With this in mind, let me identify four "moments", four stages in the history of a language which we find when we try to throw some light on the present status of English. Note that I am talking about the **institutional** history of the language, its relation to and interaction with its environment, not its **systemic** history, its internal grammar and phonology (although the two are obviously not insulated from each other). I referred to these in another recent paper as "written language — standard language — international language — global language", so I will use these same categories for the summary I am presenting here.

At some moment in history the need arises for what we may call "documentary" language — for keeping records of one kind and another. This typically comes in the cultural context of settlement, when people settle, stay in one place, and practice agriculture, which needs a calendar, and then, as products come to be regularly exchanged, they organize trade, which needs accounts and bills of lading. This is where writing evolves. Not everyone is concerned with writing, of course; there are priests, who keep the calendar and perhaps practice divination or astrology; and scribes, who produce inventories and perhaps enumerate the glorious deeds of the king; but writing is restricted to certain sections of society, and in any case is laborious and costly of resources. These are special functions of language and they make special demands on the grammar, like making lists of objects or events. In time the practical resource of writing is extended to become an art form, to write lyric poetry like the *Book of Songs* (*Shi Jing*) or epics like *The Iliad* of Homer, which had previously been a feature of spoken language; and a vehicle for scholarship, the extension of human knowledge and technical

control; and this in turn brings out new features in the grammar, in particular the syntactic strategies of simile and metaphor which make it possible to use analogies and to create abstract entities to think with. Thus writing opens up new dimensions in the meaning potential of a language.

As societies evolve and political structures are put in place, certain languages, already written down, take on further responsibilities in the formation and maintenance of the state. They become "standardized", as standard or national languages, playing an essential part in the creation of the nation state. Such a language usually emerges out of a collection of dialects, as Mandarin did in Chinese, and Standard English in England. In origin, the "standard language" is a dialect like any other, perhaps one with a tradition of literature or of sacred or secular knowledge; but it gains further prestige when it comes to be used as the language of government and the law, and of commerce beyond the boundaries of any one region.

The particular trajectory by which a national language emerges will depend, obviously, on the local conditions; let me make some quick observations about what happened in China and in England. In China, where the administration was for most of the time highly centralized, Mandarin emerged by a gradual but steady process as the dominant spoken variety. Meanwhile the written language continued to use the earliest classical forms of wording; but because of the nature of the Chinese script, which did not preserve the earlier form of the sound system, when it was read aloud in official or other "standardizing" contexts it was likely to be read aloud in Mandarin. Mandarin itself came to be written down in certain situations about a thousand years ago, in transcripts of Buddhist sermons, and then in the famous "Secret History of the Mongols" (*Yuanchao Mishi*) which was published not as a literary text but as a training manual for interpreters. From then on it came to be used as a language of the more popular kinds of literature, the drama and the novel; and by the end of the last imperial dynasty,

and the "May 4th" movement (*wu-si yundong*) of 1919, when the classical language was finally dethroned, Mandarin was the only serious candidate as a standard language for the new republic.

English was first written down in the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) period, from about 500 A.D., in certain contexts such as epic poetry (the text of Beowulf) and popular verses and tales; but the language of learning was Latin. Following the conquest of England by the Norman French, a thousand years ago, there were three languages of more or less equal prestige. French in government (the court), Latin in learning (the monasteries and schools) and, as trade grew wider, English in commerce. Gradually, English took over in the contexts of all three, and by the fourteenth century one particular dialect, that of the south-east midlands, with some admixture from Kentish, emerged as the standard variety, and this evolved into what we know today as Standard (British) English.

None of this involved any deliberate planning. By contrast, in more recently established states, particularly former colonies of the European powers, it was necessary to adopt a national language and to develop it rapidly to take on administrative and other functions. In these countries there has often been a measure of conscious planning and design, with a language planning agency set up to ensure that the language can meet these demands, and can serve both as a vehicle for and as symbols of national independence, and national pride. There was not enough time to let these processes take place without intervention.

Just as when a language is first codified in writing, so also when such a written language becomes standardized, new demands are made on its resources for creating meaning. These are not simply formal processes; with each step — becoming a written language, and becoming a standard language — the language has got bigger. It has grown in power: we say it has "developed", by taking up new registers and genres all of which have enlarged its total **meaning potential**. When we come to the third step, that of becoming an international

language, we might assume that the language need not grow any more; it simply exports its existing meanings to some other community, through its political (and often military) dominance. It has already developed the necessary range of administrative and other functions.

But this does not mean that the language remains unchanged. If we consider English, we can see that in the course of becoming an international language it has developed in two (and perhaps three) different contexts. (1) In the **first** place, it has been transplanted by emigrants to new areas that were relatively sparsely populated — North America and Australia; and here it has taken over as the first language of the main community. (2) In the second place, it has been introduced by the colonial authority as the language of administration, on regions which were already organized and highly populated — the Indian sub-continent, west and east Africa, parts of south-east Asia; here English has become the **second** language of a population with very different languages and cultures. Other areas, like South Africa and the Caribbean, are a mixture of these two scenarios.

The two categories I have identified are often referred to, following Kachru, as the "inner circle" and the "outer circle" of English-speaking communities; and in both circles the language differs from the English of its original home. Not that British (or rather English) English has stayed just the way it was; it has changed just as much as American or Australian English; but as they changed, they tended to move apart. We are aware of this as soon as we listen to their speakers: the pronunciation of English varies noticeably around the world. But that is variation on the plane of the **expression**, the way the language sounds. Is there also variation on the plane of the **content**? Are the meanings the same, in all these different varieties? No, they are not. In the outer circle, English has had to accommodate to the meaning styles of the indigenous languages, as becomes clear when one reads the post-colonial English writings of novelists and poets in India, Nigeria, Kenya or Singapore. Here, new meanings are created, meanings which

are not simply taken over from Hindi or Yoruba or Swahili or southern Chinese but are some kind of a blend, a new fusion of the meaning potential of these languages with that of English. In the inner circle, where English has continued to evolve in its status as a first language, there is less semantic variation among the regions; but there still is some. Canadians and Australians, for example, do not mean in exactly the same way as Britishers, nor for that matter exactly as each other.

I mentioned that there was perhaps a third context of change. In Britain, and all the countries of the "inner circle", over the last 50–60 years large numbers of immigrants have moved in, especially from south and south-west Asia, South America and the Caribbean, as well as a smaller but continuing inflow of people from China. These newcomers also influence the English of the communities they move into, although in somewhat more indirect ways, and this is also a by-product of the internationalization of the language.

So this third step, from national to international status, does increase the functional range of the language, quite considerably although in a different way from what had happened before. English becomes adapted to different regions and different cultures, and this also develops and expands its potential for meaning. But there is one more step to come; and it is one which, up to now, has been taken only by English. Other languages have become internationalized; only English has become globalized. And whereas the impetus for the earlier movements came from the original homeland, England, the impetus for this last step has come from the United States.

If the world is a global village, perhaps it needs a global language. This is not a new idea; there was a "universal language" movement in western Europe already in the 17th century, promoted by the need for a universal language of science, for codifying and exchanging the new forms of knowledge that were emerging in physics, and in cosmology and other fields. Many proponents of such schemes, from that time on, have argued for an artificial language, and numerous artificial languages

have been devised for the purpose; but they are not widely favoured — and there is a good reason for this. A language is an evolved system, with all the multidimensionality and elasticity which comes with evolution; designed systems are too rigid, and even today with all the advances in linguistics and in intelligent computing we could not design a system with the power and openedness (we call it the "meaning potential") that characterizes a natural language.

So now that the pressure for a world-wide linguistic currency has become irresistible, it is a **natural** language, rather than an artificial language, that has come into use in this domain. More surprisingly, perhaps, it is English, a language that is linked both to the older, British imperialism and to the newer, U.S. imperialism; and this might be thought to make it unacceptable for general world-wide use. But most people obviously think in more pragmatic terms: if it works, let's use it. As I said earlier, there is nothing intrinsic to English which makes it better or worse than any other language for various "global" purposes. If it has taken on this role, this is the effect of trends in recent world history. English is the language most widely used by the most powerful agents of today's corporate capitalism: those who control the mass media, the production and marketing of consumer goods, and (especially) the new information technology. This is the foundation of its status as a "global" language. But because English was already prominent at the "international" level, as the language of the most widespread community of speakers (the "inner and outer circles"), these two factors together have enabled it to worm its way, in many parts of the world, into every aspect of people's professional and even personal lives. When my wife, whose mother tongue is Urdu, needed help with her computer, she was guided through a series of operations, over the telephone, by a consultant from southern India — in English. When my daughter-in-law, whose mother tongue is Spanish, went to study for a higher degree in Germany, she attended all the courses the university prescribed — in English. And when last year I attended a conference in

Japan, I heard the hotel staff talking to the Chinese participants — in English.

Now, as we all know, English is not the most widely spoken language in the world — not, that is to say, the language that is most widely spoken as a mother tongue. That is Chinese; and more specifically Mandarin, with getting on for 900,000,000 native speakers. English comes equal second, along with Spanish, each of which has about 340,000,000. English overtakes Chinese only when we take account of all those who use it, with some degree of facility, as a second or as a foreign language — because there are still relatively few non-native speakers of Chinese (a point I shall bring up again tomorrow).

Many of those who use English as a foreign language are Chinese. Some of these, of course, live in English-speaking countries; but many of them are living here in China. Now, in China you do not need English in order to be fully educated: everything in technology, in the physical, biological and social sciences, and in humanities and the arts can be studied through the medium of Chinese. Simply in terms of the size of the population, the Hanzu, Chinese must be acknowledged as in some sense a world-wide language. So where does English come into the situation in China? Let me refer again to the different statuses of English that I have just been talking about.

The traditional "English major" was concerned first and foremost with English as a written, national language: with the literary canon of Shakespeare and Wordsworth, Charles Dickens and Jane Austen; and although this was soon extended to include writers from the United States and, in time, other countries of the inner circle, the written model — and also the spoken model — was essentially that of the standard English of England and the British Isles.

More recently still, a flavour of "international English" has been added, with the study of post-colonial literatures from the countries of the outer circle. But meanwhile, as far as I can tell, the main focus of

college English has shifted to courses of another kind, those of "public" or practical English; and it was here that the language was being located more in its "international" context. Practical English is taught as a means of access to other fields of study, and to various forms of professional activity such as interpreting and translating. Increasingly this has come to mean learning English for the purpose of study abroad, "English for academic purposes", particularly in the United States because that is where most of the scholarships are available.

An essential requirement in many of these contexts is competence in listening and speaking. In the old style English major, a lot of attention was paid to phonetics: the standard was high, and Chinese students were known for their excellence in pronunciation. The numbers were few, the students were highly selected, and they got the careful and intensive instruction which accurate speaking requires. But as English studies have expanded the standards have not been maintained, despite the fact that more and more competent **speakers** of English are needed to meet the new demands. For example, China is becoming a favourite destination for foreign tourists; yet Chinese tour guides who are employed to speak in English are often impossible to understand — on my previous visit I met with a guide whose English was so bad that the tourists didn't realize she was talking to them in English; they thought she was speaking Chinese! And Chinese students, and others working in international enterprises, are finding it increasingly difficult to operate effectively in spoken English. There is a danger that there will develop a kind of Chinglish that will simply be passed on from one generation of learners to the next.

Two responses have been given, by Chinese learners. One is that there is no need for expertise in speaking, since global English is largely electronic and in writing; the other is that they don't want to sound like an English person or an American anyway. To take the second point first: of course they don't — why should they? They want to sound like Chinese. But that is not the issue. If they are going to

interact with other people in English, their English must be intelligible; and not just to native speakers, the British, the Americans, the Australians and so on — we are used to listening to all varieties of English; but to non-native users, Indians, Japanese, Arabs and others, who have a much harder task in deciphering English with a strong Chinese accent.

As to whether they will be able to operate in global English in the written mode alone: for certain purposes, such as the internet, yes; but electronic text can be spoken as well as written, and the two channels often work together, and complement each other. And we should not forget that even today most of the exchange of meaning among human beings continues to be face to face. There are many interactive situations in which your participation will be very restricted if you are unable to function in the spoken mode.

One thing that might be useful — unless it has already been done! — is a collaborative research project designed to find out exactly what demands a typical college graduate faces when operating through the medium of English. There is an old strategy used in sociolinguistic investigations, the "language diary", in which subjects keep a detailed account, over days and nights for a fortnight, say, or even a month, of all their uses of language. We have used a framework based on the contextual model of "field", "tenor" and "mode". You record the nature of the activity in which you are taking part — the field; the relevant facts about those with whom you are interacting — the tenor; and the way the language is being used, spoken or written, technical or general, monologic or dialogic and so on — the mode. Putting a reasonably large number of such reports together, you obtain a profile of Chinese speakers who know English and use the language for some part of their daily lives. This might be of interest to those who are responsible for planning and providing materials for English teaching at college level in the complex circumstances of today.

At present there is a huge imbalance between the number of Chinese who know English and the number of English speakers, or even

of foreigners in general, who know Chinese. Even after sixty years, I am still something of an exception! So when there are jobs requiring both languages — managers, accountants and others working in international companies; consultants and advisers on economic policy and conditions of trade; airline staff, travel agents and so on — the applicants are almost certain to be Chinese. This will not always be the case. Already there are many foreigners studying Chinese — I am not nearly so exceptional as I used to be; and as China moves towards being the world's number one economic power the Chinese language is bound to move along with it. Whether, or when, it will replace English as the number one global language, we do not know, and that is something else I will take up in my talk tomorrow: there are a number of interesting factors which we can already recognize as being relevant. It is our job, as linguists, to think about language in the future: what demands people are going to make on their linguistic resources, and how their languages are going to evolve in the course of facing up to these demands.

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Grammar Meets Genre:
Reflections on the "Sydney School"

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【内容简介】

Martin回顾了20世纪80年代以来自己作为功能语言学家在语言和教学领域所从事的五个阶段的理论和实践研究，在探索如何建构社会生活中的语言模式并推进教学革新研究方面在澳大利亚乃至海外(如香港、新加坡、英国等地)造成影响，形成所谓的"悉尼学派"(Green & Lee 1994)，但教学革新也引发争议，令人反思。

总的说来，Martin的任务是运用功能语言学理论对教学实践中的教学法和课程设置提供策略性的理论指导，关注"如何教"和"教什么"的问题。具体地说，教学法运用的基本原则是"在共享经验的语境下通过互动进行指导"(Painter 1986)，要求教师准备好为会话中的学生营造熟悉的学习环境。课程设置则是在通过语篇体裁研究语法和话语的基础上，将学生首要的教学目标及主题范围指定为一系列的语篇体裁(Christie & Martin 1997)，明确学生不同阶段的学习目标，避免不必要的重复。而语篇体裁是分阶段的有目标导向的社会过程，是意义的模式(Martin 1999)，意义不能脱离语篇体裁而存在，文化亦即语篇体裁系统，这些在澳大利亚的一些教学大纲都有所体现。

然而有关语篇体裁在英语教学中的地位之争到90年代中期才平息，除了语篇体裁的效用可圈可点外，主要是学校的语法教学再起新争：功能语法取代传统语法的问题。由于对功能语法术语的误会和无知导致某些教学大纲中的误用。为了澄清功能语法的术语，Martin以具体语篇为例，根据语篇体裁的阶段性和目标性特点，从经验、人际和语篇三大元功能的角度对小句进行功能分析并对比功能标签和传

统语法中的术语。显然,功能语法比传统语法更能清晰地分析出小句的多重意义;就英语教学中的语法教学而言,从幼儿学校开始学习功能语法是可行的(Williams 2000),而且也是必须的。普及功能语法从专家到经验都不是问题,问题是教师和家长对功能语法的恐惧,以及政府对岗位培训的教育投资不足, 这恰恰说明了当事人对教学革新的态度。传统语法侧重语法规则,轻视言语使用的语境的评价标准,势必造成对言语使用的偏见。

英语教学中语篇体裁理论的应用及功能语法地位之争涉及到诸多深层次的社会学和文化因素。根据社会学家Bernstein (1975, 1990, 1996)的观点,争议其实反映了中产阶级新旧势力的斗争,体现了传统和激进教学法对教师角色、学习内容和评价标准的不同。可问题是新旧势力对语篇体裁和功能语法都心怀不满, 这与其对澳洲功能语言学者的背景及对教学法定位于非主流阶层（工人、移民和本土学生)的兴趣心存偏见不无关系。Cranny-Francis的文化研究认为,过于武断反应的行为其本质是秘密曝光后的偏执狂现象。Martin从其中抽象出"秘密和谎言"分析方法,认为对上述的争议可进行多维分析。简言之,有缺陷的权力总是极端地用谎言掩盖其秘密以维持其权力,而这种分析可以揭露秘密,把谎言拆穿,当然会威胁权力的存在。

悉尼学派的研究涉及到多学科间的对话, 包括功能语言学和教育、社会学和文化研究、以及与批评话语分析和社会符号学之间的对话。Martin作了学科间研究和跨学科研究的区分,为教学法和课程设置的革新提供实践和理论上的依据。

<div align="right">（杨汝福 ）</div>

0　Orientation

In this paper I'd like to look back over two decades of action research in which I have participated as a functional linguist. I say "action research" because the enterprise involved an interaction of

theory and practice which pushed the envelop of our understandings about modelling language in social life and which at the same time led to innovative literacy teaching across sectors in Australia and overseas. The work got underway in August 1979, at the "Working Conference on Language in Education" organised by Michael Halliday at the University of Sydney. I began teaching that same year in the MA Applied Linguistics program organised by Halliday in co-operation with the Faculty of Education — the first program of its kind in the southern hemisphere. These activities put me in touch with educators and their concerns, in particular with Joan Rothery who has worked closely with me on several projects since that time, and with Frances Christie, whose contributions in terms of research, government reports, publications, conference organisation and pre-service teaching materials have been immense. There are dozens of other people I could mention, and a few of their names will come up with reference to publications; but there are simply too many of them to thank specifically here.

In hindsight, the research can be divided into 5 overlapping phases, beginning with the "Writing Project" (1980-1985) which developed genre analysis as a way of thinking about the kinds of writing students undertook in primary and secondary school. Around 1985 our connection with the Metropolitan East Region of the NSW Disadvantaged Schools Program began with what they called the "Language and Social Power Project". As well as developing our work on genre in infants and primary school, this project also concerned itself with pedagogy and came up with a distinctive teaching/learning cycle for introducing students to unfamiliar kinds of writing across the curriculum (Martin 1998). By 1990, thanks to Sue Doran's tireless enterprise, this DSP centre was able to mount a $2,000,000 research initiative called "Write it Right" which extended the work into secondary school and three workplace sectors (science industry, media and administration). Around 1995 our work began to have a big impact on mainstream curriculum, as the NSW Board of Studies designed their

new English K –6 syllabus. Currently, in the noughts, the drift of research interests appears to be drifting in the direction of multiliteracies, with an expanded focus on multimodal texts comprising image, sound and activity alongside language — and with a renewed concern for literacy in indigenous communities in post-colonial contexts, particularly in South Australia and South Africa.

    80–85...Writing Project
    85–90...Language & Social Power Project (DSP)
    90–95...Write it Right Project (DSP)
    95–00...'living in the mainstream'
    00s...multiliteracies (verbiage, image, sound...); indigenous
education

Of course, this is just my gaze, looking out from the confines of the derelict Transient Building where my Department is housed. Lots of other work was going on, ever more so as graduates from our MA Applied Linguistics program, several of whom went on to do PhD's, returned to ground-breaking work across sectors. Throughout the 80s for example, the main partners for our work were the Queensland Department of Education, which at that time were developing the most forward looking language in education programs in the world. Similarly, throughout the 80s and 90s the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service worked intensively on curriculum and pedagogy for ESL teaching; their efforts were so impressive that they formed the basis of national curricula for teaching English to migrants. Similarly, what is currently known as the Learning Centre in this University worked through these years on programs for teaching academic English to migrant, and later all university students; their EAP materials, some of them developed in close co–operation with participating departments and faculties, are at the cutting edge of academic literacy teaching and regularly attract visitors and invitations from overseas. More recently, several of our

colleagues have been involved in projects at the Australian Museum concerned with communication in exhibitions; the guidelines they have developed for text panels have brought international recognition to these initiatives   (Ferguson *et al.* 1995), and Maree Stenglin's brilliantly scaffolded materials for visiting school children are the best implementation of Bruner's spiral curriculum notion I have encountered.

By the early 1990s this accumulating body of work had earned a name, not that we gave it one ourselves. Instead, Green & Lee (1994) introduced the term "the Sydney School", in recognition of the instrumental role played by functional linguists and educational linguists in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Sydney. Ironically, by 1994 the name was already well out of date, since the research I'm outlining was being developed at all the metropolitan Sydney universities, at Wollongong University, at the Northern Territory University, at Melbourne University and beyond. By 2000 the work has become an export industry, with centres in Singapore and Hong Kong, and around Britain ("the empire strikes back" as it were). For better or worse, Green & Lee's christening was published in America and has become the name by which our work is known   (e.g. Freedman & Medway 1994, Hyon 1996, Lee 1996, Johns 2002, Coe 2002). Like all nick-names, they're not easy to get rid of, especially where there is a grain of truth in them and they continue to serve the interests of those using the name — thus my reference in the title to the "Sydney School", with scare quotes all around.

1   Pedagogy & curriculum

As an action research project concerned with literacy development, we had to be concerned with both pedagogy   (how to teach) and curriculum   (what to teach); as a functional linguist, my job was to access and design theory which could be used by educators to inform

these tasks. As far as pedagogy was concerned, our strategy was to look to work by Halliday (1975) and Painter (1984, 1996, 1999) on pre-school language development in the home and adapt their findings to institutionalised learning in school settings. The basic principle which we took from their work was that of "guidance through interaction in the context of shared experience" (Painter 1986). This principle, which resonates with neo-Vygotskyan work on scaffolding, emphasises the leading role played by caregivers as they enable children to mean things with them in conversation in familiar familial contexts by way of preparing the children to take the initiative and mean these things on their own in less familiar settings. Painter (e.g. 1996, 1999) shows that talking about language plays a critical role in scaffolding of this kind, which reinforced our feeling that a shared metalanguage for talking about language was important for teachers and students in school. After some initial resistance, terminology for talking about genres was quickly adopted by teachers and students as a key resource for learning; resistance to appropriate grammar terminology to support these understandings continues to this day, about which I'll have more to say below.

Our work on curriculum was informed by our studies of grammar and discourse across genres. This work enabled us to specify primary literacy goals and secondary subject areas as a set of genres students were expected to master before moving on (Christie & Martin 1997). Beyond this, it enabled us to specify what kinds of understandings depend on other understandings, so that learning could be scaffolded in steps, with manageable gaps between levels and no need for repeat teaching of the same basic understandings year after year. I believe that this functional linguistic orientation to scaffolding provides a firmer basis for the implementation of spiral curricula than has been possible in literacy teaching over the years.

It's hard to know how best to reconstruct the social and political motivations for this work. My own experiences visiting Brian Gray at

Traeger Park School in Alice Springs, and my work with teachers at Lakemba public school were certainly influential. At Lakemba for example I worked in classes where over 95% of students were from non-English speaking backgrounds, mainly Arabic, with some Vietnamese. I came to realise that my 11-year-olds were often the oldest fluent English speakers in their families; but under the progressive process writing pedagogy then hegemonic in Australia, the only genre we could count of them having learned to write by the end of primary school was what we called a recount — a simple first–person record of personal events organised around sequence in time. Here's one of my son Hamish's by way of illustration (it's not all he can write, by the way):

Taronga Park Zoo
Last Wednesday all Year 1 went to Taronga Zoo.
First we went to have a lesson. We all saw a ringtail possum and the teacher showed us a koala's hand. We saw a great white shark's mouth and I saw a lion.
We saw a peacock while we were having lunch and my Dad came to the Zoo with me and monkeys and a big gorilla and we saw zebra and a giraffe and I had a good time at the Zoo. I went back to school. I felt good.
I liked the lion and the elephant and giraffe but the best thing was going on the train and the ferry and the bus and I felt good going back home and when I got back home I felt exhausted and we had a snack.

But if this is in fact all you can do then, (i) you can't really write across the curriculum in primary school, (ii) you aren't in very good shape for learning to read and write across subject areas in secondary school, and (iii) you're not in position to deal with your own family's literacy needs as far as dealing with private services and government agencies are concerned. I personally found this kind of literacy teaching socially irresponsible, and alongside like–minded people in the

Disadvantaged School Program, we set out to do something about it.

This is worth thinking about for a moment even if you aren't directly concerned with migrant, working class or Aboriginal children. Take for example the following text, written by Ben Gibbons, then 8 years old in 1988:

> OUR PLANET
> Earth's core is as hot as the furthest outer layer of the sun. They are both 6000°c.
> Earth started as a ball of fire. Slowly it cooled. But it was still too hot for Life. Slowly water formed and then the first signs of life, micro-scopic cells. Then came trees. About seven thousand million years later came the first man.

Ben's teacher commented as follows:

> [Where is your margin? This is not a story.]

And on his picture of the planet, which accompanied his text, she wrote "Finish please." Ben's parents, John and Pauline, looked at the teacher's comments and naturally were quite upset. Ben had a keen interest in science and had obviously written a scientific account of the history of the planet (in less than a page; quite a feat!); but he was being evaluated as if he'd tried to write some kind of story and failed. His teacher, in other words, hadn't made it clear what was required, and criticised Ben for not having figured it out on his own. And this is a middle class child with both parents working in tertiary education! One can imagine what this kind of hidden curriculum does to non-mainstream children. In preparing for this talk, I decided to ask my colleague Pauline Gibbons what had become of Ben. Who knows, I thought — he might be studying romantic poetry for all I know; or did he really become a rocket scientist? She replied in August 2000:

"...Ben is now in his final year at Sydney Uni doing biochemistry and psychology. Went to North Sydney Grammar and did mainly science subjects, hated English (though is a voracious reader and loves Shakespeare!) because he said they never told you the criteria on which assessment was done... so it continues..."

Ben obviously learned his lesson and steered clear of evaluations based on implicit criteria. The critical point here is that he had the resources to steer clear; we were especially concerned with the kids who did not.

2   Genre

What is this thing called genre? Genre of course simply means a kind of something; and we all make use of a notion of this kind every time we enter a book shop or video store and find the shelf that has the kind of book (crime, fantasy, science fiction...) or video (drama, action, comedy...) we want. As functional linguists we interpreted genres from a semantic perspective as patterns of meaning (Martin 1999). As a working definition, we characterised genres as staged goal-oriented social processes — (i) staged because it usually takes us more than one phase of meaning to work through a genre, (ii) goal-oriented because unfolding phases are designed to accomplish something and we feel a sense of frustration or incompleteness if we're stopped and (iii) social because we engage in genres interactively with others. From this perspective, cultures can be interpreted as a system of genres — and there is no meaning outside of genres. Our law of genre was something like "you cannot not mean genres".

Let's take an example of the kind of text we worked on to illustrate this perspective. The story comes from Desmond Tutu's recent book *No Future without Forgiveness,* which is concerned with the truth and reconciliation process in South Africa.

My story begins in my late teenage years as a farm girl in the Bethlehem district of Eastern Free State. As an eighteen –year –old, I met a young man in his twenties. He was working in a top security structure. It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship. We even spoke about marriage. A bubbly, vivacious man who beamed out wild energy. Sharply intelligent. Even if he was an Englishman, he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners. And all my girlfriends envied me. Then one day he said he was going on a 'trip'. 'We won't see each other again... maybe never ever again.' I was torn to pieces. So was he. An extremely short marriage to someone else failed all because I married to forget. More than a year ago, I met my first love again through a good friend. I was to learn for the first time that he had been operating overseas and that he was gong to ask for amnesty. I can't explain the pain and bitterness in me when I saw what was left of that beautiful, big, strong person. He had only one desire — that the truth must come out. Amnesty didn't matter. It was only a means to the truth.

After my unsuccessful marriage, I met another policeman. Not quite my first love, but an exceptional person. Very special. Once again a bubbly, charming personality. Humorous, grumpy, everything in its time and place. Then he says: He and three of our friends have been promoted. 'We're moving to a special unit. Now, now my darling. We are real policemen now.' We were ecstatic. We even celebrated. He and his friends would visit regularly. They even stayed over for long periods. Suddenly, at strange times, they would become restless. Abruptly mutter the feared word 'trip' and drive off. I...as a loved one... knew no other life than that of worry, sleeplessness, anxiety about his safety and where they could be. We simply had to be satisfied with: 'What you don't know, can't hurt you.' And all that we as loved ones knew...was what we saw with our own eyes. After about three years with the special forces, our hell began. He became very quiet. Withdrawn. Sometimes he would just press his face into his hands and shake uncontrollably. I realised he was drinking too much. Instead of resting at night, he would wander from window to window. He tried to hide his wild consuming fear, but I saw it. In the early hours of the morning between two and half-past-two, I jolt awake from his rushed breathing. Rolls this way, that side of the bed. He's pale. Ice cold in a

sweltering night — sopping wet with sweat. Eyes bewildered, but dull like the dead. And the shakes. The terrible convulsions and blood – curdling shrieks of fear and pain from the bottom of his soul. Sometimes he sits motionless, just staring in front of him. I never understood. I never knew. Never realised what was being shoved down his throat during the 'trips'. I just went through hell. Praying, pleading: 'God, what's happening? What's wrong with him? Could he have changed so much? Is he going mad? I can't handle the man anymore! But, I can't get out. He's going to haunt me for the rest of my life if I leave him. Why, God?'

Today I know the answer to all my questions and heartache. I know where everything began, the background. The role of 'those at the top', the 'cliques' and 'our men' who simply had to carry out their bloody orders... like 'vultures'. And today they all wash their hands in innocence and resist the realities of the Truth Commission. Yes, I stand by my murderer who let me and the old White South Africa sleep peacefully. Warmly, while 'those at the top' were again targeting the next 'permanent removal from society' for the vultures.

I finally understand what the struggle was really about. I would have done the same had I been denied everything. If my life, that of my children and my parents was strangled with legislation. If I had to watch how white people became dissatisfied with the best and still wanted better and got it. I envy and respect the people of the struggle — at least their leaders have the guts to stand by their vultures, to recognise their sacrifices. What do we have? Our leaders are too holy and innocent. And faceless. I can understand if Mr (F.W.) de Klerk says he didn't know, but dammit, there must be a clique, there must have been someone out there who is still alive and who can give a face to 'the orders from above' for all the operations. Dammit! What else can this abnormal life be than a cruel human rights violation? Spiritual murder is more inhumane than a messy, physical murder. At least a murder victim rests. I wish I had the power to make those poor wasted people whole again. I wish I could wipe the old South Africa out of everyone's past. I end with a few lines that my wasted vulture said to me one night: 'They can give me amnesty a thousand times. Even if God and everyone else forgives me a thousand times — I have to live with this hell. The problem is in my head, my conscience. There is only one way

to be free of it. Blow my brains out. Because that's where my hell is.'
Helena [Tutu 1999: 49-51]

The overall staging of this story genre unfolds along the following
lines. Once introduced by Tutu, the narrator, Helena, leads off by
setting her story in time and place:

My story begins in my late teenage years as a farm girl in the
Bethlehem district of Eastern Free State.

The story-line itself then unfolds in two main phases — in each
Helena falls in love, her lover joins the security forces and they face the
repercussions:

first love
> falling in love   As an eighteen-year-old, I met a young man...
> 'operations'   Then one day he said he was going on a 'trip'.
> repercussions   More than a year ago, I met my first love again...

second love
> falling in love   After my unsuccessful marriage, I met another
                     policeman.
> 'operations'   Then he says: He and three of our friends have been
                     promoted.
> repercussions   After about three years with the special forces, our
                     hell...

Helena then goes on to talk about the significance of these events
— standing by your man, and spiritual murder. Finally she ends with a
few lines from her "wasted vulture", whose own anguish drives home
the point of her moral tale.

Our work on story genres helps us place this genre in relation to
other kinds of story and to give technical names to its stages. It begins
with an Abstract, which Tutu uses to announce the story to be told.
This is followed by an Orientation phase, which sets the story in time
and place. This is followed in turn by phases of events unfolding one

after another through time; Helena uses two phases of these, one for her first love and one for her second... Incident 1 and 2. Then there are two phases of Interpretation, which Helena uses to spell out the point of her story. And finally there is a Coda which she uses to reinforce her point and bring her story to a close.

Abstract

[The South Africa Broadcasting Corporation's radio team covering the Truth and reconciliation Commission received a letter from a woman calling herself Helena (she wanted to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals) who lived in the eastern province of Mpumalanga. They broadcast substantial extracts: ...]

Orientation

My story begins in my late teenage years as a farm girl in the Bethlehem district of Eastern Free State.

Incident 1

falling in love

As an eighteen–year–old, I met a young man in his twenties. He was working in a top security structure. It was the beginning of a beau–tiful relationship. We even spoke about marriage. A bubbly, vivacious man who beamed out wild energy. Sharply intelligent. Even if he was an Englishman, he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners. And all my girlfriends envied me.

'operations'

Then one day he said he was going on a 'trip'. 'We won't see each other again... maybe never ever again.' I was torn to pieces. So was he. An extremely short marriage to someone else failed all because I married to forget.

repercussions

More than a year ago, I met my first love again through a good

friend. I was to learn for the first time that he had been operating over-seas and that he was gong to ask for amnesty. I can't explain the pain and bitterness in me when I saw what was left of that beautiful, big, strong person. He had only one desire — that the truth must come out. Amnesty didn't matter. It was only a means to the truth.

Incident 2

falling in love

After my unsuccessful marriage, I met another policeman. Not quite my first love, but an exceptional person. Very special. Once again a bubbly, charming personality. Humorous, grumpy, everything in its time and place.

'operations'

Then he says: He and three of our friends have been promoted. 'We're moving to a special unit. Now, now my darling. We are real policemen now.' We were ecstatic. We even celebrated. He and his friends would visit regularly. They even stayed over for long periods. Suddenly, at strange times, they would become restless. Abruptly mutter the feared word 'trip' and drive off. I...as a loved one...knew no other life than that of worry, sleeplessness, anxiety about his safety and where they could be. We simply had to be satisfied with: 'What you don't know, can't hurt you.' And all that we as loved ones knew... was what we saw with our own eyes.

repercussions

After about three years with the special forces, our hell began. He became very quiet. Withdrawn. Sometimes he would just press his face into his hands and shake uncontrollably. I realised he was drinking too much. Instead of resting at night, he would wander from window to window. He tried to hide his wild consuming fear, but I saw it. In the early hours of the morning between two and half-past-two, I jolt awake from his rushed breathing. Rolls this way, that side of the bed. He's pale. Ice cold in a sweltering night — sopping wet with sweat. Eyes bewildered, but dull like the dead. And the shakes. The terrible convulsions and blood-curdling shrieks of fear and pain from the bottom

of his soul. Sometimes he sits motionless, just staring in front of him. I never understood. I never knew. Never realised what was being shoved down his throat during the 'trips'. I just went through hell. Praying, pleading: 'God, what's happening? What's wrong with him? Could he have changed so much? Is he going mad? I can't handle the man anymore! But, I can't get out. He's going to haunt me for the rest of my life if I leave him. Why, God?'

Interpretation   1 ("stand by your man")

Today I know the answer to all my questions and heartache. I know where everything began, the background. The role of 'those at the top', the 'cliques' and 'our men' who simply had to carry out their bloody orders... like 'vultures'. And today they all wash their hands in innocence and resist the realities of the Truth Commission. Yes, I stand by my murderer who let me and the old White South Africa sleep peacefully. Warmly, while 'those at the top' were again targeting the next 'permanent removal from society' for the vultures.

Interpretation   2 ("spiritual murder")

I finally understand what the struggle was really about. I would have done the same had I been denied everything. If my life, that of my children and my parents was strangled with legislation. If I had to watch how white people became dissatisfied with the best and still wanted better and got it. I envy and respect the people of the struggle — at least their leaders have the guts to stand by their vultures, to recognise their sacrifices. What do we have? Our leaders are too holy and innocent. And faceless. I can understand if Mr (F.W.) de Klerk says he didn't know, but dammit, there must be a clique, there must have been someone out there who is still alive and who can give a face to 'the orders from above' for all the operations. Dammit! What else can this abnormal life be than a cruel human rights violation? Spiritual murder is more inhumane than a messy, physical murder. At least a murder victim rests. I wish I had the power to make those poor wasted people whole again. I wish I could wipe the old South Africa out of everyone's past.

Coda

I end with a few lines that my wasted vulture said to me one night: 'They can give me amnesty a thousand times. Even if God and everyone else forgives me a thousand times — I have to live with this hell. The problem is in my head, my conscience. There is only one way to be free of it. Blow my brains out. Because that's where my hell is.'

The Abstract, Orientation and Coda phases are shared across a number of story genres (Martin & Plum 1997). The distinctive stages here are the Incident and Interpretation, which characterise the genre we called exemplum. The purpose of an exemplum is to relate a sequence of events in order to make a moral point — and in this respect the genre is related to other moral tales such as fable and parable, and to gossip genres (Eggins & Slade 1997). As we can see, the point of my son's trip to the zoo text is a very different one. His story, which we called recount, is designed to reconstruct experience and his reactions to that experience. It doesn't make a moral point, and doesn't really deal with problematic experience. Its purpose is to provide a record of what happened — for the benefit of people who may have in fact shared that experience or who are so close to Hamish that the everyday things he participates in really do matter. The different purposes of the exemplum and recount are reflected in the different patterns of meaning in the two texts. Globally this affects the staging structure; locally it affects a myriad of small-scale choices having to do with reconstructing and evaluating experience and sharing it with significant others.

Taking this one step further, Helena's exemplum is in fact part of another genre — an argument that Tutu is developing about the cost of justice in relation to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Technically we refer to this genre as exposition and it functions to promote one side of an issue.

Specifically, here, Desmond Tutu is debating whether giving

amnesty is just. To begin he poses this issue as a question:

Issue   So is amnesty being given at the cost of justice being done?

He then develops three reasons as to why his answer to this ques-
tion is "No." Tutu uses linkers *also* and *further* to guide us from one
reason to the next; and each reason begins with a new paragraph.

Argument 1   The Act required that where the offence is a gross...

Argument 2   It is **also** not true that the granting of amnesty
              encourages...

Argument 3   **Further,** retributive justice...is not the only form of justice.

Each of these three reasons has two phases. In the first phase
Tutu gives the grounds on which he is arguing, and in the second he
reaches a conclusion on the basis of this evidence — each conclusion is
introduced each time with the linker *thus*:

Argument 1
➢ grounds   the application should be dealt with in a public hearing
➢ conclusion **Thus** there is the penalty of public exposure and
              humiliation
              ➢ **example   [Helena's narrative]**

Argument 2
➢ grounds   because amnesty is only given to those who plead guilty
➢ conclusion **Thus** the process in fact encourages accountability

Argument 3
➢ grounds   there is another kind of justice, restorative justice,
➢ conclusion **Thus** we would claim that... justice, is being served

Helena's story is in fact used by Tutu in his first Argument as an
example of the effect that public exposure can have on perpetrators of
gross human rights violations. And pushing further, just as Helena's
exemplum is part of Tutu's exposition, so Tutu's exposition is part of a

longer discussion of the cost of justice that begins by providing some background on relevant aspects of the act establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and continues by exploring the problem of reparation. We won't look at these extensions in detail here.

Our basic strategy was to analyse genres along these lines, and so factor out the writing needs of students across the curriculum in primary and secondary school, and for a few relevant workplace sectors. These understandings were used to reason about which genres students should be expected to learn, to plan when students should be introduced to which genres and how they could be developed, and to provide teachers and students with explicit terminology to refer genres and their staging. Several primary English syllabi across Australia have drawn heavily on these perspectives, including English K–6 (NSW), English K–10 (Qld), Getting Going with Genres (NT) and First Steps (WA); and South Australia is currently revising its English syllabus in a similar direction.

3. Grammar: "doing business with the clause" (as Hamish calls it)

By the mid–90s controversy over the place of genre in English teaching subsided almost completely — partly because of the demonstrable utility of the ideas in literacy teaching, and partly because of a new controversy, fuelled by the print and electronic media, over grammar teaching in schools. From my perspective the media's treatment of this issue was quite irresponsibly uninformed. Some tell me this is not unusual; but it was certainly distressing at the time, especially once politicians and colleagues entered the fray in an equally uninformed way. Early on the *Australian* published a news story describing functional grammar as being brought in to replace traditional grammar in schools, suggesting that new terminology would be used in place of old — participants instead of nouns, processes instead of verbs, circumstances instead of adverbs and so on. In addition the NSW print

media mounted a scare campaign around unfamiliar terms such as 'Theme', and terms like "dictagloss" which are not actually functional grammar terms but which appeared in drafts of the new NSW English K –6 syllabus. Such was their level of ignorance that the editorial writers and commentators couldn't in fact recognise a functional grammar term when they encountered one. Phone calls, faxes, letters, letters to the editor and non–commissioned articles from my colleagues and me all went unheeded and unpublished in a farce of misinformation culminating in the Eltis report. Not surprisingly I'd like to clarify a few points here.

We'll work some more on Helena's narrative, but this time from the micro–perspective of the clause:

As an eighteen–year–old, I met a young man in his twenties. He was working in a top security structure. It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship. We even spoke about marriage. A bubbly, vivacious man who beamed out wild energy. Sharply intelligent. Even if he was an Englishman, he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners. And all my girlfriends envied me. Then one day he said he was going on a 'trip'. 'We won't see each other again... maybe never ever again.'

In order to begin, we need to break this phase of her story down into clauses. There's more than one way to do this, but we don't really need to worry about that here. Basically below I've respected sentence boundaries (as signalled by initial capitals and full stops), treated relative clauses as part of other clauses (thus the square brackets around *who beamed out wild energy*), treated indirect speech as a separate unit and counted *maybe never ever again* as a distinct speech act:

As an eighteen-year-old, I met a young man in his twenties.
He was working in a top security structure.
It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship.

> We even spoke about marriage.
> A bubbly, vivacious man [[who beamed out wild energy]].
> Sharply intelligent.
> Even if he was an Englishman,
> he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners.
> And all my girlfriends envied me.
> Then one day he said
> he was going on a 'trip'.
> 'We won't see each other again...
> maybe never ever again.'

Now, if genres are staged goal–oriented social processes, one might expect from a functional perspective that their pieces will construct experience, be interactive and stage information too.   Rephrasing slightly, like texts, clauses are about something, they interact with someone and they phase information. Let's look at these properties in turn.

In Helena's exemplum clauses are concerned with doing things, talking, feeling and describing:

> **clauses are about something...**

– doing things
As an eighteen–year–old, I met a young man in his twenties.
He was working in a top security structure.

– talking
We even spoke about marriage.
Then one day he said he was going on a 'trip'.

– feeling
And all my girlfriends envied me.
'We won't see each other again... maybe never ever again.'

– describing
It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship.
Even if he was an Englishman,
he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners.

Helen a's clauses also interact — asking questions and making statements (illustrated here from her prayer):

➢ **clauses interact with someone...**

– questions (asking for missing information)

'God, what's happening?
What's wrong with him?
Why, God?'

– questions (asking yes or no)
Could he have changed so much?
Is he going mad?

– statements (giving information)
I can't handle the man anymore!
But, I can't get out.
He's going to haunt me for the rest of my life if I leave him.

Helena's clauses also organise information in ways that make it easier to digest. In the phase we began working on Helena uses first position in the clause to orient us to time, and then orients to people; then she re-orients to time again, then back to people:

➢ **clauses phase information...**

– orienting to time
As an eighteen–year–old, I met a young man in his twenties.

– orienting to people
He was working in a top security structure.
It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship.
We even spoke about marriage.
A bubbly, vivacious man [[who beamed out wild energy]].
Sharply intelligent.
Even if he was an Englishman,
he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners.
And all my girlfriends envied me.

– re–orienting to time
Then one day he said

– re–orienting to people
he was going on a 'trip'.
'We won't see each other again...
maybe never ever again.'

The orientations to time move the story along from one phase to the next, whereas the orientations to people sustain our focus on our main protagonists — Helena and her love.

This functional perspective on what the clause is doing is a trinocular one   (Halliday 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, Matthiessen 1995). It argues that we can't really understand the meaning of a clause unless we look at what it is about, and how it interacts and how it organises information. In functional grammar analysis we're trying to focus on the meaning of the clause — on how it is constructed to make meaning. And to do this, we have to gaze at the clause from three different, and complementary points of view. In this trinocular perspective, grammar is about reconciling these three strands — weaving them seamlessly together into the messages we make.

This brings us to the problem of labelling — how do we name the parts of the clause in such a way that our naming reflects the three kinds of meaning going on? In functional linguistics one part of the answer to this is to make use of two kinds of labels: (i) labels that tell us what something is and (ii) labels which tell us what something is doing. The labels which tell us what kind of thing something is are called class (sometimes category) labels; the best known examples of labels of this kind are the so called parts of speech of traditional school grammar, including noun, verb, adjective, preposition and other terms people have heard of even if they don't know what they mean (the kind of thing the Eltis report refers to as "conventional" terminology). The labels which tell us what something is actually doing are called function (sometimes relation) labels; the best known of these are Subject and

Object, although once again we need to stress that familiarity with these terms does not usually entail the ability to pick them out in a clause. The reason that people are no longer able to use "conventional" terminology of course is that for a generation progressive educators argued that knowledge about grammar was both useless and harmful as far as language learning was concerned; educators took this on board, especially in Australia, and by and large stopped teaching grammar completely. This was unfortunate. To my mind the one kind of grammar that's worse than traditional school grammar is no grammar at all.

Let's have a look at these two kinds of labelling in relation to some of the clauses we picked out above, beginning with the kinds of experience clauses are on about... for example action, feeling and description.

action	I met a young man
feeling	all my girlfriends envied me
description	he was an Englishman

In the tables below I've used class labels in the second row to name the kinds of word we find in each example. In the third row I've given the work done by each part of the clause an informal gloss to bring out the contribution it makes to the meaning of the clause. Then in the bottom row I've used the actual function labels suggested in Halliday 1994 — labels which are becoming a kind of lingua franca for discourse analysts and applied linguists around the world. In the action clause table for example I've labelled the pronoun *I* which is the doer in the clause the Actor, the verb *met* which is the doing element the Process, and the noun *man* which is affected by the process the Goal. Different function labels are used for feeling and description.

➢ action

	I	met	(a young) man
part of speech	pronoun	verb	noun
	'doer'	'doing'	'affected'
Function	**Actor**	**Process**	**Goal**

➢ feeling

	(...my) girlfriends	envied	me
part of speech	noun	verb	pronoun
	'feeler'	'feeling'	'stimulus'
Function	**Senser**	**Process**	**Phenomenon**

➢ description

	he	was	(an) Englishman
part of speech	pronoun	verb	noun
	'described'	'state'	'description'
Function	**Carrier**	**Process**	**Attribute**

As we can see the same noun^verb^noun sequence can have different meanings, and these are reflected in the function labels assigned:

Actor Process Goal
Senser Process Phenomenon
Carrier Process Attribute

This means that the functional labelling is much richer semantically than the class labelling, and so more meaningful in discourse analysis. If genres are treated as patterns of meaning, then to make grammar analysis relevant to genre we need to deploy a grammar that focuses on meaning. The class labelling is just too general, too vague to do the job.

Turning to clause as interaction, we can draw on the same set of class labels, but our function labels will be different since now we're

looking at meaning of a quite different kind — the difference between asking for and giving information, and the two different kinds of information we ask for.

polarity question	Could he have changed so much?
statement	I can't handle the man anymore!
information question	What's happening?

For these meanings, labels for the two parts of the clause that show the difference between questions and statements are crucial. Notice how Helena prays *Could he*, putting the verb before the noun when asking, but says *I can't*, putting the noun before the verb when stating — the sequence makes the difference. In the third example, Helena is looking for missing information, and uses a special question word *what* to signal what she's looking for.

➤ **polarity question**

	Could	*he*	*have changed...*
part of speech	auxiliary verb	pronoun	verb
	'*terms*'	'*nub*'	
Function	**Finite**	**Subject**	—

➤ **statement**

	I	*can't*	*handle...*
part of speech	pronoun	auxiliary verb	verb
	'*nub*'	'*terms*'	
Function	**Subject**	**Finite**	—

➤ **information question**

	What	'*s*	*happening*
part of speech	noun	auxiliary verb	verb
	'*content sought*'	'*terms*'	
Function	**Wh/Subject**	**Finite**	—

Halliday uses the terms Subject and Finite to refer to the parts of the clause that typically make the difference between stating and questioning according to their sequence. The term Wh is used to signal missing information, in this case the content of the Subject — which is why the noun *what* is labelled twice (Wh/Subject); the term Wh reflects the fact that in English this kind of question word begins with "wh" (*who, what, which, when, where, why*), except for how, which gets the "w" and "h" the wrong way round.

Semantically, the traditional term Subject refers to the nub of the argument (the part of the clause that is at risk in debate: *could he/I/she/ my first love/my second love/South Africa...*) and the term Finite refers to the terms of the argument — either tense (past, present, future: *did/ is/will he...*) or modality (probability, ability, inclination, obligation: *could/might/would/should he...*).

Wh   'what we're looking for'
Subject 'the nub of the argument'
Finite   'the terms — time, probability, ability...'

Turning to clause as message, the main factor we'll consider here is what comes first since first position in the clause is where English does a lot of the work on fitting clauses smoothly into texts as they unfold. One important opposition here is between usual order (Subject first in statements) and unusual order (something coming before the Subject in statements).

unusual order   <u>As an eighteen-year-old</u>. I met a young man in his twenties.
usual order   <u>He</u> was working in a top security structure.

As noted above, unusual order tends to be associated with transitions in discourse — in Helena's story from one phase of activity to another. Unusual order on the other hand tends to be associated with continuity of focus within a phase. Halliday (1994) refers to content coming before the Subject in statements as marked Themes, and clause

initial Subjects as unmarked Themes.

> **unusual order** [in English, something before the Subject]

	As an eighteen–year–old	*I*	*met...*
part of speech	prepositional phrase	pronoun	verb
	'*angling on when*'		
Function	**marked Theme**	**(unmarked Theme)**	—

> **usual order**

		He	*was working...*
part of speech		pronoun	verbs
		'*angling on who*'	
Function		**unmarked Theme**	—

Marked Themes are less common in most genres, and tend to shift our orientation to what we're talking about. Chains of unmarked Themes tend to sustain our orientation — on the main protagonists in Helena's story for example.

marked Theme   'shifting our orientation'
unmarked Theme   'sustaining our orientation'

As we can see, trinocular vision means a lot more labelling than we find in most grammars. Alongside the parts of speech we have three sets of function labels which enable us to focus on the content of the clause, its interactivity and its information flow. The pay–off is that the extra labelling allows us to interpret the function of the clause in discourse, and so understand how small scale choices are co–ordinated to make the larger social meanings we call genre. Patterns of Theme for example are a key resource for signalling the phases and transitions we discussed in relation to the generic staging of Helena's story above. We won't attempt a complete analysis here, but simply pause a moment to replay the information flowing through the Theme choices we've just

looked at in detail. Labelling just the parts of speech in narrative tells us nothing about unfolding texture of this kind; just as it tells us almost nothing about what happened to Helena and her loves, and almost nothing about the way she engages God in her prayer.

- Marked Theme orienting to time
As an eighteen-year-old. I met a young man in his twenties.

- Unmarked Themes orienting to people
    He was working in a top security structure.
    It was the beginning of a beautiful relationship.
    We even spoke about marriage.
    A bubbly, vivacious man [[who beamed out wild energy]].
    Sharply intelligent.
    Even if he was an Englishman,
    he was popular with all the 'Boere' Afrikaners.
    And all my girlfriends envied me.

- Marked Theme re-orienting to time
    Then one day he said

- Unmarked Themes re-orienting to people
    he was going on a 'trip'.
    'We won't see each other again...
    maybe never ever again.'

As we've just illustrated, functional grammar makes use of both class and function labels and thus provides an excellent forum for considering the merits of conventional and "new-fangled" labelling in grammar analysis. We know from pioneering research by Geoff Williams and Joan Rothery (Williams 2000) that function labels are no problem for students, beginning in infants school. At the same time, we have to acknowledge the fact that the new labels are threatening to many teachers and parents, especially those who haven't studied grammar of any kind in their own experience of schooling. So much

money has been withdrawn from education in Australia, especially public education, over the past 20 years that resources for introducing new ideas to teachers are negligible. Governments fund the development of new syllabi across subject areas; but they're not prepared to fund the in-service training required for teachers to implement them. Functional grammar is not the problem; Australia has a wealth of expertise and experience to draw on as far as getting functional terminology up and running in schools is concerned. The problem is funding, and behind this the shameful anti-intellectual, anti-academic attitudes to education which make it impossible to cash in the innovations for which we are internationally renowned. It's a national disgrace when new knowledge which has the potential to be of immense benefit has to be suppressed, because we're not prepared to invest in it. It's a familiar story — and of course where we don't invest, someone else will, and take advantage elsewhere of something that could have given "Aussie Aussie Aussie Oi! Oi! Oi! " land the edge in an ever more competitive world — a post-colonial economy where knowledge is the resource we need to win medals instead of just stumbling along with information we import from overseas.

One final point I'd like to make about grammar, before moving on, is that we need to keep an eye on what testing does with conventional grammar as it is reintroduced to schools. Traditionally, school grammar has been used to police the ways in which students use language. It gave rise to rules — such as...

It's wrong to carelessly split infinitives.
A preposition is something you should never end a sentence with.
And you must never begin a sentence with a conjunction.

The way in which students write and speak was checked against these rules, even though they don't have much to do with the way people actually use their language. I broke every one of them as I

spelled them out above, and used perfectly grammatical English to do so. What these rules actually ended up doing was evaluating written language as right and spoken language as wrong, and worse than this, evaluating middle class Anglo educated English as right and working class, migrant and Aboriginal English as wrong.

Over time the rules were expanded to include things like injunctions against so-called double negatives and a distinction between singular and plural in second person pronouns. So that when Jeff Fenech, the former boxing champion from Marrickville, said *If you don't get no bums on seats you don't get paid or I love yous all* his dialect of inner west migrant English became a target of derision for some — a measure of his lack of education, stupidity, laziness, illogicality or whatever. At the same time it endeared him to others as a kind of working class hero, a battler succeeding against the odds. But in fact, Jeff's negatives are no more double than those in standard English; it's just that he uses the determiner *no* where standard speakers use *any*. In neither case does the second negative cancel the first one out; in both cases the second negative simply flags the domain of the negation. Putting this more technically, in both dialects the negative Finite function controls the form of indefinite determiners in the scope of the argument:

non-standard If you don't get no bums on seats (nowhere)...
standard   If you don't get any bums on seats (anywhere)...

Similarly, there's nothing lazy or illogical about Jeff's distinction between *you* and *yous*. He systematically uses *you* to address one person and *yous* to address more than one (e.g. a crowd of fans), a distinction every English speaker made when we still had *thou* and *you* in our pronoun system (as a glance at Shakespeare reveals). Standard English dropped the distinction; Jeff maintains it, that's all. Even if we were misguided enough to apply logicality as a measure, then Jeff's

usage would turn out to be more logical than that of standard speakers, not less.

Now, my point here is that my own children have grown up in Marrickville speaking this dialect of English. And they have parents who can point out to them when to use it and when not. But I don't want them discriminated against for the suburb they grew up in when they get it wrong, any more than I'd want any child to be treated in this prejudicial way.

Over time, prescriptive rules of the kind I'm describing lost their grounding in traditional grammar, as people stopped learning what traditional grammar was. The rules mutated into nonsense, such as the following:

Never end a sentence with a proposition.
Avoid the passive tense.

As we've seen, it's preposition, not proposition; but when no one understands the meaning of a conventional term like preposition even though they might have heard of it, then rule turns to farce. Similarly, there's no such thing as a passive tense; there's active and passive voice, and past, present and future tense. Even where we tidy things up, and come up with injunctions like "Vary your sentence beginnings" and "Avoid the passive voice" we're still left with rules that don't make sense as we move from one genre to another. In many genres sentence beginnings (i.e. Themes) are relatively constant, and passive voice is used precisely to achieve this effect. Rhetoric of this uninformed order is worse than useless, since it's not based on relevant understandings of grammar in relation to genre.

I'm reminded here of a recent debacle reported on Channel Nine's *A Current Affair* —"The Affect/Effect Affair". A teacher was confused about which of *affect* and *effect* was the noun or verb (it's *affect* verb, *effect* noun by the way, except for one formal meaning of *effect*

"succeed in causing to happen"), or was perhaps unable to recognise the noun or verb in the sentence he was policing. He marked the student wrong, suggesting *affect* for *effect* or vice versa (I can't recall which). Anyhow, as it turned out, the student had been right; the teacher got it wrong. Indignant, the student dobbed the teacher in to the Department of Education and the media, with *A Current Affair* running the story in their 6:30–7:00 evening slot. "What on earth is the world coming to when teachers don't know grammar anymore! " This story underlined for me the futility of suggesting that conventional terminology be used instead of functional terminology in a system where conventional terminology is scarcely understood at all.

Traditionally then, conventional terminology became an instrument of prejudice and as I look over current tests and grammar exercises from the public and private sectors in NSW I find evidence of precisely this form of discrimination coming round again. At the beginning of a new millennium we can't afford to allow this kind of grammar teaching to rise up again. We have to be more careful. Conventional terminology is next to useless as far as thinking about genres is concerned; it doesn't help you master the social processes you need to get through school and into the workforce. But it's not likely it's going to just sit around doing nothing in schools; it will tend to be used — in the ways it used to be used — as the instrument of prejudice I've just described. This is worse than shameful; it's a violation of human rights. Human rights conventions, not grammar conventions, are the conventions we should all have kept in mind.

4 Controversy

Throughout the phases of research I'm discussing here, our work has been controversial. It challenged and continues to challenge current understandings of teaching and learning in relation to literacy teaching and learning across the curriculum, across sectors. In one

sense this testifies to innovation — change is never comfortable, especially where it involves retraining in a system that does not allocate resources for retraining. Change in this kind of environment frightens people. That's understandable enough. At the same time, over the years I have been struck by the vehemence of the opposition, which has often seemed out of proportion to the suggestions we were making. Buttons were pushed and people went over the top, in public, in ways that probably surprised even themselves. I'm not talking about insignificant altercations here. People lost their jobs over these ideas, and where they didn't have to work in extremely stressful work environments in which their contributions were not valued and in which many worthwhile practices that were proposed were actively undermined. Such is life, I suppose. But it always seemed to me there must be something deeper going on.

To explore this a little I'd like to draw on some relevant sociology and cultural studies — on the work of Basil Bernstein and Anne Cranny-Francis in particular, since these are the two scholars who have influenced me most deeply as far as unravelling these issues is concerned. Neither are easy theoreticians to work with, for complementary reasons. Bernstein's work on the sociology of education is highly theoretical, with only occasional exemplification. I struggle to understand him until I can ground his ideas in the day to day issues and arguments I'm involved in, and then, eureka, so much is revealed. Cranny-Francis on the other hand embeds her theory deeply in her readings of the discourse she's deconstructing, so much so that it takes me a real effort of interpretation to abstract the theory from the readings and deploy it in adjacent sites. But once I've done so, once again the effect is illuminating, searing deconstruction — as I'll try and demonstrate here.

First Bernstein (1975, 1990, 1996). Almost uniquely among sociologists, Bernstein makes a place for language in his theory — as part of the materialisation of the social order across modalities. His particular focus was on education, and the relation of social class to

success and failure in school. The insights which I found most revealing have to do with his suggestion that ongoing struggles over curriculum and pedagogy in schools were in fact class struggles between two dominant fractions of the middle class, which he refers to as the old and new middle class. In his own words (my formatting)...

The basic fractions of the middle class which interested me were...

➤ that fraction which reproduced itself through ownership or control of capital in various forms [old middle class]

➤ and that fraction which controlled not capital but dominant and dominating forms of communication [new middle class].

The latter group's power lies in its control over the transmission of critical symbolic systems: essentially through control over *various* forms of public education and through control over what Bourdieu calls the symbolic markets. [CCCIII:17]

Which means of course that in spite of rhetoric to the contrary, curriculum and pedagogy evolving from this struggle will be in the specialised interests of fractions of middle class students:

The major argument of the paper, then, is that conflicting pedagogies have their origins within the fractions of the middle class and so an unreflecting institutionalisation of either pedagogy will not be to the advantage of the lower working class. [Bernstein 1975: 19]

By either pedagogy, Bernstein is referring to traditional and progressive pedagogy, which he associates with the old and new middle class respectively. For Bernstein, traditional pedagogy is a visible pedagogy — the teacher is an authority (an authoritarian at worst) and it is clear what is being learned and what the criteria are for its evaluation; progressive pedagogy is an invisible pedagogy — the teacher is benevolent, encouraging students in their pursuit of thematic interests and rewarding them when they make progress with the things she judges

them ready for. Traditional pedagogy is associated with traditional school grammar teaching; progressive pedagogy is associated with no grammar teaching (referred to euphemistically by its gurus as "grammar at point of need", but we know from experience that this means no grammar at all).

"old middle class"
    <u>traditional</u> pedagogy ('visible')
    ➤ authoritarian
    ➤ step by step progress
    ➤ explicit criteria for assessment

"new middle class"
    <u>progressive</u> pedagogy ('invisible')
    ➤ benevolent
    ➤ pursuit of interests (themes)
    ➤ implicit criteria for assessment

Now it stands to reason that if one is entering this struggle, then sparks will fly. We had to weather a double whammy since our pedagogy built on some of the strengths of both traditional and progressive programs; it was not unusual to be attacked by progressives as traditionalists and by traditionalists as progressives in the same day. Neither the old nor new middle class were too impressed with where we were coming from. On top of this, our programs involved explicit knowledge about language (KAL as our colleagues in Britain call it; Carter 1990) in relation to both grammar and genre. For traditionalists KAL was fine, but we were using the wrong kind of KAL; we should have stuck with the tried and true. For progressives KAL was out of order; their complete misunderstanding of language development entailed a commitment to the idea that metalanguage was an impediment to or had a negligible effect on language learning. Small wonder then that time and again all hell broke loose — in the 80s

mainly over genre, in the 90s mainly over functional grammar.

I think our problem here was that alongside our colleagues in the DSP we were dedicated to reflectively institutionalising a literacy pedagogy that was in the interests of working class, migrant and indigenous students. And our own varied backgrounds reflected this. Far more often than not I was the only academic, the only linguist, the only male, the only heterosexual, the only Anglo (apparently; my Celtic genes are shuddering), the only Protestant or the only middle class person in a team of language educators developing practices informed by a functional model of language — and I'm a migrant myself, who arrived in Australia on a very hot day in January 1977 after growing up in tiny Anglo–Irish fishing village in Canada where my Dad worked as a marine biologist before taking me to Ottawa in my teenage years. Glancing round it was easy to see that everyone in our team was dislocated somehow — by class, ethnicity, gender, generation, migration, whatever. We were a new force that neither the old nor new middle class had confronted before, and we had a powerful new technology, functional linguistics, to put to work in the interests of non–mainstream students. We were brave and tough and we rocked the boat and took the flak and did manage to turn things round. I think this was a remarkable episode in the history of language education, one that would more than repay analysis by sociology or cultural studies or whoever else is interested in real positive change — as opposed to those who treat deconstruction as cynical critique designed to mock and undermine and in effect reaffirm the indomitable power of the hegemonic status quo in the face of what they denigrate as hopelessly naïve sorties such as ours.

Basil Bernstein died while I was writing up this paper, and on behalf of all my colleagues I want to thank him here for the extraordinary insight he's given us over the years. I like to think that one way his ideas will live on and grow is through our work, and that whatever we achieve will honour him in one small measure in relation to

all that he deserves. Thanks then to a special soul-mate — much loved, sorely missed, always remembered. Rapacious wit; scintillating intellect; endearing humanity — a truly adorable and deeply wounded seer. Bye–bye Basil. I dedicate this paper to the memory of you.

Cranny–Francis is an Australian scholar, who works in Critical and Cultural Studies at Macquarie University. In the paper I'm drawing on here she is examining the development of Cultural Studies as a discipline, and its evolution in the English Department at Macquarie in particular, culminating with its establishment as a distinct thriving department in a separate division from English over time. In particular she is concerned with the nature of overdetermined reactions such as those I discussed above, which she deconstructs as the paranoia of a secret revealed (my formatting):

Paranoia is often said to be the result of powerlessness, helplessness in the face of forces controlling one's life that are unknown and unknowable — the suits of *The X-Files*, the 'alien within' of 50s McCarthyism. [But] In this case study English should not have felt helpless or powerless as it enjoys major institutional support... [Rather] this paranoia ... is the paranoia of a secret revealed.

The biggest secret of traditional English, after all, is that there is a secret — which is, that English is not the transparent, politically innocent practice it often represents itself to be. Of course, lots of people know this secret... but the crucial point is that the secret is not officially acknowledged.

Paranoia can be read as a symptom... But paranoia is more than that. As I hope this case study suggests, it is damaging, hurtful, and can be consuming for those trapped within it. It is not simply ridiculous that English is hoist on the petard of its own disciplinary secret — any more than it is ridiculous that we, in Australia, saw a swing to the right in the last national election as the result of paranoia deliberately created by the conservative government in power. And the fact that the paranoia elicited in this case can also be traced to a well-known, but not officially acknowledged, secret — the systemic abuse of indigenous peoples — does not make it any less effective or real in its consequences.

In conclusion, then, what this study of Cultural Studies and institutional paranoia shows is... that paranoia is scary... it's a disturbing symptom of the burden of a secret that cannot be officially acknowledged to exist, even when it is public knowledge. It militates against the recognition of difference, and of the specificity and plurality of knowledges, and it eats the souls of those who experience it. [Cranny-Francis to appear]

From this ground-breaking work we can abstract a "secrets and lies" analysis that is extremely revealing as far as over the top reactions are concerned. Basically what is being argued here is that power is always flawed; it is never complete. But to sustain power, power likes to naturalise itself as complete, pervasive, systematic, wholistic and so on — the grand narrative, the totalising system and all that goes with it. To do this, power has to lie — to cover up its secrets. And the bigger the secret, the bigger the lie.

In Australia for example, two of the biggest lies have to do with Indigenous peoples. One is terra nullius, the idea that when the Europeans arrived there was no one here; the secret of course is Indigenous peoples. Another scorching lie has to do with the stolen generations — the idea that they were removed from their families for their own good; the secret here of course is extermination (I won't use the term genocide since that would imply that Indigenous people were treated like people, which they clearly were *not*).

➢ **terra nullius**
   [secret: ...Aboriginal people]

➢ **stolen generations were removed for their own good**
   [secret: ...extermination]

I've found it very productive to apply this analysis to various dimensions of controversy around the work of the Sydney School. The analysis reveals how buttons were pushed, when we weren't really

aware we were pushing them. We exposed secrets, giving the lie to what people in powerful positions were doing. This subverts power and leads to highly charged outbursts by people threatened with something to lose. Jay Lemke (1995) refers to these secret/lie antipathies as disjunctions and has written insightfully about the strength and fragility of power's investiture in them. Here's a few more secrets and lies which we found exploding around us over the years:

> **progressive education is good for children**
  [secret: ...was good for new middle class primary school children]

> **universities are for producing knowledge**
  [secret: ...reproducing knowledge]

> **tenure protects us from politicians**
  [secret: ...from each other]

> **formal linguistics is about language**
  [secret: ...about linguistics]

> **sociolinguistics is about social variation**
  [secret: ...about formal variation]

> **descriptive linguistics saves endangered languages**
  [secret: ...archives dying languages]

> **traditional grammar promotes literacy**
  [secret: ...promotes discrimination]

If you're involved in any of these secrets you'll recognise immediately what I mean by pushing buttons. In my own department, functional linguists' success in dealing with the language people really use and the range of applications deriving from these understandings gave the lie to both descriptive linguistics and sociolinguistics — so much so that when Halliday retired an extremely emotional struggle took

place as a result of which the Faculty decided to put an end to the Department's functionalist orientation, and return linguistics to the sanctity of the disjunctions of mainstream American paradigms. One of the rallying cries during these debates was that the Department had been taken over by teachers! "We had to get back to doing linguistics", it was claimed. Now in fact, if anyone was guilty of bringing too many educators into the Department it was me, and looking over my records only two (out of ten) of my graduate students at the time were working in educational linguistics; and of the research group I led developing grammar and genre research, only Joan Rothery and I were working in education, and neither of us worked exclusively there. What my colleagues were reacting to was the exposure generated by the success and enthusiasm of our work in education at the time; for them the sky WAS falling. The Faculty bought the "Chicken Little" argument and the "University of Sydney School" was routed — with almost all of my colleagues landing safely on their feet elsewhere (making us the "Metropolitan Sydney School"). I hung on, in a sickening drama of the kind outlined by Andrew Riemer with reference to English in his confessional *Sandstone Gothic*. An all too familiar story in Academe — and as ever, a shameful waste of resources that we can't afford to lose. Twelve years down the track, few would argue peace has ever broken out; it's just not that clime.

One lesson I think we've learned from these explosions is that we need to cover our backs wherever we are giving the lie to work our colleagues do, no matter how compatible this work might seem in theory. As a rule of thumb, the bigger the gap between some group's secret and lie, the more dangerous that group will be. I believe that currently the group with the largest gap is descriptive linguistics. This group is hegemonic in Australian linguistics, with former staff and students from the ANU controlling all linguistic programs in the country with the exceptions of those at Monash, Macquarie and UNSW. Their mission is to describe the undescribed "exotic" languages of the region,

including Australia, South-East Asia and the Pacific. The theory they use to do this is for the most part Bloomfieldian structuralism, with an occasional side-dressing of American formalism where aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of a language seem relevant to not quite current American debates. In their hearts, large numbers of these people are dedicated to the communities whose language they are working on, and more often than not these communities and languages are under threat. But as far as I am aware, descriptivists are generally unable to put their linguistics to work to save the languages they are working on, since their theory is adjudicated not with respect to the needs of these communities but with respect to power relations in linguistic theory deriving from another time   (Bloomfield) or another place   (Chomsky). Many work tirelessly on behalf of their communities in roles other than their professional linguistic one, and make worthwhile contributions. But the needs of these communities don't rebound on their linguistics, because their linguistics is not put at risk in relation to these needs. It simply does not engage.

The result of this is a soul destroying gap between the secret and lie. The lie is that these linguists are saving endangered languages; the secret is that in fact they are simply archiving them, and not much of them at that — descriptions tend to be relatively strong on phonology and morphology, weaker on syntax, weaker still on discourse and context. The things that really matter for saving a language are the very last things described   (if addressed at all), because American formalism doesn't focus on the discourse and context levels. It's not unheard of for these linguists to end up the last speaker of the languages they've dedicated their lives to. Make no mistake, this is a painful process. It wounds these linguists deeply. And anyone giving the lie to this kind of work is more than likely to be greeted with a paranoid response. All of the margins of my own department — functional linguistics, sociolinguistics, and most recently applied linguistics   (including the very people foolish enough to have turned the department over to the

ANU) — have suffered from the paranoia of this group over the past 12 years. In Cranny—Francis's terms, their secret is obvious to everyone, but cannot be officially acknowledged and addressed, and so eats the souls of those in thrall.

5 Dialogue

As we've seen, the Sydney School involved itself in some important dialogues, between functional linguistics and education, and with sociology and cultural studies as far as the politics of literacy is concerned. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and social semiotics also had a role to play, especially as far as work on ideology, subjectivity and multi—modality were concerned.

My feeling is that the kind of dialogues in which we engaged were once again something special, that I'm not sure had taken place in language education over the years. My take on this has to do with a distinction I draw between interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary work. Interdisciplinary work I characterise as involving two or more disciplines, often their centres. These tackle a problem by dividing it up and sharing it out to relevant expertise. Findings then get pooled together via some kind of shared inter—language, which might or might not be the meta—language of one of the participating disciplines. This kind of enterprise might be characterised as exploring differences. I may be wrong, but I think it reflects the relationship between Halliday's functional linguistics and Bernstein's sociology of education around language in education projects in London in the 60s.

interdisciplinary (exploring differences):

> ➤ 2 or more disciplines (centres)
> ➤ partition problem
> ➤ separate to work on different bits

➤ get together to share findings

– using a shared *lingua franca'* (meta language)

By transdisciplinary work I mean work involving two or more disciplines, more often than not their margins. In these projects, the research group establishes shared goals and teams up to accomplish tasks. Overlapping expertise is the key to success and at their best participants become bi- or multilingual as far as metalanguage is concerned. Where this is successful, there is an ongoing recycling of practice into theory into practice. This kind of enterprise might be characterised as negotiating futures, and reflects the relationship between functional linguistics and education practised by the Sydney School. This involved educators learning about linguistics, and linguists learning about education; the more fluent the teacher/linguists we produced, the more productive our interventions.

transdisciplinary (negotiating futures):

➤   2 or more disciplines (margins)
➤   establish shared goals
➤   team up to accomplish tasks
➤   ongoing recycling of practice into theory into practice into...

– featuring bi/multilingualism (co–articulation)

As far as the dialogue between Bernstein and Halliday is concerned I think this evolved as a genuine transdisciplinary enterprise in the 80s in Sydney, both at Macquarie University through Hasan's work on semantic variation (Hasan 1990) and at Sydney University through educational linguistic work on class struggle, pedagogy and curriculum (Christie 1998). As far as the Sydney School was concerned, covering the same ground from different points of view was critical. For

linguists like myself, this meant interpreting pedagogy linguistically as language development and curriculum as grammar and genre; for their part, our colleagues from education learned to read language development as pedagogy and grammar and genre as a tool for factoring out curricular goals. The stronger the intrusion into one another's fields, the more we learned from one another. By covering the same ground with a different gaze, and treading lightly on sensitive toes, we learned how to move literacy teaching along.

What I think I've learned from two generations of language in education work in London and Sydney from the 60s to present is that transdisciplinary initiatives can be more powerful enterprises than interdisciplinary ones. The cost of multilingualism and overlapping expertise is indeed high. It requires dedicated researchers prepared to learn a new trade. But in a post-Fordist economy this is not an unexpected price to pay; retraining is part of every worker's life now, and we can take advantage of this in transdisciplinary action research projects in and around Academe.

One final but absolutely critical point I'd like to add at this stage is that of accountability. In our post-colonial world, we need to keep in mind that one of the key partners in dialogue has to be the people theories are trying to serve. And this gives us a stark choice as far as the development of our theories is concerned:

> will we put our theories on the line for these people and rework and replace theory until we get something that works? [or]

> will we allow our theories to be adjudicated by regimes of truth deriving from another time, another place in academe?

In modernity, scholars' attitudes to these issues have been coloured by the scholarly distance argument — the idea that we need to keep a safe distance from practice in order to make sure our theories aren't too dedicated to be of general interest. And I think it may well be the case that it is simply modernist theories that are in fact quite

brittle in this respect. Their grand narratives and totalising systems make them vulnerable to the messy mush of goings-on that characterise language in social life. Modernity's urge has always been to probe beneath surface flux to find the idealised minimalised essence of things, which has to be modelled as astringently and economically as possible (the simpler the better so they say). Idealised theories of this kind are fragile ones; in formal linguistics they have become so rarefied that they aren't even about anything that speakers would recognise as language any more.

But theories don't have to be like this. It's possible to design theories that engage with surface flux and thrive. In linguistics the 20th century produced two outstanding exemplars of theories of this kind — Ken Pike's tagmemic theory, dedicated to bible translation around the world, and Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, dedicated to a range of interventions in language development across sectors. These two theories share some common properties from which we have a great deal to learn. For one thing they're extravagant — both are models of language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour; for another they're multiperspectival — both offer a variety of ways of gazing at a text from one module to another; in addition they're fractal theories — redeploying theoretical concepts across levels and modalities so that tools learned somewhere in the theory can be used again elsewhere. Beyond this both theories are 'politicised' ones — historically involving Christianity and Marxism respectively; they are materialist theories, designed to engage.

Theories like this don't have to be afraid of language; in fact the more discourse they tackle, the more they grow. Scholarly distance isn't an issue here; if you stop using theories of this kind they tend to atrophy and die. So in our post-modern world I don't think we need to be afraid of social accountability any more. We know how to make theories that thrive on application and there's no reason why we can't keep designing better and better ones. We don't have to wait to

discover the whole truth before intervening, as modernity prescribes. We can dive in and struggle. That's what research has to be about if research universities are to survive.

6 Attrition: "homicide — life on the streets"

Here and there above I've referred to the price of struggle. And I'd like to say some more about that here, since over the past few years some of our key agencies have suffered badly — some would argue in direct relation to their success implementing programs inspired by the Sydney School. I'll deal with just three sites here, by no means an exhaustive account.

Case 1. As noted above the Metropolitan East Region's Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) was critical to our work in the late 80s and early 90s. The program itself was a federally funded initiative of Gough Whitlam's Labor government in the 70s. In order to get federal funding to Catholic schools serving working class and migrant communities Whitlam had to agree to support federal funding for private schools across the board, however little some needed that support. By way of compensating in part for this, the DSP was established with dedicated resources for needy schools. DSP regional centres developed as independent agencies as far as the development of relevant pedagogy and curriculum were concerned, and so were able to trial our ideas free from interference from the NSW Department of Education and Training (which has always been hostile to our work). Tragically, by the mid-90s, NSW Department of Education and Training (DET) gained control of DSP funding and began a systematic program of dismantling centres and disbursing funding through the system in such a way that only trickles filtered through to needy schools — too little to be used for initiatives, too little even to support existing programs — just enough perhaps for a temporary band-aid solution here and there. The point of this was to extinguish the DSP as an independent agency,

and bring control of funding and programming back to DET where DET had always felt that it belonged. So where once we had two complementary voices, now we have one. One effect of this was that $2,000,000 worth of research into secondary school and workplace literacy (the Write it Right Project) was derailed and buried (theory, practice, in-service materials, classroom materials, reports and all), and the WIR Project has accordingly had a negligible impact on literacy teaching compared to what it would have had had the DSP been left alone. Let's call this "centralisation".

Case 2. Alongside this DSP research, my students and colleagues were heavily involved in pedagogy and curriculum development in the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service, an agency within DET. AMES ran the Adult Migrant Education Program, which is funded by the federal Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA). This program is designed to teach English intensively to migrant Australians on their arrival from overseas. The NSW AMES developed curricula for this program as part of their participation in Sydney School and were actively engaged in the production of first class materials for teachers and students and in an extensive in–service program for their staff. This curriculum was adopted as the national standard, and has recently been taken up in Canada for a comparable service I am told. Another remarkable success story. A couple of years ago DIMA decided that it could save money by out-sourcing the AMEP. As a result the NSW AMES lost 70% of its teaching to private colleges (over 500 teachers lost their jobs, although many were picked up by the expanded private sector). The AMES inspired curriculum remains in place, but what has been lost is an agency with sufficient resources to continue developing this curriculum, prepare materials for it and to in-service it. In effect, the AMEP program has been gutted. In the short term it will be cheaper for DIMA to run, but in the medium term it can only decline. Let's call this out–sourcing.

Case 3. During the 90s, as a result of Carolyn McLuhlich's

leadership at the Australian Museum, students and colleagues became involved in another exciting series of literacy initiatives. Working in the Museum's expanding education division, the role of language in communicating information in exhibitions came under scrutiny — including its technicality, abstraction and general reader friendliness, and its interaction with images and objects on display. Internationally recognised guidelines for text panels were developed, literacy issues became a central concern for developing exhibitions and extensive materials informed by a functional model of language were prepared for visiting school children. Another inspirational development. Over the past year however, the Museum has had a large dose of economic rationalism and one of the main areas ear-marked as a "non-core" activity has been the Education Division, and the people working on these literacy initiatives in particular. This in a climate where their work is acclaimed around the world and communication with the public (interpretation) is elsewhere funded as an essential and growing dimension of museum work. Let's call this down-sizing.

Centralisation. Outsourcing. Downsizing. The effects of economic rationalism in our post-Fordist economy where the things that are hardest to measure are the first to go — whatever they are actually worth. Let's call this homicide — life on the streets. Verdict — excellence greeted with destruction. A staggeringly destructive syndrome across sectors. Another national disgrace.

No sector is immune. It's not hard to recognise each of these motifs swinging into operation in the Faculty of Arts of this university. Centralisation — recently the Faculty has been flirting with the idea of giving Linguistics a monopoly on linguistics teaching, beginning with the teaching of functional grammar. But we need to be careful what kind of department we give a monopoly on teaching anything to. Before we do that it seems to me we need to go to that department and find out something about its margins because that's where we'll find the people with a genuine interests in the needs and interests of people outside.

Centres of disciplines are overwhelmingly inward looking; they don't look outside. But margins do get around — they need people to talk to after all, and their practical concerns tend to lead them astray. In the case of linguistics the Faculty needs to ask questions about the margins around descriptive linguistics — are the functional linguists happy, the sociolinguists, the applied linguists. If so, then we can be reasonably assured that we're dealing with an extroverted department that genuinely values non-mainstream work and which can therefore service the needs of the Faculty. If not, we'd better shy away, or we're going to find our students in other departments subjected to a whole lot of linguistics that isn't relevant and which they won't want to learn.

Outsourcing — recently throughout the Faculty there's been a lot of discussion around flexible learning, which includes proposals about putting courses on the net and offering programs and even degrees electronically with a minimum of face to face communication. It's thought this will save money and attract students whose life styles don't encourage on-site involvement in tertiary education. OK, fine. Sounds interesting. There's far too much hype about this new IT modality, but it does have something to offer. We need to pause however and consider how far we want this to go. If I put my functional grammar course on the net what will happen to it? Will the University eventually sell it to universities elsewhere that don't have courses in my area of specialisation? And once they do that, what's to stop them trading my course for something we don't have? Or simply buying in programs we don't have? Or discovering that buying these programs in is cheaper than hiring me? Then what's to stop our students enrolling as e-students in programs offered by Oxbridge and the Ivy league? Will we really need a University of Sydney at all when Australians can get a better degree elsewhere? I don't think these scenarios are too fanciful, once we take the brutal economics of out-sourcing into account. Especially in the most anti-academic country in the world, which doesn't understand the difference between knowledge and information,

and doesn't appreciate the need for knowledge which is produced locally in response to local concerns — in this kind of country we've got a real crisis on our hands. We can't afford to risk out-sourcing ourselves out of existence — a not too distant gleam it often seems in management's eyes.

Down-sizing — another recent exercise in this University has been the response to the call for proposals for institutional strengths coming from Pro-Vice Chancellor Siddle. Along with many others, I dutifully prepared one of these, based on the language in education work of my colleagues in the Sydney School. We're a thriving group unified by political commitment and a grounding theory, but on my initial guesstimates we don't yet have the pride of professors we need to make it over the line. Hope I'm wrong, but I reckon we're going to get pipped by collections of high powered academics working on an interdisciplinary not a transdisciplinary basis. And if we're not an institutional strength, then what are we? A weakness? And if we're a weakness, what happens to us when the axe falls? Do we shrink? Do we get excised? Do we get marginalised out of productive working environments — out of existence perhaps? These strengths contests are two-edged swords. Great to win, diabolical to lose. My feeling is that universities cannot afford to lose their margins. Because it is precisely in the margins that the possibilities for transdisciplinary work are strongest, and precisely there that universities are most likely to engage directly with the needs of the community. If we retreat to cores, we'll lose our ability to negotiate possible futures, and as anachronisms we cannot survive.

To conclude this section I'd like to caution against blaming economic rationalism or the global world order for our problems — even if I may have been guilty already myself of seeming to do just that. Economic rationalism is not itself the agent of destructive centralisation, out-sourcing and down-sizing. It's the tool. It's used by people as the reason for doing things to other people. We need to constantly ask who

is using economic rationalism against us and why. Why the DSP, why AMES, why the Education Division at Australian Museum? Why? In whose interests? Who's gaining? Who's threatened? What kinds of power were these agencies giving the lie to? And we need to focus our energies there, on those people, and make sure we stop them tearing the social fabric of this nation to pieces in ways we can't easily repair.

7   One last secret and lie

Time to wind down. I knew of course that delivering this lecture in Australia meant that the very first question I'd receive would have to do with my own secrets and lies. So I thought I'd better out myself and come clean on this, insofar as it is possible to deconstruct oneself (I know there are limitations). The best I could come up with was that systemic functional linguistics (SFL), the functional linguistic theory that informs the Sydney School, presents itself as an ideologically committed form of social action. This sounds like a secret, I know; but I think it's actually our lie (SFL is a bit sneaky in this respect). It's more or less officially acknowledged that we're some kind of neo–Marxist linguistics, designed by Halliday to materialise language as base and context as social semiotic superstructure — a model that can be used to intervene in language development around the world. The genre theory I introduced to you at the beginning of the paper has its origins after all in the language planning group of the British Communist Party in the 50s, and is affine in critical ways to the explicitly Marxist linguistics of Bakhtin. This is not a secret, and linguists like Halliday have paid a heavy price for it early on in their career. But it is the lie. The secret, I think, is that SFL is linguistics. It's a technical theory of language and all that that entails, however backgrounded from practice this secret tends to be.

➤   **SFL is an ideologically committed form of social action**

[secret: ...is linguistics]

As linguistics, SFL features a constant expansion of its technicality into new domains in order to intervene more effectively in social life (work on new languages, new social contexts, new modalities and so on); at the same time this work is accompanied by an ongoing deferral to the authority of its own technicality as it intervenes in language development across sectors. At worst, this might lapse into a self-validating imperial adventure, its mission to seek out and conquer new worlds, to boldly go where no ecosocial semiotician has gone before. At best, SFL can continue developing as an exciting dialectic of theory and practice, one informing the other, with practical pay-offs for the communities it is trying to serve. The key is probably reflexivity. Can we stand back far enough from what we're trying to do to minimise the gap between our secrets and lies? We'd better or we'll lose the plot.

There's probably a moral to all this. Something like "keep talking, with the very people who give the lie to what you do". And that's not hard to do in this fantastic country which adopted me 23 years ago. Irreverent Aussie souls will keep us honest — Oi! Oi! Oi! That's perhaps the one thing of which I can be very very sure.

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Constructing a Harmonious World:
Linguistic Studies on *The Analects of Confucius*

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【内容简介】

孔子 (551—479 B.C.) 是被联合国科教文组织确立的世界十大名人之一。他生活在2500多年以前,然而他的很多教诲对当今的世界仍然具有非常重要的意义,因为他的思想的产生是对他生活的那个时代的回应,而我们的世界跟他生活的时代有很多相似之处,比如犯罪率在上升,成百上千万人生活在贫困地区之中,地区性的战争和侵略时时发生。我们的世界是由具有不同文化背景的民族和人民构成的,他们具有不同的价值观念、不同的历史文化遗产、不同的社会制度。孔子的儒家学说在很大程度上代表了丰富的中国文化遗产。我们研究他的《论语》中的一些语言学特点,是期望帮助来自其他文化的人们更好地了解中国文化,促进不同文化之间的沟通和交流,以期建立一个更好的世界,一个充满希望和谐的世界。根据Halliday的观点,"要描述一个语篇,那就应该对它进行恰当地描述,这就意味着要使用语言学的理论和方法对它进行描述"(2002)。本文应用系统功能语言学的框架和方法探讨产生《论语》的"社会、历史及意识形态环境",这部伟大著作的语境特征、孔子主要思想的层次结构以及为实现他的思想所选择的词汇和语法的特点。论文还简要讨论了儒家学说对现在的中国和世界所具的观实意义。

0   Introduction

The Analects is a book collecting sayings mainly of Confucius and

also of a few famous scholars. The book was compiled by their disciples in the third century B.C., 200 years after Confucius passed away. Known as a great work of philosophy, representing the essence of Confucianism, *the Analects* has been studied in the past centuries from various perspectives, and for different purposes by both Chinese scholars and those of other countries. However, according to the nearly one million entries on the Internet, there have been few linguistic studies and none from the Systemic-Functional perspective. Halliday (2002: 4) points out "if a text is to be described at all, then it should be described properly; and this means by the theories and methods developed in linguistics". He has shown that all discourses, whether literary or non-literary, spoken or written, scientific or poetic, short or long, can be analyzed by applying the theories and methods of the Systemic Functional Linguistics model (Halliday 2002). We will show in this paper that this linguistic framework can also be applied to the revelation of some important semantic and linguistic features and of some basic ethics of *The Analects*. We shall first give a brief introduction to the social-cultural environment for the emergence of the book. Then our focus will be put on the linguistic analysis at the lexico–grammatical level of the book, through which we hope to disclose the main gist and characteristics of the book. Finally we shall discuss the significance of Confucius' values and ethics for present China and the world.

1   *The Analects*

1.1   Contextual features of the Analects
1.1.1   SFL framework

SFL regards language as a system of meaning potential realized by a system of three meta-functions constrained by the context of culture and context of situation (Halliday 1994). They are represented as five

levels. The relationship among the levels is that of realization with the level above realized by the level below: context of culture is realized by context of situation, which is realized by semantics, which is, in turn, realized by lexico–grammar, which is, finally, realized by phonology in speaking or graphology in writing, as shown bellow (Martin 1992; Eggins 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004):

Context of culture

Context of situation

Semantics (Meaning)

Lexico–grammar (Wording)

Phonology (Speaking)
Graphology (Writing)
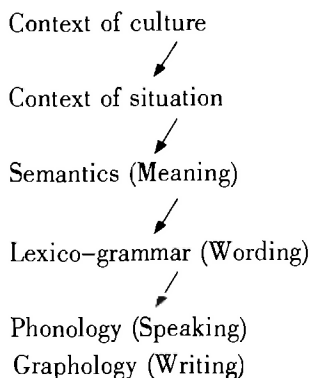
Fig.1 Levels of Language and its Cultural and Situational Context

1.1.2 Social contextual features of *The Analects* and the pur- pose of the book

Halliday defines "context of culture" as "the socio-historical and ideological environment engendering, and engendered by, the text" (2002: 151). Then what was the socio-historical and ideological environment for the engencering of *The Analects*, which appeared in the third century B.C.?

Confucius lived in the Spring and Autumn period (770 — 476 B.C.), an age when the country was split into many small states and thrown into a moral chaos. Wars broke out frequently among these states and the "Jungle's law" was predominant. Common values were widely rejected and Rites, which had been well established in the Western

Zhou Dynasty (1100 — 771 B.C.), were simply disregarded. Under this social environment, many schools emerged, all intending to carry out reform   schemes   and   restore   peace   and   order   in   the   society. Confucianism was one of the schools contending to become dominant so that the rulers may adopt and implement it in their states. The time after Confucius is known as the Warring States Period   (475 — 221 B.C.), which was even worse — there were more wars and the principles of Rites   were   totally   destroyed   (Xu 2000). It was under this socio – historical and ideological circumstance that *The Analects* came into being. The purpose of the book was to help build up a harmonious society in which the Rites would be restored and order established (ibid.).

The issue as to what kind of the socio-historical and ideological environment engendered by the book will be dealt with later in the paper.

1.1.3   Features of situational context of *The Analects*

The context of culture is a rather abstract and generalized concept; it represents an abstraction of social activities, which is, as shown in Fig.1, embodied or realized by the features of context of situation. A discourse is a form for actual social communication, which takes place in a certain situation in a certain culture. So in analyzing a discourse, we should take into consideration the variables of the context of situation: the **Field**, the **Tenor**, and the **Mode** (Halliday & Hasan 1985; Huang 2001: 72). Specifically, the variable **Field** refers to the subject matter or what activities are going on; **Tenor** the interpersonal relations involved; and **Mode**: "what part the language is playing" (ibid.). Applying the SF theoretical elaboration, we find the following contextual features in *The Analects*:

Field: delivering Confucius' philosophical beliefs on morality, politics, education, family, and comportment of the ideal man;

Tenor: Confucius or other Masters (who used to be his disciples)

and his/their disciples, the former with authoritative moral power over the latter, the latter with awe and respect for the former; sometimes their relations were closer as if they were good friends. Very often, the receiver seems to be the reader, with the relation between Confucius and the reader being the former imparting knowledge and the latter receiving it;

Mode: classical oral Chinese taken down in characters in the form of monologist sayings or statements by Confucius or other masters who were once his students, and sometimes dialogues between Confucius/other masters and his/their disciples.

From Figure 1, we know that these contextual features can be realized by lexico-grammatical features. Thus each of the contextual features is realized by a corresponding meta-function at the lexico-grammatical level (Halliday & Hasan 1985): Field by ideational function, Tenor by interpersonal and Mode by textual. Then how are these features realized linguistically or at the lexico–grammatical level in the book?

1.2   Features of lexico–grammar in *The Analects*
1.2.1   Structure

The book contains 20 chapters with 11,000 characters consisting mainly of Confucius' sayings or statements, or sayings of other masters who were once his students. From the surface, each saying seems to stand only by itself. However, when we examine the whole book, we find that all the sayings are connected by the motive of elaborating on the great Master's views on moral development, philosophy, education, politics, etc. Each chapter centers on one or several views.

1.2.2   Aspects of our study on features of meta–functions

Halliday (1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) states that every clause and every discourse construes three meta-functions, namely, ideational, interpersonal and textual at the lexico-grammatical level, which realize the context of situation. Ideational function is the function

of construing the world; interpersonal the function of enacting interpersonal relationships in the social world; and textual the function of organizing clauses into a coherent text by linguistic devices. Ideally, we should take a comprehensive study of all the functions utilized in creating the text. In practice, however, the choice of the functions for analysis depends very much on the purposes and the analysts' interests (Huang 2001), and sometimes on whether there is a feature foregrounded in the discourse (Halliday 2002). The analyst would often concentrate on the study of one or two of the meta-functions or even on some of the functional components (Halliday 1973; Huang 2001). In *The Analects*, one pattern and some words or characters that are repetitively present stand out as a dominant feature. Therefore in this paper we will first study this feature — repetition. Then we will discuss in brief the linguistic features of process, projection, mood and modality in *The Analects*.

1.2.3   The function of repetition in The Analects

There are two ways to achieve texture in a discourse: structural and non-structural. Structural features are manifested in the Theme-Rheme structure and the Information structure while non-structural features in Cohesion. Cohesive ties are linguistic devices linking the different clauses into a cohesive whole in order that the discourse will be coherent. There are various cohesive ties: reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction and lexical cohesion, each having its sub-divisions (Halliday 1994). Due to the limited space, we will not discuss them in detail. Here we will look at one particular lexical cohesive device — Repetition, which is foregrounded in this book.

The most frequently repeated pattern is 子曰: "x", which has been repeated 363 times. 子 stands for 孔子, 孔 being the family name; omitting it in the pattern shows that he was so well-known that it was not necessary to mention his family name. The repetition of the pattern establishes Confucius as a scholar of authority; therefore whatever he

teaches should be true. The most frequently repeated word or character is 仁, which has appeared 109 times. It can be said that it is the repetition of 仁 that binds the 20 chapters and individual sayings in this book. When discussing the function of repetition in poetry, Carter & Burto (1982) point out that "The language of poetry is not necessarily powerful and magic, but the powerful and magic effect of a poem can be achieved by means of lexical items, esp. by means of repetition". Very often repetition is an effective way for poets or writers to express their love or hatred, pleasure or grief, or to create a certain aura and even to reveal the theme of a poem. Though The Analects is not a poetic collection, yet the employment of the device of repetition has achieved similar effect — it is through the word 仁 which appears so frequently that Confucius successfully delivers the main message and central idea of the book — to love one's parents, to love one's other family members, to love one's friends, or as Confucius puts it — "爱人", or "love people" (Analects XII:22). This is the fundamental virtue of Confucianism. A few examples will suffice.

1) 子曰: "里仁为美。择不处仁, 焉得知? "(Analects:IV:1)
(The Master said: "It is beautiful to live amid ren. If you choose to be apart from ren, how will you gain wisdom?"*)

2) 子曰: "不仁者不可以久处约, 不可以常处乐。仁者安仁, 知者利仁。 " (Analects:IV:2)
(The master said: "Those without the quality of ren can't endure hardships, nor can they enjoy lasting happiness. Those with the quality of ren will be contented in practicing ren, and those with wisdom will be capable of using ren.)

3) 子曰: "苟志于仁矣, 无恶也。 "
(The master said: "When one truly aspires to practice ren, he will never do evils.)

But what are the means to attain 仁? Confucius states that it can

be attained by practicing礼, 义, 忠, 乐, 孝, 悌, 恕 and other related virtues, which are naturally the next most frequently repeated words or characters. For example, 礼 appears 66 times, 义, 10, 忠, 13, 乐, 19, 孝, 12, 悌, 5, 恕, 4, times. 礼 means rites, that is, to form an appropriate attitude towards one's ancestors, superiors, parents, elders, subjects and friends. It involves studying and mastering the ritual forms and rules of propriety through which "one expresses respect for superiors and enacts his role in society in such a way that he himself is worthy of respect and admiration. Neglecting ritual, or doing rituals incorrectly, demonstrated a moral anarchy or disorder of the most egregious kind" (Creel 1949). 义 refers to right conduct, morality, righteousness. This means that rather than pursue one's own selfish interests one should do what is right and what is moral. 忠 means loyalty to your ruler because he comes to the throne by the mandate of heaven. However, this does not mean a blind loyalty. Mencius, who developed Confucius' ideas later, states that the ruler who does not follow the practice of 仁 or is no longer benevolent, by the mandate of heaven, should be overthrown, which explains the phenomenon of one dynasty being replaced by another in Chinese history. 乐 means practicing traditional and solemn music and dance in order to become an ideal person or a gentleman with 德 or "virtue". "While rites show off social hierarchies, music unifies hearts in shared enjoyment" (Fingarette 1972). 孝 means filial piety, and悌, the love for one's younger brother and the respect for one's elder brother; 恕 means "forgiveness", which stresses the importance of "what you don't want yourself, don't do to others" (Analects XV:24).

Put in a systemic perspective, these words stand in a hierarchy of two levels: the upper level is 仁, which is the ultimate goal for human beings to attain; the lower level involves the development of the necessary qualities or means to attain or realize the goal. But there is still another level: the ways to attain these values or qualities. Confucius states that they should be attained by learning and by following the

good examples set up by the ancestors. One must cultivate oneself by learning six arts: ritual, music, archery, chariot–riding, calligraphy, and computation. The words standing for these two ways of acquiring the above –mentioned qualities are also frequently repeated. Learning or education is mentioned in 53 places and following the models of the ancestors in 22 places. Thus, repetition of key words at the three levels contributes, to a large degree, to establishing Confucius as a master of moral education and to elaborating on his basic philosophical moral doctrines, his ideal social model, and on the means to realize them. We may say that repetition is "a feature that is brought into prominence" in the book because "it relates to the meaning of the text as a whole" (Halliday 2002:98). The figures of repetition discussed above are summarized in Figure 2.

Patterns/words repeated	Number of times for repetition
子曰: "x"	363
仁 (humaneness)	109
礼 (rites)	66
乐 (music and dance)	19
忠 (loyalty)	13
孝 (filial piety)	12
义 (righteousness)	10
悌 (love of brothers)	5
恕 (forgiveness)	4

Fig 2 Figures of Repetition of Key Words

The realization relationship among the three levels is shown in Figure 3 below:
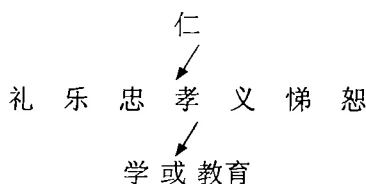
仁
/
礼　乐　忠　孝　义　悌　恕
/
学　或　教育

Fig 3　Realization Relationship among the Levels of Confucian Doctrine

1.2.4　Features of process, projection, mood and modality in *the Analects*

We have chosen Chapter 4 to study these four features to see how the variables of Field and Tenor are realized by ideational and interpersonal functions at the lexico -grammatical level, this chapter being the one dealing with the concept of 仁, the main doctrine of Confucius.

1.2.4.1　Dominance of verbal processes in the primary clauses

Halliday (1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) states that transitivity is the grammar to construe what is happening in the world, which is a grammar denoting six processes: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential. With regard to the processes appearing in Chapter 4 of *the Analects*, we find that **all the processes in the primary clauses are verbal,** following the pattern: 子曰: *"x."*, as exemplified by example 1). In other chapters occasionally there is another pattern: *a* 问 *b*, 子曰 *"x"*, as exemplified by

4) 孟懿子问孝, 子曰 :"x"(*Analects*:II:5)

[Menyizi **asks** (Confucius) (about) filial piety, Confucius said: "x"]

The dominance of the verbal process used in the primary clauses is an outstanding characteristic of the book, which establishes a particular relationship between a master and his disciple — the Master imparting knowledge to his disciples, or making statements of his moral principles,

implying that the job of a master or teacher is to offer explanations or
解惑 and the job of a student to seek truth from his master.

12.4.2 Types of clauses

Examining the forms of the sayings, we have discovered two types
of clauses which appear frequently in the book: (1) statements and (2)
dialogues.

There are two kinds of statements. First, a statement is made on a
certain point of view by Confucius with his name omitted, or without the
projecting clause. For example,

5)乡人饮酒,杖者出,斯出矣。
[It is only after the old has left after drinking wine in the village, can
one leave (*Analects*, X: 13)];

Second, a statement in the form of "Confucius said: 'x.'", as
exemplified in 1); thus transmitting the voice of the Master directly in
the quotation.

In the first kind of statement, apparently, there is only one voice
and the source of the voice seems to come from the compiler of the
book. In reality, there are also two voices: one from the compiler, the
omitted projecting clause, and the other Confucius, or what is projected
in the clause. The omission of the projecting clause may lie in the fact
that these statements are so well known to be Confucius' that there is
no need to mention his name. Halliday (1994) states that the function of
statements is to provide information; it is exactly through these
statements that the book has achieved one of its purposes — to transmit
Confucius doctrines to his disciples and those who read it.

Dialogues are the second type of clauses in the book. Usually in
these dialogues, a disciple would ask a question, which is either directly
reported or indirectly reported, and then Confucius or some other master
would provide the answer, as exemplified by

6) ……子出，门人问曰：“何谓也？”曾子曰：“夫子之道，忠恕而已
矣。”(*Analects:*IV:14)
[When Confucius went out, his disciples asked (Zengzi): "What did
he say?" Zengzi said: "Confucius' doctrine is nothing but loyalty or
forgiveness."]

One thing worth noticing is that all of these types are arranged in
clause complexes. Take Chapter 4 for example. All of the 27 clause
complexes are in the paratactic: locution pattern 1 "2 (Halliday 1994:
220; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), as exemplified in 1), in which the
projecting clause before the quotation is the primary clause 1 and after
that, the projected clause "2, as shown below:

1)子曰：“里仁为美。择不处仁，焉得知？”(*Analects:* IV:1)
    1   "2

This pattern 1 + "2 is a typical structure of clause complex in
classical works. Actually there is not a single example of the pattern "2
+ 1 in this book, which is often observed in modern Chinese.

In short, a dialogue comprises two parts: a question and an answer,
which perform different functions in language. The function of a
question is to seek information from the speaker, and the function of an
answer, which is usually a statement, is to give the information that the
hearer hopes to get. Therefore, through asking questions by the disciples
and the answers given by the Master, a philosophical view is clarified or
transmitted.

1.2.4.3 Types of mood

In English there are four types of mood: the declarative, the
interrogative, the exclamatory and imperative (Halliday, 1994: Chapter
4). It is also true of Chinese. Going through Chapter 4, we find that out
of the 44 clauses, 40 are in the declarative mood consisting of

statements made by Confucius, and 5 in the interrogative. There are two types of questions, the first being rhetorical asked by Confucius in order to intensify the statements he has made, as illustrated in the second clause within the quotation ended with a question mark in 1); and the second being real questions concerning an issue or view asked by his disciples to Confucius or other Masters who then offered answers, as illustrated in 4). There is not a single example of clauses in the imperative or exclamatory mood in this chapter, which, from another angle, strengthens the book as one of mainly giving information — imparting knowledge.

1.2.4.4   The feature of modal elements

Halliday (1994) argues that a modal element would either denote polarity or modality, which can either express modalization and modulation. Looking at Chapter 4, we find that out of the 44 clauses, 39 are sitting on either the positive or negative pole. There are only two clauses expressing modalization: possibility. For instance,

7) 子曰：“三年无改于父之道，可谓孝矣。 ” (*Analects:* IV:19)
[Confucius said: "If a son has not changed the principles held by his father (after his father passes away) for three years, then he **can be** said to be filial."]
where “可” **expresses modalization: possibility: probability.** There are three clauses expressing modulation: obligation. For example,

8) 子曰：“父母在，不远游，游必有方。 ” (*Analects:* IV:18)
[When parents are alive, (the son) does not go far; (if he has to do so,) he **must** have a definite place.]
where “必” expresses modulation: obligation: required, a high degree of obligation.

The dominance of using many modal elements denoting polarity or

high degree of modulation: obligation demonstrates the affirmative belief on the part of the speaker, namely Confucius, in his own philosophical views or values. In other words, these are truths, which should not be doubted.

To sum up, the application of the verbal processes, the monologist or dialogic form, and the 1 ^ "2 logic pattern between the projecting and the projected clauses, and the dominance of the declarative mood, and modal elements denoting polarity or high degree of modulation: obligation all work together to define the nature of the book as transmitting knowledge by a master to his followers, and to reinforce the power of Confucius as a master of teaching, to establish him as an authority of philosophy and to strengthen the truthfulness enshrined in his sayings.

2   Relevance of Confucianism to China and the present world

We have pointed out that *The Analects* is "engendered by the particular social and ideological environment" of the society in which Confucius lived. On the other hand the book also has "the power" "to change the environment that engenders it" (Halliday 2002: 196). This has to do with the evaluation or the appraisal of the book.

Martin in his books   (Martin 1992; 2003) elaborating on the appraisal system mainly deals with the issue of appraisal in terms of the lexico-grammatical features of the text itself. However, a book of philosophy, written more than 2500 years ago, needs to be evaluated also in terms of its historical impact and the possible impact it can exercise in the present world. It follows that the appraisal system should include these two aspects too if the evaluation is made on a classical work. This would be best done by analyzing the book itself and representative works commenting on the book. However, due to the limited space, we shall do this in other articles written later. Here we shall only briefly summarize the evaluative comments.

The Analects is a book by which Confucius proposed views hoping to find solutions to the social problems of his times. The wise sayings by Confucius helped many people learn about nature, the world, and appropriate human behaviors. Confucianism became, long after the master's death, the dominant Chinese philosophy both morally and politically, eventually transforming Chinese society with its values, and prevailing for centuries before 1911 when the last feudal dynasty was overthrown. Although Confucianism was very much criticized after 1919 when the May 4th Movement took place and after 1949 in the mainland of China, particularly during the Cultural Revolution, its influence is still strongly felt among Chinese people, especially in Hong Kong and Taiwan and other Eastern Asian countries. The recent revival of Confucianism in China has further intensified its impact. It can be said that it is The Analects that, to a great extent, has shaped the Chinese nation and "engendered" the particular social, political and ideological environment for the maintenance of the Chinese civilization (Leys 1998).

But can the values in The Analects or of Confucianism engender an environment hopeful for the current world? The answer is "Yes."

First, they are relevant to our personality development. Confucius regards cultivation of the self as the basis of social and political order. His social philosophy largely revolves around the concept of 仁., Which is a "concept through which we can acquire traditional value or virtue so as to achieve a state of orderliness and peace" (ibid.).

Second, they are relevant to the management of a nation. Confucius believed that a ruler should learn self-discipline, should govern his subjects by his own example, and should treat them with love and concern or 仁. In present day China, where frequent conflicts between different social strata occur, we find this doctrine particularly significant for "balancing the interests between different social groups, avoiding conflicts and making sure people live a safe and happy life in a politically stable country" (Wen 2005).

Third, they are relevant to raising the quality of education. The

fundamental tenet held by Confucianism is the unwavering belief in the perfectibility of human beings through learning (Wilhelm 1970). Confucius was willing to teach anyone, whatever their social standing, which is best presented in his saying "有教无类" (Teach anyone regardless of their social classes). He taught his students morality, proper speech, government, and the refined arts, and he regards morality the most important subject. This argument still holds true in the current world where morality is declining drastically.

Fourthly, they are relevant to the reconciliation of the international conflicts. Though Confucius lived over 2500 years ago, yet "the truth and importance of his words still resonate today because his teaching was developed in reaction to the times in which he lived and our times are very much like his, where crime is on the rise, millions of people in poverty, regional wars and invasions are not infrequent" (Wilhelm 1970). We believe that the golden rule "what you don't want yourself, don't do to others" (*Analects* VI: 28), which was first meant to help establish a proper personal social relationship, can also be applied to smoothening relations between countries with different cultural and political backgrounds.

3   Conclusion

This paper has made a linguistic study through which the main gist and the hierarchical structure of the ideas of Confucius have been disclosed. It puts stress on the phenomenon of repetition, arguing that this cohesive device contributes to the establishment of Confucius as a Master of philosophy and to the revelation of the essence of his teaching: the cultivation of the quality of 仁, which can be achieved by developing other related qualities through learning and following the models of our ancestors. The paper has also discussed in brief the verbal processes, the monologist or dialogic form, and the logic pattern in clause complexes and the dominance of the declarative mood, modal elements denoting polarity or obligation, which function to reinforce the

power of Confucius as a master of teaching and to strengthen the truthfulness of his sayings.

The paper is by no means a thorough study of *The Analects*, nor has it made a comprehensive evaluation. We intend to point out that the essence of Confucianism still holds true. We beli eve that if China intends to continue on its embarkment towards modernization, it has not only to revive Confucianism and other traditional values and ethics but also to develop them in the light of the new era. We also believe that the world is hopeful if we can construct a world of peace and harmony as envisioned by Confucius by creating "a multicultural context" and "a literal atmosphere in which all the cultural forces and discourses ... whether Western or Eastern, could find their own sphere of function, and different opinions could thus encounter and carry on dialogues" (Wang, 2005). In this sense, many of the good teachings by Confucius in the concise and valuable book *The Analects* are still significant for the 21st century China and the 21st century world.

*Note: All the examples in the paper are taken from the translations by Brooks (1998).

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Idiomatic Expressions in English:
A Textual Analysis

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【内容简介】

传统的英语习语研究主要关注习语的类型、句法特征和语义等问题,而对习语在正常交际中的作用探讨不多。本文在系统功能语言学理论的指导下, 通过分析口语和书面语语料中英语习语的具体使用情况,探讨英语习语在语篇中的作用。研究发现:(1)英语习语的使用与语篇结构有一定的联系,在语篇中具有组织和指示信息的功能,这与习语的评价功能有关; (2)从词汇衔接的角度来看,习语的使用和活用在语篇中构建出交错复杂的衔接关系, 这有助于增加语篇的趣味性和吸引力,对加强语篇的文体效果有一定的作用。

0 Introduction

Idioms and idiom like constructions make up a large part of our knowledge of language and are such a persistent feature of language that it cannot be simply dismissed as marginal. Researchers of idiomatic expressions in English in the past, for example, Makkai (1972), Weinreich (1969), Fraser (1970), have largely focused on the typology, semantics, and syntactic behaviour of such expressions, to the neglect of their functions in discourse, with a few exceptions, notably Strassler (1982), Fernando (1996), and Moon (1998), who analyze English idioms from pragmatic, functional and corpus-linguistic approaches respectively. As Carter (1998: 80) argues, lexical items require constant interpretation and re-interpretation in discourse, and the values of lexis

become significant once we move beyond constructed examples and take real texts into consideration. Following a functional tradition, this paper attempts to study the meanings of English idiomatic expressions from a textual perspective, focusing especially on (1) how idioms serve to signal information and organize text, and (2) how the use of such expressions contributes to text cohesion.

1   The textual metafunction in Hallidayan functional linguistics

According to Halliday (1978, 1994), the textual metafunction is the function that language has of creating text. It is an enabling function, concerned with organizing ideational and interpersonal meaning as discourse — as meaning that is contextualized and shared. From the point of view of the textual metafunction, we try to see how speakers construct their messages in a way which makes them fit smoothly into the unfolding language event. Halliday & Matthiessen (1999) gloss the textual metafunction as "language as information":

> Textually, the grammar is the creating of information; it engenders discourse, the patterned forms of wording that constitute meaningful semiotic contexts. From one point of view, therefore, this "textual" metafunction has an enabling force, since it is this that allows the other two to operate at all. But at the same time it brings into being a world of its own, a world that is constituted semiotically. With the textual metafunction language not only construes and enacts our reality but also becomes part of the reality that it is construing and enacting.
>
> (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 512)

Halliday (1994: 334) identifies the textual component of the grammar of English as consisting of the features associated with the following two groups of resources:

1. structural
   a) thematic structure: Theme and Rheme
   b) information structure and focus: Given and New
2. cohesive
   a) reference
   b) ellipsis and substitution
   c) conjunction
   d) lexical cohesion

Both thematic structure and information structure operate at the level of the clause and are parallel and interrelated systems. According to Halliday (1994), the thematic structure is what gives the clause its character as a message. From the speaker's point of view, a piece of information has a specific point of departure, and this is referred to as the Theme. In English, a clause begins with a realization of the Theme, and the remainder of the clause constitutes the body of the message, labeled grammatically as the Rheme. The "Given + New" configuration construes a piece of information from the complementary point of view, as something the listener is invited to attend to — something that has news value. Unlike the Theme + Rheme, which is signaled in English by word order, the Given + New structure is signaled by intonation, with the main stress (tonic nucleus) marking the end of the New element. Whereas Theme + Rheme is speaker-oriented, Given + New is listener-oriented (Halliday 1994: 299).

The Theme and information systems together constitute the internal resources for structuring the clause as a message. But for a sequence of clauses or clause complexes to constitute a text, it is necessary to make explicit the external relationship between these clauses and clause complexes. Over and above the clause level, the textual metafunctional component comprises a further set of resources, i.e. the cohesion system, which is not restricted by the limitations of grammatical structure. According to Halliday & Hasan (1976), cohesion is a textual phenomenon, and refers to the linguistic devices by which the speaker can signal the experiential and interpersonal coherence of the text. As Halliday & Hasan explain:

> Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some
> element in the discourse is dependent on that of another.
> The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it
> cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it.
> When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the
> two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are
> thereby at least potentially integrated into a text.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 4)

In other words, the concept of cohesion is a semantic one, as it refers to the relations of meaning that exist within the text.

Cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary. In Halliday & Hasan's model (Halliday & Hasan 1976, see also Halliday & Hasan 1989; Halliday 1994/2000), there are four ways by which cohesion is created in English: reference, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical organization. These resources, working together with the thematic and information structure of the text, construe the clauses and clause complexes into longer stretches of discourse.

Halliday uses the metaphor of waves to describe the information flow in discourse. The English clause itself is thus treated as a wave of information, with the Theme as the peak of prominence at the beginning of the clause and the New at the other end of the clause. This is also reflected by larger scale patterning of phases of discourse, thus assigning a periodic texture to English discourse as it unfolds. As Halliday puts it in Thibault (1987):

> Textual meanings typically give you the periodic movement
> which is so characteristic of discourses at all levels;
> everything from the smallest waves to the very large ones.
> In other words, there is a hierarchy of periodicity, and that
> comes from the textual metafunction.

The notion of a hierarchy of periodicity has been further developed by Martin and his colleagues (e.g. Martin 1992, 1993a; Martin and Rose

2003). They introduce the terms of hyperTheme, macroTheme, hyperNew and macroNew as projections of the Theme and New of the clause level onto the text. According to Martin (1993b), the term hyperTheme is defined as a clause (or combination of clauses) that can predict "a pattern of clause Themes constituting a text's method of development". A hyperTheme is thus similar to the topic sentence of a paragraph, "a kind of overarching theme, which serves the metacognitive function of aiding the comprehension of the text as a whole" (Young & Nguyen 2002).
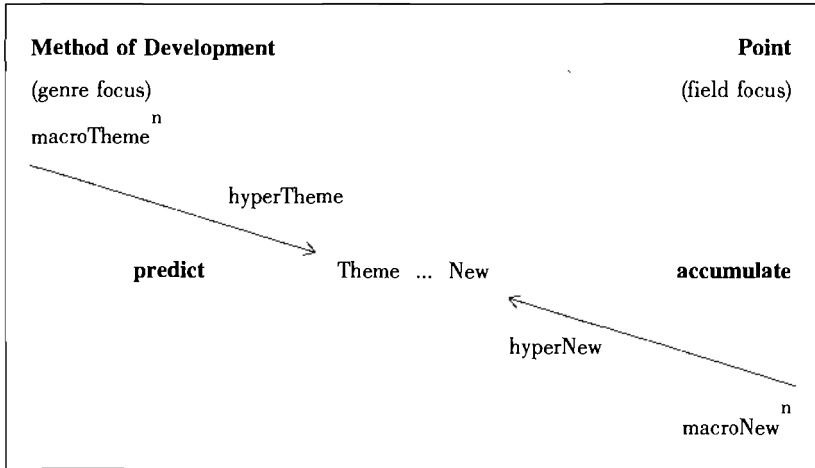
While hyperThemes predict what each phase of discourse will be about, new information accumulates in each clause as the phase unfolds, and this accumulation of new information is often distilled in a final sentence functioning as a hyperNew to the phase. In other words, whereas thematic selections are prospective, selections for new are retrospective. HyperNew is thus like a summary of the text's point and thus also helps comprehension of the text.

Beyond the clauses and paragraphs, there are higher level Themes predicting hyperThemes and higher level News distilling hyperNews. These are referred to as macroThemes and macroNews respectively. Martin (1993b) points out that macroThemes may themselves be predicted and macroNews themselves collected, and that there is, in principle, no limit to the number of layers of macroThemes and macroNews that can be constructed in text.

A text, therefore, is like a clause, and text structure echoes that of the clause (Halliday 1982, Martin 1993b). The analogies between text, paragraph and clause can be outlined as follows (where ":" means "is to" and "::" means "as"):

macroTheme: text::	hyperTheme: paragraph::
Theme: clause::	macroNew: text::
hyperNew: paragraph::	New: clause

Martin & Rose (2003: 186) summarize the layers of Themes and News in discourse in the following figure.

Method of Development			Point

(genre focus)   (field focus)

macroTheme^n

hyperTheme

predict   Theme ... New   **accumulate**

hyperNew

macroNew^n

2 Idioms: organizing text and signaling information

The concepts of hyperThemes and macroThemes are important to our analysis of the functions of English idioms in text. Many idioms that appear in hyperThemes and macroThemes serve to organize text or to signal forthcoming information. This is particularly obvious when idioms are used in newspaper headlines or titles of books or articles. The following are titles of research papers on English idioms that appear in various linguistic journals.

1. (a) The muddy waters of idioms comprehension begin to settle (Schweigert, W. 1992)
    (b) Skating on thin ice: literal meaning and understanding idioms in conversation (Gibbs, R. W. 1986)
    (c) Spilling the beans on understanding and memory for idioms in conversation (Gibbs, R. W. 1980)
    (d) Building castles in the air: some computational and theoretical issues in idiom comprehension (Stock, O. A. *et al.* 1993)
    (e) Grist for the linguistic mill: idioms and "extra"

adjectives (Ernst, T. 1981)
(f) Criteria for re-defining idioms: are we barking up the wrong tree? (Grant, L. & Bauer, L. 2004)
(g) Getting to grips with phrasal verbs (Cowie, A. P. 1993)
(h) Don't put your leg in your mouth: transfer in the acquisition of idioms in a second language (Irujo, S. 1986)

As the macroTheme, the idiom in each of the examples signals the global topic of the text that follows, and in this function cues the reader to what the text is about. Moreover, the idioms establish the tenor of the succeeding information.

The positions of idiomatic expressions in discourse seem to be closely related to their evaluative function. As hyperThemes, these expressions tend to evaluate or comment on the topic or situation while providing a preface or serving the metacognitive function of aiding the comprehension of the text as a whole. For example,

2. *Too many cooks splicing the salami*
As a research and development officer, I am of necessity a compulsive journal scanner and I have recently noticed an increasing trend in co-authorship of professional papers with the number of authors sometimes even exceeding the number of words in the title.
(*Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 26 February 1993)

In this extract, the manipulated proverb *too many cooks splicing the salami* both prefaces and evaluates the situation being described. The evaluation here, though implicit, is clear from the canonical form *too many cooks spoil the broth*, which expresses some kind of conventional wisdom: when too many people are involved in a project the result will be confusion. Idiomatic expressions like this allow the language user to make indirect and implicit evaluations, appealing to shared values as authority. Such interpretation, of course, depends on

the knowledge of the reader of the canonical forms and the values of evaluation normally expressed by these expressions. Manipulations of this kind clearly serve an interpersonal function. For a detailed discussion about idioms used as membershipping devices, see Chang (2004).

There are many examples in our data in which idiomatic expressions are used in hyperThemes to provide evaluation while the following texts justify the appraisal and provide more detail about the field of the hyperThemes (the topics) at the same time. For instance, the occurrence of *it never rains but it pours* in the example below is not simply a preface but establishes the tenor of the succeeding information by means of both the denotational and connotational value of the idiom, suggesting a coincidence of several bad things.

> 3. *It never rains but it pours!* First, I found that the car had been stolen and then discovered I had lost the keys to my flat.
>
> *(Oxford Learner's Dictionary of English Idioms 1994)*

The same idiom can also appear at the end of a phase of text as the hyperNew, to summarize the text's point as well as to evaluate the situation, as shown in the examples below:

> 4. (a) He had a legitimate goal disallowed for "handball" and later had a shot handled by a defender, only to see no penalty given. *It never rains but it pours.*
>
> (BOE)
>
> (b) First of all it was the car breaking down, then the fire in the kitchen and now Mike's accident. *It never rains but it pours*! (CLSC)

Another example is from an introductory course to linguistics, where the proverb *have one's cake and eat it* appears at the end of a paragraph as the hyperNew, to summarize the text's point as well as to

evaluate the situation.

> 5. Even in Kupwar, though, where the three grammars have
>   been merging, the vocabulary of each language has
>   remained largely distinct. On the one hand, the need for
>   communication among the different groups has
>   encouraged grammatical convergence. On the other hand,
>   the social separation needed to maintain religious and
>   caste differences has supported the continuation of
>   separate vocabularies. As things now stand,
>   communication is relatively easy across groups, while
>   affiliation and group identity remain clear. This is the
>   linguistic equivalent of *having your cake and eating it, too*.
>   (Finegan, E. 2004. *Language: Its Structure and Use*)

It should be noted here that the evaluative orientation of the proverb *have one's cake and eat it* in the hyperNew has been neutralized, if not changed entirely to the positive.

The following is a similar example where two idiomatic expressions, which are mixed, appear at the end of a text as hyperNew or macroNew and function to summarize and evaluate the discourse.

> 6. It may be argued that the prostitution of the mind is more
>   mischievous, and is a deeper betrayal of the divine purpose
>   of our powers, than the prostitution of the body, the sale
>   of which does not necessarily involve its misuse. But
>   whatever satisfaction *the pot* may have in *calling the kettle
>   blacker than itself the two blacks do not make a white*.
>   (George Bernard Shaw 1928, *The Intelligent
>   Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*)

The two idiomatic expressions that appear in the hyperNew are apparently evaluative: prostitution of the body and prostitution of the mind are equally "mischievous", and there is no justification for either. The writer, in using the proverbs, again resorts to shared evaluative orientations in the culture.

Schegloff & Sacks (1973) have noted that using proverbs or aphoristic formulations of conventional wisdom in the closing turns in discourse can be considered as a "topic–bounding" technique, since they can be taken as the "moral" or "lesson" of the topic. As the external function of proverbs is didactic, people often use these expressions to tell others what to do in a given situation or what attitude to take towards it. Obelkevich (quoted in Moon 1998: 257 –258) believes that proverbs are "strategies for situation with authority, formulating some part of a society's common sense, its values and ways of doing things". A case in point is the use of the proverb *live and let live* in the following example, where it serves to provide a recommendation, in the form of a preface in this text.

> 7. The picture I have in mind is that of *live and let live*. People's lives are their own affairs. They may be moral or immoral, admirable or demeaning, and so on, but even when immoral they are none of the state's business, none of anyone's business except those whose lives they are. All that politics is concerned with is providing people with the means to pursue their own lives...
>
> (OHPC data)

Like many other proverbs, *live and let live* represents something such as a course of action that is accepted as wise or advisable by the culture. It functions as the hyperTheme of the paragraph, which is relexicalized in more specific terms in the ensuing text.

Apart from proverbs, other idiomatic expressions are also used in conversation to signal topic termination or transition. McCarthy (1998: 135) notes that in everyday stories, idioms often occur in codas (in Labov's sense, see Labov 1972: 369) to provide a bridge between the story world and the real world of the teller and listener.

One of the reasons why idiomatic expressions are particularly adept at terminating topics, as Drew & Holt (1995) point out, is that the majority of idiomatic phrases are figurative. This feature often results in

their having a greater detachment from the previous topic than other utterances. This is also reflected in the lack of lexical cohesion between the surface lexis of the idiomatic expressions and the prior topic. We will return to the issue of cohesion in relation to idiomatic expressions in the next section.

Similarly, Stubbs (1983: 24) comments that "cliché–cum–proverb with little informational content" can be used to signal the end of a story in casual conversation. The examples he cites include *Still, that's life; Well, that's the way it goes; But something may turn up — you never know; Still, we may as well hope for the best,* etc. As Stubbs (1983: 24) puts it, idiomatic expressions of this kind have little propositional content and provide no new information which can serve as a resource for further talk. Because of this clichéd nature of the majority of idioms, they may be particularly suitable in indicating that the speaker has nothing new to add to the topic at hand.

To illustrate with a more extended example, the following is the opening of an editorial concerning the political situation, censorship and repression in South Africa, where several idiomatic expressions are used to extend waves of Theme and New well beyond clauses and paragraphs to larger phases of discourse.

8. ***Out of sight, but much in mind***
Two years ago the problems of South Africa were problems for all the world: because the world could see them daily, in their mounting violence, on television screens. Then came the State of Emergency. The pictures vanished. News copy was censored. Newspapers in South Africa were muffled, or banned. And some 30,000 blacks were locked away. Problems over? In one way, for a time, it almost seemed so. *Out of sight was out of mind.* Pressure for sanctions abated. Mrs Thatcher was seen to smile triumphantly.

Appearances, however, were always deceptive. Behind the pall of censorship the townships were still simmering in

> revolt. And yesterday, for any doubters, *actions again spoke louder than words*. Mr P. W. Botha renewed his State of Emergency just two days after the end of a strike by black trades unions which had brought much of the country to a halt. The problem of South Africa hasn't gone away, and two years of television remission have done nothing to ease or address it...
>
> (The *Guardian*, 11 June 1988, cited in Moon 1998: 296)

The first proverb in the heading is a manipulated form of *out of sight, out of mind*, establishing an abstract of the editorial: the undesirable political situation in South Africa, is not forgotten in spite of its not being visible *(Out of sight, but much in mind)*. This heading can thus be taken as the macroTheme of the editorial, predicting what is to follow. The same proverb is used again non-exploited at the end of the first paragraph, in the hyperNew *(Out of sight was out of mind)*, to summarize the point in the paragraph: the problems of South Africa seemed to be over as the world could not see them on TV any more.

The second paragraph contains two other proverbs. The proverb in the beginning sentence, *appearances were always deceptive*, indicates the falseness of the equation in the first paragraph and is followed by the elaboration of the real situation. The proverb therefore functions as the hyperTheme of the paragraph. The other proverb, *actions spoke louder than words*, serves to further elaborate the hyperTheme and to preface more evidence to show that the problems in South Africa are not over, leading finally to the hyperNew: "The problem of South Africa hasn't gone away, and two years of television remission have done nothing to ease or address it."

3   Idioms and cohesion

Another important group of resources in Halliday's framework of textual metafunction, as reviewed earlier, is the cohesion system. The

cohesive effects of idioms can also be grouped into the grammatical and the lexical, though it should be noted that the cohesiveness of idioms in text is always partly lexical, since they are a lexically determined subset of the lexicon.

Halliday & Hasan (1976: 238–239, see also Hu 1994, Huang 2001) set out four categories of conjunction: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. The cohesive relations are often expressed by multi-word idiomatic expressions:

Additive:	*in addition, or else, by the way, on the other hand, in other words, for instance, by contrast, etc.*
Adversative:	*in fact, as a matter of fact, on the other hand, on the contrary, in any case, at any rate, at least, etc.*
Causal:	*as a result, in consequence, to this end, in that case, under the circumstances, in this respect, in this re-gard, etc.*
Temporal:	*at last, at first, in the end, at once, once upon a time, in conclusion, up to now, to sum up, in short, last but not least, etc.*

These idiomatic expressions exemplify semantic relations such as causality, addition, etc, often by virtue of their constituents, for example, *in addition, in consequence, in the end, on the contrary,* etc. Some of them also establish connections between portions of a text, directing the addressee to its structural organization, for example, *once upon a time, first of all, last but not least, to sum up, in a nutshell,* etc., reflecting the interaction and negotiation of meaning between participants in discourse. In this sense, we argue that these idioms also have interpersonal significance (Chang 2004).

Where idiomatic expressions are involved in text, cohesion needs to be analyzed in a somewhat new light. Because of the metaphorical nature of many English idioms, there often seems to be a lack of lexical cohesiveness between the idioms and their co-texts. For example, in:

9. (a) Diplomats are expecting so much instability in a power struggle after his death that they argue it's unwise to rock the boat now.

(b) I never really had a chip on my shoulder but I suppose you could say that having come from a rather poor background I found it difficult to cope with the arrogance of some of the teaching staff.

(BOE)

References to *boat*, *chip* and *shoulder* are incongruent, and there is no surface lexical cohesiveness between the idioms and their co-texts. Yet, the texts are still coherent, since semantically, the idioms tie in with their co-texts, for example, the link between *instability* and the idiom *rock the boat*.

Very often, speakers exploit both the literal and the idiomatic aspects of idiomatic expressions, creating complicated cohesive relationships in texts. In the following advertisement, we can see a complex cohesive relationship between the idioms and their co-texts. The stylistic effect originates not only from the cumulative enumeration of the whole assortment (breads, buns, and rolls, etc.), but also from the skillful use of idioms.

10. You've heard of the *BAKER'S DOZEN*

Well, Tesco Didn't Just Stop There.

Many bakers would have *called it a day* after *coming up with* all our white and brown breads: crusty, uncut, sliced, wheatgerm, bran and wholemeal.

Most would certainly have *rested on their laurels* after baking all of our buns (burger, bath, fruit, iced, Belgian, Chelsea), and all of our rolls (snack, finger, morning, bran and muesli).

But at Tesco we then *went on (and on)* to include crumpets, muffins, fruited batch, floured baps, sultana scones, syrup pancakes, pitta bread and croissants.

In all we've introduced well over sixty different bakery
lines, and we're not *at the end of the line* yet.
Why not give some a try?
Though we feel we should warn you, once you've started
you'll probably find it difficult to stop.
We couldn't.
Today's
TESCO

(*Sunday Times Magazine,* 25 September 1983)

In the advertisement, the idioms *call it a day* and *rest on one's laurels* are contextual synonyms and form a logical antithesis to the restless endeavours of the Tesco bakery line. These idioms also tie with other idiomatic and non–idiomatic expressions in the text: *went on and on, at the end of the line, stop*, etc. Note also the punning of the word *line* in *at the end of the line*, which again forms a link with "over sixty different bakery lines" and the enumeration of all the different breads, buns and rolls. Then the idiom *a baker's dozen* also ties with all the different kinds of bread and buns, apart from indicating Tesco's quality service with the idiom's historical association of bakers in the past adding an extra loaf of bread free to each dozen loaves that were sold to keep the weight above the lawful standard. The following table lists the major cohesive chains running through the advertisement:

baker's dozen	didn't just stop there	Tesco (bakery line)
TESCO (bakery lines)	call it a day	
bakers	rest on their laurels	
white and brown breads...	went on and on	bakery lines
buns	not at the end of the line	at the end of the line
rolls	started	
crumpets, muffins...	find it difficult to stop	
bakery lines	we couldn't (stop)	
Today's TESCO		

As can be seen from this example, speakers sometimes avail themselves of both the literal and idiomatic meanings of idioms for stylistic purposes, e.g. to generate humour or create puns and wordplay. In such cases, we find a complex cohesive relationship between the idioms and their co-texts.

Here are more examples where speakers make use of both the literal and idiomatical meanings of idioms to create humour.

11. (a) In his search for economic and military aid, Anwar
         Sadat has not exactly been greeted *by open arms*.
    (CBS News report, 10 June 1975, cited in Chiaro 1992: 20)
    (b) A: Have you ever had a woman *walk all over* you?
        B: Yeah. I once had this massage. It was very
           comfortable.
                              (*The Other Half*, Q13TV, Oct. 4, 2001)

In example 11 (a), the word *arms* in the idiom *with open arms* is a polysemic item and cannot but be linked to *military aid*, thus creating cohesion: reiteration or anaphoric reference. Similarly, the humour in 11 (b) is created by the deliberate misinterpretation or punning of the verbal idiom *walk all over someone*, linking it to massage.

There are also cases where the lexis of idioms is deliberately developed and made cohesive with the lexis of their co-texts through collocation, as in

12. The lenders would find themselves badly gored *on the
    horns of* a property *dilemma. On the one hand* they will have
    a large number of borrowers simply unable to pay any
    more, *on the other*, a property which is falling in value all
    the time.
         (Oxford Hector Pilot Corpus, cited in Moon 1998a: 286)

Gored is cohesive collocationally with the literal meaning of *horns* in *on the horns of a dilemma*, and the word *dilemma* is cohesive as a

gnal of and preface to the two alternatives: *on the one hand...*and *on the other*. The example also serves to illustrate the argument that in discourse analysis the abstract phenomenon of collocation needs to be replaced by the notion of significant collocation (McCarthy 1984, in Carter 1998). In other words, collocation in text is an instance of lexicalization not constrained by a fixed set of lexical items with fixed functions and meanings.

4 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to study the textual function of idiomatic expressions in English, based on the analysis of authentic data of both written and spoken English. It is found that idioms have important organizational and signaling functions and they appear at important junctures in text. These functions are also found to be closely related to the fact that many idiomatic expressions are highly evaluative. The paper has also probed into the issue of cohesion in relation to the use of English idioms. It is shown that there is often a complex cohesive relationship between the idioms and their co-texts, and speakers sometimes avail themselves of both the literal and idiomatic meanings of idioms for various textual or stylistic reasons.

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Code-switching in Newspaper Discourse: With Reference to the Chinese/English Learned Contact in the Mainland of China[①]

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【内容简介】

本文从语言接触类型的角度讨论语码转换，并以系统功能语言学为理论框架对当前中国大陆中文报章的中英语码转换作个案分析。研究将目前中国大陆的中英语言接触确立为有别于殖民、后殖民、移民等语言接触类型的"学习性"语言接触，并勾勒了其在民族背景、双语能力以及语言态度三个方面的特点；研究进而以《广州日报》、《南方都市报》和《羊城晚报》的中英语码转换实例为语料，发现报章中大多语码转换例子以句内插入式转换为主，其最为显著的功能是经验功能、评价功能和卷入功能，受到语篇话题及目标读者等语境因素的影响，不同报章版面的语码转换在形式和功能上又呈现出语域变异；报章中英语码转换在形式、功能、以至语域变异上的总体模式是与当前中英学习性语言接触三个方面的特点相呼应的。本文通过个案分析试图表明，尽管在微观层面上双语者可以根据情景语境利用语码转换的这种或那种形式实现不同交际功能，但在宏观层面上该社团出现的语码转换总体模式则受到宏观的语言接触类型的影响。

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0 Introduction

Enhancive mobility and intercultural communication have resulted in many bilingualism situations and language contact phenomena. According to estimation, the majority of the world is bilingual (Myers-Scotton 2000: 290), and bilingualism is considered to be the norm rather than the exception (Thomason 2001: 10). The present-day Mainland of China is now witnessing the contact between English and Chinese in this general trend. In the last two decades or so, with China's "Reform and Opening-up" policy, the frequent contact between Chinese and English has resulted in a large number of Chinese-English bilinguals in China, such that some researchers even argue that English be called "a Chinese language" (e.g. McArthur 2002; Jiang 2003). Code-switching as the alternative use between Chinese and English is frequently observed among native Chinese speakers in both daily conversations and public media discourse.

The Chinese/English code-switching as a relatively new practice in the Mainland of China has not yet received much attention, compared with the code-switching in typical bilingual communities, which are usually brought about by colonialism and migration. In China, quite a few linguists frown upon code-switching and regard it as a kind of "language pollution" and a threat against the pureness of Chinese (e.g. Chen 1994; Ge & Ge 1996; Li & Bai 2001). Different from this prescriptive perspective, some other studies, including some of my earlier research, analyze the Chinese/English code-switching from a descriptive perspective (e.g. Lü, Huang & Wang 2003; Wang 2005; Wang & Huang 2004; Ye & Qin 2004; Yu 2001). Instead of dwelling on the issue of whether English switches in Chinese texts should be accepted and encouraged or not, these studies focus on the motivations and functions of specific switching instances in the immediate context.

Underlying these studies is the basic assumption that the Chinese/ English code-switching is a natural and inevitable result of the spread of English in China.

While studies from the descriptive perspective have provided very important insights into how people make use of the two languages at their proposal to communicate with other community members, I believe that the underlying assumption itself still needs to be explored, i.e. how exactly the practice of Chinese/English code-switching can be seen as a natural result and then be related to aspects of the Chinese/English contact in China. Unfortunately, to date, the attention of most studies has been on the local motivations and functions of specific code-switching instances while the general pattern of code-switching practice is seldom considered globally as a response to the factors of the language contact situation. By saying this, I wish to highlight one basic fact that while people make use of code-switching in individual situations according to their communicative purposes, the general pattern of the code-switching practice in a specific community is determined by, and in the meantime, construes the language contact situation. Establishing the links between the linguistic features of code-switching and features of the language contact situation is hence an effort to examine code-switching as a social practice. It would also be more relevant to issues such as language standardization and language planning.

This paper attempts to examine the practice of Chinese/English code-switching with special reference to the features of the Chinese/ English contact in the Mainland of China, by focusing on the code-switching instances in newspaper discourse. In so doing, I shall treat the Chinese/English contact as an example of "learned contacts" and outline its basic features. Detailed linguistic analysis of the practice of code-switching will be undertaken, with systemic functional linguistics as the analytical framework. More explicit links will then be established between the two.

1 The Chinese/English learned contact in the Mainland of China

Although in the history of the language contact between Chinese and English in China, English was once regarded as an "evil language" or an "imperialistic language" (see Cheng 1982; Bolton 2003), the situation is totally different in the present-day China. Since the "Reform and Opening-up" policy was inaugurated in late 1970s, great importance has been attached to the English language as a tool to connect China to the outside world and to realize the country's modernization drive. The Chinese governments of all levels have been trying to promote English education in China and there is an increasing popularity of learning and using English. For many years, English has been a compulsory course in secondary and tertiary schools and now it is beginning to be offered to many third-year primary school pupils and even to the first-year pupils (Jiang 2003). In addition, a variety of English programs are available for people of different ages, with different levels of English proficiency, from different trades, and for different purposes. Indeed English teaching has become a big industry in the Chinese market. Hence it is not so surprising when we are told of such statistics: there are more people learning to speak English in China than there are native English speakers in the whole of the United States (Taylor 2002); it is estimated that there are some 500,000 English teachers in secondary schools, and the total number of speakers of English in China has been probably over 200 million, and the number is rising fast (Bolton 2003: 48). Consequently, it is sensible to describe the Chinese/English contact situation as an example of bilingualism.

One important reason for the popularity of English in China is the wide spread of English as a global language. With regard to the spread of the English language in the world, China is an EFL (English as a

foreign language) country or Expanding Circle country[①] (Kachru 1985; Richards, Platt, & Weber 1985), where English is used for communication with other countries rather than for administration purposes. Hence in contrast to other bilingual ESL or Outer Circle countries, education plays an important role in promoting the English language and the Chinese/English bilingualism in China. According to Thomason's (2001: 16ff.) classification concerning how languages come into contact, apart from colonialism and migration, language contact can come about solely through education, which is called "learned contacts". The present-day China has witnessed, as the aforementioned situation shows, such a learned contact between Chinese and English.

It is noted that a large part of the literature on bilingualism and code-switching has been focusing on code-switching in colonial, post-colonial, and migration bilingual communities (e.g. Appel & Muysken 1987; Romaine 1989; Li 2000) while code-switching brought about by learned language contacts is far less attended to. Based on our observation and previous bilingualism theories, the features of the Chinese/English learned contact in the Mainland of China, in contrast to those bilingualism situations brought about by colonialism and migration, can be outlined in terms of the following three aspects:

(i) Ethnically, Chinese monolinguals, Chinese/English bilinguals, and many other people in between in terms of their English proficiency are not so separated social categories. This is dif-

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①   Kachru (1985) identifies three Concentric Circles of English to represent three types of countries where English is used: the Inner Circle (e.g. U.S.A., Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), the Outer Circle, where institutionalized varieties of English are used (e.g. India, Singapore, and Nigeria), and the Expanding Circle, where English is used as a foreign language (e.g. Egypt, Japan, and China). Situations of English teaching in the latter two types of countries are correspondingly called ESL and EFL (Richards, Platt, & Weber 1985).

ferent from the case of bilingualism caused by colonialism and migration, where different ethnic groups are usually involved.

(ii) Linguistically, since the language contact is mainly through education, there is a great variety in terms of the English proficiency, which is not clearly correlated with social categories such as generations, as in the case of migration bilingualism (Bentahila & Davies 1995; Huang & Milroy 1995; Poplack 1981). The so-called Chinese monolinguals and Chinese/English bilinguals are categories in very general terms.

(iii) Ideologically, the additional language (i.e. English in this case) is considered a prestigious language, which can lead the country towards internationalization and provide individuals more material and cultural resources and advantages. In contrast to colonialism bilingual communities where the bilinguals are a non-dominant or oppressed group in sociological rather than numerical or statistical sense (see Appel & Muysken 1987: 2), Chinese/English bilingualism in the present community is highly valued and actively pursued.

2 Data and analytical framework

As was mentioned, the practice of code-switching is a controversial issue in terms of language standardization. Usually language use in print media is taken up as a target of criticism since the media is believed to have the power to set examples of language use for community members to follow. Hence choosing code-switching instances in newspapers as the data for analysis is more relevant to the discussions in China. The main source of the data comes from the code-switching instances in three Chinese newspapers published in Guangzhou in more than two years (September, 2002 — January, 2005):

Guangzhou Daily (《广州日报》, GZD), *Nanfang City News* (《南方都市报》, NCN), and *Yangcheng Evening News* (《羊城晚报》, YEN). Over four hundred clippings are collected. These three newspapers are chosen because they are the most popular local newspapers according to both statistics (World Association of Newspapers 2003) and newspaper vendors' informal reports.

In determining whether an English item should be treated as borrowing or as code-switching, I resort to the *Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (《现代汉语词典》 2002): those items that have been included in the dictionary will be considered as having been accepted by the Chinese language system and hence will be treated as borrowing rather than as code-switching. For all the illustrating examples except the bilingual section titles (1a–f), free translations are offered since the purpose of translation here is to provide readers with a general idea about the environments into which the embedded items are put rather than to highlight the syntactic constructions.

For a detailed linguistic analysis of the data, the study will base itself on systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1978, 1994) as an analytical framework. More relevant to the present study are two important principles of systemic functional linguistics. One is the metafunctional diversification principle, which hypothesizes that language is used to serve three metafunctions, i.e. ideational function (the "content" function of language and language as resources for reflecting on the world), interpersonal function (the function of enacting interpersonal relationship), and textual function (the function of organizing the ideational and interpersonal components into an integrated whole). For a more delicate description of language, the first two metafunctions of language are broken into more specific sub-headings. In very simple terms, ideational function can be divided into experiential function and logical function; interpersonal metafunction into speech function, appraisal function, and involvement function (Halliday 1994; Martin 1992, 1997; Martin & Rose 2003). I

shall follow this taxonomy to analyze the functions of the code-switching. The other important principle is the variation of language according to use (Halliday, McIntosh, & Strevens 1964), that is, our way of speaking would differ from situation to situation, depending on factors such as topic, relationship between the interactants, medium of communication, etc. It naturally follows that the way of making use of code-switching may also vary from situation to situation.

3   A linguistic analysis of the Chinese/English code-switching

3.1   Morphosyntactic features of the code–switches
3.1.1   The statuses of the two languages in the switching

The switches where one language is dominantly used over the other are regarded as insertional switches, and other switches where two languages are used symmetrically as alternative switches (see Huang & Milroy, 1995). In the former case, the base language (i.e. the dominant language) and the embedded language can be identified. Since all the code-switching instances take place in Chinese newspapers, Chinese is supposed to be the base language and English the embedded one, and indeed there is an obvious pattern of Chinese texts inserted with English elements in the newspapers. However, it should be noted that this is discussed on the level of a whole piece of newspaper; in terms of the levels of a single text or sub-text, things can be quite different. For example, the bilingual section titles or column titles usually witness alternative switches (as in (1a–f)).

（1a）世界新闻 *world news*
（1b）汽车周刊 *automobile weekly*
（1c）聚焦 *focus*

(1d) 时尚 *fashion*

(1e) 新生活 *lifestyle*

(1f) 娱乐大手笔 *celebrity entertainment column*

Also, it is not uncommon to find recruiting ads with English as the base language (as in (2)), where only the contact information is coded in Chinese.

(2) SHINA CORP

We, a Korean trading company, are looking for the qualified person to join our chemical and textile raw material department.

Requirements:

— University degree;

— Excellent command of written and spoken English;

— More than one year relevant working experience;

— Hard working and challenged.

Please send or fax your resume to

广州市环市东路 *371–375世界贸易中心大厦南塔2606室*

P.C.: 510095   Fax: 87614278

[GZD 21/10/2002 14]

SHINA CORP

We, a Korean trading company, are looking for the qualified person to join our chemical and textile raw material department.

Requirements:

— University degree;

— Excellent command of written and spoken English

— More than one year relevant working experience;

— Hard working and challenged.

Please send or fax your resume to

Room 2606, South Tower, Guangzhou World Trade Centre Complex, 371–375 Huan Shi Dong Lu, Guangzhou

P.C.: 510095   Fax: 87614278

3.1.2   Syntactic features of the embedded items

In the data, three categories of code-switching can be identified: intra-clausal code-switching, inter-clausal code-switching, and textual code-switching, with each category illustrated by an example below.

(3a) Intra-clausal code-switching

"元点"*BAND*队音乐*SHOW* [YEN 30/9/2003 C8]

The 'Yuandian' *band*'s music *show*

(3b) Inter-clausal code-switching

这是最后一次扮孙悟空,*Never Again*, 因为真是太辛苦。

[NCN 1/11/2002 B41]

This is the last time I act Sun Wukong. *Never Again*, because it's so painstaking.

(3c) Textual code-switching

GROW WITH US

HK Co. in GZ office wants:

Sales and Office Administrator

Accountant and Cashier (Guangzhou citizen)

Merchandiser and Shop assistant

3yrs + working experience;

Good team player;

Well with MS Office.

Please email Resume (do NOT use attachment) to:

HR@ncfindings.com ATTN: Ms Li

[GZD 21/10/2002 14]

Again, note that the category of textual code-switching is identified in the sense that we are examining the language of the text in Chinese newspapers. The pattern of English as the base language, which is illustrated by Examples (2) and (3c), is only found in recruiting ads.

Most code-switches in the data take the form of intra-clausal code-switching.

3.1.3   Grammatical categories of the embedded items

Although a variety of grammatical categories can be found with the switched items   (as in   (4a–d)), most switched items take the form of insertional English nouns or nominal groups.

(4a) Noun / nominal group

这种配称法遵循*"Mix & Match"*的原则······ [YEN 26/10/ 2002 C4]

This way of matching observes the principle of *"Mix & Match"*...

(4b) Adjective / adjective group

金先生自小随父母移居国外，能说一口流利的英语，但中文就很*"poor"*······ [YEN 7/10/2003 A5]

Migrating abroad with his parents in childhood, Mr Jin speaks English fluently, but his Chinese is very *"poor"*...

(4c) Verb /verbal group

······发誓要向身上的赘肉脂肪*say byebye*   [*sic*] ······ [YEN 9/10/2003 C3]

...promise to *say bye–bye* to the *love handles*...

(4d) Preposition

出身背景：*"草根阶层"VS*富家子弟 [YEN 4/10/2003 B2]

Family background: *"grass roots" vs.* rich family children

3.2   The functions of the code-switching

For convenience's sake, the tripartite metafunctional diversification principle with the sub-systems is arranged in the following headings: experiential function, logical function, speech function, evaluative function, involvement function, and textual function.   Among these subheadings, the logical function, the speech function, and the textual

function are more relevant, explicitly or implicitly, to inter-clausal switches or switches between conversational turns. [①] While these functions of code-switching do have an important role to play in certain bilingual communities (e.g. Huang 1996; Li & Milroy 1995), they are not as highlighted as the other functions in the present situation (Wang & Huang 2006). I shall hence focus my analysis on the experiential, the evaluative, and the involvement functions only, while the absence of the other three functions is to be explained later in Section 4.

3.2.1 The experiential function

In the data, a large number of code-switches serve to guard against semantic loss or gain, and hence are out of the consideration of experiential reasons. The most straightforward case is that an English item is embedded into a Chinese text simply because there is no corresponding Chinese translation available. Proper names can be transliterated, but it is not always unproblematic. As is indicated by a text in our data, the surname "Bergman" is translated into Chinese sometimes as 伯格曼 (*Bógéman*) while as 褒曼 (*Baomàn*) some other times, and hence there might be some confusion about the referent [NCN 28/10/2002 E93]. It follows that keeping the English names is a safer strategy.

The same is true with culture-specific items. Take one simple item *party* for example. The meaning of the word *party* is "gathering of persons, by invitation, for pleasure". It seems that the word has no real equivalent in Chinese. The usual translations such as 集会 (*jíhuì*, "gathering meeting", with "assembly" as a closer back translation), 聚

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① At the risk of oversimplification, we can see that the logical function focuses on the relations between clauses; the speech function is concerned with whether a speaker is asking or providing information or goods-&-services; the textual function deals with the cohesion and coherence aspects of texts. For more details, see Halliday (1994) and Martin (1992, 1997).

会 (*jùhuì*, again "gathering meeting", a get-together usually of friends and schoolmates), 晚会 (*wǎnhuì*, "evening meeting", an evening, usually quite formal) all have their obvious semantic gain and loss. In effect, we do not seem to have in the Chinese tradition such activities as party in its original sense; we now have "party" because it has been imported. So a *party* is always a party rather than a集会, 聚会, or 晚会.

Even if the embedded items can have their rough Chinese translations, it cannot be guaranteed that the Chinese translations are real equivalents in terms of specificity (as in (5)).

(5)*Awave Audio*可将*MP3*、*WMA*和*WAV*、*CD Audio*等转成*RA*。
[YEN 29/10/2002 C2]
Awave Audio can transform *MP3, WMA, WAV, CD Audio* and so on into *RA*.

If one should like to translate the English items in (5) into Chinese, one possible way is to use their hyponyms or superordinates, as suggested by Baker (1992) when items without equivalents are considered. Then all the items are probably translated as 音频格式 (*yīnpín géshì*, "acoustic frequency format", music file format). However this translation method does not work here when it is remembered that the text from which (5) is extracted is dealing with the transformation between different music file formats. Hence, code-switching as a result of preserving the English items is pertinent to the delicacy of experiential meanings.

3.2.2   The evaluative function

For other English switches, the evaluative meanings outperform the experiential meanings. For example,

(6a)*9样发生在农林下路最HIT最CURRENT的事情，以流行榜*

的形式披露于各位面前，…… [NCN 1/11/2002 D70]

9 most ***hit*** and most ***current*** things on Nonglinxia Rd, presented before you as Top 9···

(6b) *民族风由春夏一直吹到秋冬，设计师已将民族**Look**玩得不 亦乐乎。*[YEN 2/11/2002 C4]

The fashion trend of Chinese style has been in from Spring and Summer to Autumn and Winter, and the designers have been playing a great deal with the Chinese ***look***.

(6c) 诊疗方法：引进国际先进设备美国威视***VISX***准分子激光系 统和德国新一代设备爱丽丝***ESIRIS***准分析激光系统，汇集 国内知名眼科教授专家，采用***LASIK***术在短时间内治愈近 视、远视、散光达国际先进水平…… [GZD 31/10/2002 A27]

Treatment: introducing the internationally state-of-the-art equipments, the *Weishi*[①] ***VISX*** excimer laser system from U.S. A. and the new-generation *Ailìsī* ***ESIRIS*** excimer laser system from German, gathering nationally well-known ophthalmologists, using ***LASIK*** technology to heal myopia, hyperopia, and astigmatism in a short period of time, reaching the world advanced level...

(6d) ***The top villas in the world***

just you want [*sic.*]

甲天下别墅园，您真正想要的别墅

美国别墅 本质再版

[YEN 1/10/2003 A11]

The top villas in the world

you just want

The top villas, the villas you really want

A reprint of American villas

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① The Chinese characters 威视 and 爱丽思 are exactly the transliterations of VISX and ESIRIS. Hence the Hanyupinyin system is used in back translations.

In   (6a – b), English is embedded to express evaluative meanings such as "fashionable" and "current". In other words, "fashion" and "currentness" are doubly encoded, by way of the original lexical meanings and the fact of code-switching. In (6c–d), which are excerpts from two ads, the English switches are employed to suggest more state-of-the-art technology (6a), better architecture, and even better life styles (6b), implicitly more advanced and better than the indigenous ones. These evaluative meanings of the switches are closely associated with the social values of the English language.

3.2.3   The involvement function

Involvement is concerned with how much specialized the discourse is in terms of its readers and how interpersonal worlds are shared by interactants (Eggins & Slade 1997; Martin 1992, 1997; Poynton 1985). Sometimes, the link between language and social categories is so strong that variations of a single linguistic item are enough to be an index of different social groups or categories (e.g. Labov 1972). Since the link between language and social categories is set up on the tension between homogeneity among group members and heterogeneity as to other social groups in linguistic terms, the issue of involvement not only indicates inclusions, solidarity and affiliation, but exclusion and alienation as well. So the involvement function can also be seen as one of the "boundary functions" (Tabouret–Keller 1997).

A case in point is the English recruiting ads. In the newspapers I set out to examine, recruiting ads which are entirely coded or have the main part of the copies coded in English are not uncommon (as in (2) and (3c)). Since newspapers in my data are considered Chinese newspapers for the consumption by Chinese readers, only those who have a command of English can understand these ads. In other words, the textual code-switching in recruiting advertising demarcates its readership sharply, involving bilinguals as readers and potential employees while excluding Chinese monolinguals.

As will be illustrated by the analysis in the following section, different code-switching patterns in newspaper sections can be indexes of more delicately defined readership of different sections (also see Wang & Huang 2004 for a more detailed discussion). While the experiential and evaluative functions are concerned with individual and specific switches, the involvement function is more concerned with the overall patterns of code-switching (Wang & Huang 2006).

3.3   Code-switching   patterns   in   different   newspaper sections

In previous code-switching studies, little attention has been paid to the different ways of using code-switching in different situations in one bilingual community. Guided by the conception of variations according to situations (see Section 2), one of our pilot studies (Lü, Huang, & Wang 2003; see Table1) shows that the practice of Chinese/English code-switching displays different rather than homogenous patterns in different newspaper sections. [①] It is obvious that there are many more code-switching examples in entertainment and IT sections than in others.

sections	international news	national news	sports	entertainment	IT	others
percentage	7.9%	3.2%	6.6%	30.5%	37.9%	13.9%

Table 1   Frequencies of code-switches in different newspaper sections (adapted from Lü et al. 2003)

The practice of code-switching in different sections not only differs in terms of frequency, but in terms of the formal and functional features

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[①]   Lü *et al.*'s (2003) research is a case study on newspaper code-switching in the same project with the present one. The data is collected from *Guangzhou Daily* (《广州日报》), *Yangcheng Evening News* (《羊城晚报》), *Nanfang City News* (《南方都市报》), *Nanfang Weekend* (《南方周末》), and *Times* (《信息时报》), during January, 2002 to May, 2003. The frequency count has been based on token rather than type.

as well. These different patterns will be discussed under the headings of three types of newspaper sections.

3.3.1   Hard news

English switches are least found in hard news and when they do appear, they usually appear with Chinese translations or explanations (as in (7a–b)). This practice is another way of saying that the concepts encoded here are so important that both languages are offered to guarantee understanding. It proves that the experiential function is primarily responsible for the switches. Another contributing factor of this practice is that hard news is usually meant for a more general readership with different levels of English proficiency.

(7a) "**Woman Power**"(女人强权) 已成为我们时代的特征之一。
[NCN 2/11/2002 A02]
"**Woman Power**" (woman power) has become one of the features of our times.

(7b) 这个神奇的小型机械臂被称作"幻影"(**Phantom**),可以模拟出人类手臂的各种动作。[YEN 31/10/2002 A12]
This amazing small–size mechanical arm is called "**Phantom**" (Phantom); it can imitate the movements of human arms.

3.3.2   IT, automobile, and financial reports

IT and automobile reports are sections where English switches are most frequently found. The embedded items are usually technical terms or jargons of the fields being talked about, and again the experiential function is at stake. The embedded items often stand by themselves without Chinese translations (as in (5) and (8)). This implies that only those who are familiar with and indeed make use of this kind of language practice would be the target readers of the sections. The following example also reveals another possible reason.

(8) 现代汽车所用的零组件愈来愈多，这些先进配备的名称通常
也蛮长的，为了沟通方便，于是缩写常常反而成了它们的正
式名称，像是**ABS、BAS、EBD、PDC**等等……"[NCN 28/10/
2002 C54]

There are more and more spare parts for modern automobiles
and these state-of-the-art spare parts often have long names.
For convenience's sake, English initialisms are usually used to
replace the long Chinese names of these spare parts, for
example, ***ABS, BAS, EBD, PDC,*** etc.

IT and automobile reports resembles financial reports in that many
English proper names such as brand names, personal names, the names
of companies, institutes, and organizations can be found (as in (9a–c)).

(9a) 这项诉讼还涉及百事可乐位于伊利诺伊州***Romeoville***的两
家包装公司***RapakLLC***和***DSSRapakInc***。[YEN 31/10/2002
A11]

This lawsuit also involved Pepsi's two packing companies
RapakLLC and ***DSSRapakInc*** in ***Romeoville***, Illinois.

(9b) 据***Venture One***研究公司和专业服务巨头***Ernst & Young*** 10
月25日发布的对风险投资基金的联合调查 …… [NCN 29/
10/2002 C52]

According to the combined investigation released on 25th,
October by ***Venture One***, the research company and the
service giant ***Ernst & Young*** on venture investment funds...

(9c) 超级市场和便利店经营商香港牛奶国际（***Dairy Farm***）公司
日前与怡和太平洋空股（***Jardine Pacific***）达成协议……
[NCN 1/11/2002 C52]

The Hong Kong based supermarket and drugstore runner
Dairy Farm (***Dairy Farm***) and Jardine Pacific (***Jardine
Pacific***) recently have come to an agreement...

As was indicated by the above examples, while some proper names are provided with Chinese translations, others are not. Proper names may have inner structures of their own, such as *Dairy Farm* and *Venture One*. In this case, to the monolingual readers, the recognition of these foreign items as names of companies outperforms the understanding of the lexical meanings of them.

3.3.3 Entertainment and fashion sections

The entertainment section is another place where code-switching is frequently found. The code-switching involves proper names including personal names (10a) and song titles (10b), items related to music, and items related to the Hong Kong show business (10c, which is a quote from the Hong Kong based actress Carol Cheng Yu Ling).

(10a) 皮尔斯布鲁斯南的30岁女儿*Charlotte*，⋯⋯*Charlotte*并非皮尔斯亲生女，是前妻*Cassandra*与前夫*Dermot*所生⋯⋯ [GZD 30/10/2002 B4]

Pierce Brosnan's thirty-year-old daughter *Charlotte*, ... *Charlotte* is Pierce' stepdaughter; she is the daughter of his ex-wife *Cassandra* and her ex–husband *Dermot*...

(10b) 使用欧美老歌也似乎是韩片配乐的惯技，《我的野蛮女友》有老掉牙的《*My Girl*》，这次也有《*Do Wah Diddy Diddy*》和《*Happy Happy Shake*》。[YEN 4/10/2003 B3]

Using European or American old songs as the background music seems to be the usual trick of Korean films. "My Sassy Girl" has the hackneyed "*My Girl*"; this time we have "*Do Wah Diddy Diddy*" and "*Happy Happy Shake*".

(10c) 他其实就是个很*down–to–earth*（实际）的男人。[NCN 29/10/2002 B40]

He is actually a man who is really *down–to–earth* (down-to–earth).

Switches that imply evaluative meanings of "modern", "fashionable" and "international" can be frequently found both in the entertainment and the fashion sections (as in 6(a–b)). These evaluative meanings of the English switches are in line with the overall styles and functions of the entertainment and fashion sections. Using English switches to encode such evaluative meanings is also a common practice in non-recruiting ads (as in 6(c–d)).

4   Discussions

The linguistic analysis in the previous section shows that the code-switching practice in the newspaper discourse displays a patterned occurrence rather than a random one. This patterned occurrence has a strong bearing on aspects of the Chinese/English language contact situation in present-day China. In this section, I shall try to relate the linguistic features of the code-switching to the language contact situation more explicitly and specifically.

Morphosyntactically, most code-switching instances are intra-clausal and insertional ones. Usually, to switch intra-clausally and insertionally would require less language proficiency than to switch inter–clausally and alternationally (Huang & Milroy 1995; Bentahila & Davies 1995; cf. Poplack 1980). This is because in the former case, speakers can simply insert English words or phrases into Chinese sentences without commanding the syntactic rules of the English language. The dominance of intra-clausal and insertional switches in the present case to some extent reveals that the Mainland of China is not yet a typical bilingual community. This also explains why logical function, speech function, and textual function, which are more concerned with inter-clausal switches and switches mapped onto boundaries of conversational turns, are not obvious in my data.

Switches with the experiential and evaluative functions highlighted are usually challenged as to whether the meanings of the English items

are accessible to newspaper readers. Let me now put what we have found in the previous sections in more explicit terms, with regard to how exactly the experiential and evaluative meanings are encoded and decoded. On the one hand, switches that are motivated by the experiential function are usually accompanied with Chinese translations or explanations in sections such as hard news, which are for both monolinguals and bilinguals. Otherwise, they are meant for specialized readership such as in the case of technical terms in the IT and automobile sections and song titles and movie titles in the entertainment section. For other cases such as the brand names or company names in the financial section, recognizing the English elements as such is simply enough. On the other hand, switches whose evaluative meanings are at stake can be more or less indexed by the tone and style of the sections where they occur (such as the entertainment and fashion sections) and by the social values of English in this specific culture. All these combine to show that the English switches are managed in a way that their most highlighted meanings, experiential or evaluative, can be accessed by Chinese monolingual readers to some extent and thus more acceptable by Chinese readers with different levels of English proficiency. Another contributing factor is the "ethical pressure" that all the Chinese, without regard to their English proficiency, belong to one ethnic group and should stick to their common language, although embedding English items is inevitable because of reasons that have been discussed. In other words, the way of employing code–switching in the newspaper discourse can be seen as a response to the ethnical and linguistic features of the Chinese/English learned contact in China.

The fact that the experiential, evaluative, and involvement functions of code-switching are highlighted in my data can be related to reasons why English is ideologically a prestigious language in China. As was discussed, many code-switches are out of the consideration of experiential functions and this reflects that English has contributed many notions and concepts to our understanding of these areas of the

experiential world. As a global language, English has obvious advantages in many areas such as IT development, automobile production, and more importantly, the promoting and marketing of different products and entertainments. That explains why many people would consider English a panacea for China to share the technological and economic developments of other countries. The ideological status of English in China is more obviously indexed by the evaluative function of the English switches in the sense that English stands for internationalization, westernization, modernness, state-of-the-art technologies, better life styles, and so on. It follows that English bilingualism is favoured and pursued, which is indicated by the involvement function (as in the case of recruiting ads). On the other hand, it is important to note that the practice of code-switching in newspaper discourse and other public media also contributes to the reinforcement of English as a global language and its social meanings, dialectically construing the language attitudes towards English and pushing the learned contact between the two languages in China.

5   Concluding remarks

This paper has examined the formal and functional features of the Chinese/English code-switching in several Chinese newspapers. It is found that the practice of Chinese/English code-switching in the newspaper discourse displays a patterned rather than random occurrence, which can be seen as a response to the ethnological, linguistic, and ideological aspects of the Chinese/English learned contact in the present–day Mainland of China.

Different from previous studies on the Chinese/English code-switching in China, this paper has related the practice of the code-switching to the Chinese/English learned contact. This enables us to see more clearly the conflicts in issues of language standardization and language planning. Chinese/English code-switching is considered

as "language pollution" by some linguists, and authorities also set down regulations against the switches in public discourse. At the same time, the importance attached to the English language by different levels of governments in the education system and in certain international issues (such as entering WTO and preparing for the 2008 Olympic Games) is contributing to the enhancement of the status of English as a prestigious language in China and to the practice of Chinese/English code-switching. The clash is in nature an ideological one. The general language attitudes are that English learners are active agents of pragmatism to gain more social resources (also see Li 2002) and that the command of English is a tool leading the country to modernization and internationalization. There are, however, national feelings where purism is insisted and switches should be ruled out. The clash is, as is revealed implicitly or explicitly throughout this paper, a feature of the Chinese/English learned contact in the Mainland of China, which makes this aspect of language standardization and language planning a long-term activity.

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Establishing the Grammar of "Typicity" in English: An Exercise in Scientific Inquiry

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【内容评述】

Fawcett的这篇论文属于系统功能句法研究。论文的目的是建构英语"种类意义"(typicity)的语法。论文所要研究的是下面三句例子中的画线部分：(1) (The system needs) a few different sorts of documents. (2) (You need to determine) the appropriate type of insulin the person should use. (3) (This is) one of the first of the new varieties of GM wheat.

这个研究所要探索的三个问题是：(1)怎样对上述表示"种类意义"的结构进行功能句法分析？(2)这些表示"种类意义"的结构体现了什么语义特征？(3) 在形式层上还有哪些结构可以体现"种类意义"？这篇论文的理论根据和分析框架、术语是Fawcett所创立的"加的夫语法"(the Cardiff Grammar)。

论文的第一节交代了研究的范围、研究的问题、研究方法和步骤、论文的结构。在这一节中，Fawcett 谈了改进、修正语言学理论所要经过的六个阶段：从语言学者发现现有的理论描述无法解答新的问题，到后来把自己的研究、发现与同行交流，到最终这种研究成为修正后的理论的一个重要部分。论文的第二节介绍了关于语言本质方面的假定和概念，对他的"加的夫语法"与"悉尼语法"(the Sydney Grammar)的异同进行勾画；他接着介绍系统功能语法是怎样运作的，最后对论文所要研究的结构做了交代。在这一节中，Fawcett对"系统功能语言学"(Systemic Functional Linguistics) 和 "系统功能语法"(Systemic Functional Grammar)作了简单的区分，同时也提到Halliday所区分的"语法"(grammar)和"语法学"(grammatics)。第三节是关于

"种类意义"的文献综述，所提到的语法著作（学者）包括Angela Downing & Philip Locke, Christian Matthiessen, M.A.K. Halliday, Chris Butler, Randolph Quirk *et al.*, Douglas Biber *et al.*, Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey K. Pullum, John Sinclair, V. Prakasam。第四节是论文主体部分之一，主要讨论英语名词词组中"挑选"(selection)的概念和句法分析，并涉及限定词的确定问题；Fawcett在这里共区分出九类限定词：deictic determiner, quantifying determiner, superlative determiner, totalizing determiner, fractionative determiner, ordinative determiner, partitive determiner, representational determiner, qualifier-introducing determiner。论文的第五节是整篇论文的核心，对"种类限定词"(typic determiner)作了十分深入和细致的分析。作者提出几个假设，然后进行论证；讨论还涉及"种类意义"的系统网络(system network)和体现规则(realization rule)。论文最后一节是结论，其中提到的体会和观点给读者很大的启发。

虽然Fawcett这篇论文的目的是建构英语"种类意义"的语法，但我认为，从这篇论文中我们学到的不仅仅是关于"种类意义"的系统功能句法描述和分析，而且还有同样重要的东西，那就是进行语言研究的一种重要的方法。从论文中我们看到了作者是怎样发现和提出问题的，怎样分析和解决问题，怎样选择研究视角，怎样从一个具体的语法结构展示语言学研究的方法和步骤，怎样提出假设、证明或否定假设，怎样对一些大家熟悉的说法和做法进行反思和反省，等等。

Fawcett 文章中有许多很有启发性的观点，这里只提一点：在肯定利用语料库寻找范例的重要性之后，Fawcett明确告诉我们，不要害怕用自己造的例(句)子来进行功能句法分析。众所周知，功能语言学研究使用中的语言和实际使用过的语言，而形式语言学则通常使用语言学家自己造的例(句)子。也就是说，功能语言学者主要通过"观察"(observation) 方法来收集语料，而形式语言学者则通过"内省"(introspection)和"诱导"(elicitation)方法来获得分析材料。Fawcett 明确说出不要害怕用自己造的例(句)子来进行分析，一定会给从事功能句法探索的学者带来信心和鼓舞。Henry Widdowson（见

Widdowson, H.G. *Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press / Shanghai: Foreign Language Education Press, 2000, p. 75)在谈到语料在语言学研究中的作用时说: "The validity of different kinds of linguistic data is not absolute but relative: one kind is no more 'real' than another. It depends on what you claim the data are evidence of, and what you are trying to explain."(不同类型的语料的有效性不是绝对的,而是相对的;没有一类语料比另外一类更加"真实";这要看你想证明什么和你想解释什么。)我们赞成Widdowson的观点,也同意Fawcett所说的不要害怕用自己造的例(句)子来进行功能句法分析。最后,我们还想再次强调,功能句法研究是系统功能语言学研究的一个重要部分。

<div align="right">(黄国文)</div>

0   Orientation

This paper has two aims: (i) to develop a more adequate model than is currently available for the syntax and semantics of a central area of English grammar for which there are still, surprisingly, no adequate accounts in the literature — i.e. the meanings and forms of "typicity" — and   (ii) to examine critically the adequacy of the methods used in such descriptive studies in general and in this study in particular.

1　Introduction

1.1　The data to be explained

The three questions to which this paper tries to provide answers are as follows.[1]

(i) How should we model the **syntax** around the underlined words in (1a) to (3a) below (which express the concept of "typicity")?

(ii) What **semantic** features do these items and their associated structures realize?

(iii) What other patterns at the level of form realize meanings of "typicity"?

(1a) (The system needs) a few different <u>sorts</u> of documents.

(2a) (You need to determine) the appropriate <u>type</u> of insulin the person should use.

(3a) (This is) one of the first of the new <u>varieties</u> of GM wheat.[2]

Until quite recently, I had assumed that I had long since identified

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the "right" description for examples such as these. This paper will present (i) evidence which suggests the need to consider a significantly different syntactic representation from the one that I had assumed was appropriate, (ii) the evidence for and against adopting the new proposal, and (iii) my decision on this issue. Indeed, the paper will be as much about the concepts and methods to be used in reaching such decisions as it is about the description of English that results from the decision.

1.2 The plan of the paper

Section 1.3 will introduce the question of the methods to be used in determining how best to represent an area of the grammar of a language, such as that to be examined here, by outlining the way in which I think a functional theory of language should be developed. Then, in preparation for the discussion of the concepts of "selection" and "typicity" in Sections 4 and 5, Section 2 will introduce the basic assumptions about the nature of language made here, i.e. the framework of concepts in which the discussion will be set. While these will be drawn from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the discussion will be presented in terms that are relevant to any functional approach to understanding language. Then Section 3 will provide a summary and evaluation of the surprisingly thin literature on this topic. That concludes the introductory sections.

Section 4 will present a summarizing description of the English nominal group that provides for the cases exemplified of what we shall term "selection" in (4) to (7) — among very many others, as we shall see.

(4)	all	(of)	those children / them
(5)	five	of	those children / them
(6)	five	of the youngest of those children / them	

(7) a picture of a group of the youngest of those children / them .... etc.

(The layout of (4) to (7) is significant — as also is the optionality of *of* in (4).)

However, any adequate description of the English nominal group must also model the expression of "typicity", as in (1a) to (3a) and in (8):

(8) some photographs of two of the latest types of jet engine

Example (8) appears to belong to the same general pattern as (4) to (7) — but does it? The task of Section 5, which is by far the longest section of this paper and which constitutes its core, is to explore and to assess the evidence related to this question. It is Section 5, then, that investigates the new hypothesis to be explored here. Finally, in Section 6, I shall (i) summarize my conclusions and (ii) review the methods used in this scientific inquiry. It is these methods that I take to be the main tools available to the scientist whose task is to investigate the nature of language.

When I began work on this paper, I thought it would tell a tale of using FOUR types of evidence to justify introducing A NEW SYNTACTIC PATTERN for certain core elements of the nominal group in English. But it has instead turned out to be a tale about the use of FIVE types of evidence — the last of which has led to the REJECTION OF THE POSSIBLE NEW SYNTACTIC PATTERN, and so to the confirmation, with minor changes, of an earlier proposal for this area of English grammar. However, since that earlier proposal hasn't been widely publicized, this paper may still give you the fun of being challenged to reconsider your current assumptions about this area of English grammar.

1.3 How to make progress in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Let me begin by giving an informal description of how, in my view,

we should expect improvements in the description of a language to come about — and so, much less frequently, how improvements in a theory of language may come about.

In a functional theory that respects the evidence of real life texts — as SFL does — the natural route to such changes in the theory is (or should be) as follows:

1 A linguist analyzing a text finds that the current description is unable to handle some phenomenon in a principled manner.

2 He or she then invents (or borrows from elsewhere) a new descriptive category that she will try out to see if it helps in handling the problem. (For now on we shall say "she", to balance the fact that the writer of the present paper is male.)

3 She thinks systemically — i.e. paradigmatically, and at the levels of both form and meaning — about possible similar cases that might occur; she searches corpora wherever possible; and she remains alert to this area of the grammar from then on in all uses of language that she encounters — noting relevant examples and steadily testing, modifying and refin ing the possible innovation in the descriptive apparatus.

4 If she then finds that the new category has become established as a necessary concept (e.g. for analyzing texts), she considers carefully whether it is (i) an artefact of her particular research task (as has occasionally happened in SFL), or (ii) a part of the general description of the language. If the latter, she asks whether (i) it is another instance of an already established category (e.g. the recognition of a new element in an established unit, of which Gordon Tucker and I have found a few cases in recent years, as we developed our description of the grammar of English) or whether (ii) it has implications for the theory itself (as would be the case if, say, one

were to propose an element that was NOT part of a unit).[1]

5 She presents the new proposal in a conference paper, a journal article or a book (as I shall here).

6 Other scholars respond to the proposal, either pointing out why it should not be incorporated into the general description of theory, or incorporating it and acknowledging it — at least for the next few years, until it simply becomes a fully established component of the revised theory.

In practice, relatively few additions to the descriptive apparatus turn out to have implications for the theory, but when a number of them have been made it sometimes becomes clear that there is also a need to adjust the theory itself. [2] In Section 6, then, we shall return to the question of the methods used in an exercise in linguistic inquiry such as this.

The next two sections describe (i) the concepts that provide the necessary background to the alternative proposals to be discussed in Sections 4 and 5, and the contributions made so far in the literature to understanding the phenomena to be examined here.

It may strike you as a little surprising that I have decided to introduce the background concepts before surveying the relevant literature. The reason is that they provide a useful framework for interpreting the proposals made so far in the literature.

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[1]   This idea has been suggested in the past for Linkers such as *and* and *or* (e.g. Muir 1972: 88), but it is not so far as I am aware advocated by any currently active SF grammarian. Indeed, there are compelling reasons why an *and* that links two co-ordinated clauses should be attached to the start of the second one.

[2]   At various points in Fawcett 2000, I describe cases of how I came to make changes of this sort to Halliday's theory of syntax. The most important of these is the change in the criteria for identifying a unit, and the consequent partial replacement of the concept of the "rank scale" (which involves faulty predictions about relations between units) by one that gives weight to the varying probabilities in the question of what unit may fill what element in what other unit. For this see Fawcett 2000: 238–43.

2   The necessary background concepts

2.1   Some preliminary definitions

Since the theory of language in whose framework this discussion will be conducted is SFL, it will be useful to make a distinction from the start between Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). As we shall see in Section 2.3, a SFG is the sentence-generating component of an overall model of language and its uses that draws on SFL. And the term "Systemic Functional Grammar" is also used, by extension, for the study of the SFG of a language, or of language in general. Halliday (1996) has proposed the term "grammatics" to refer to the study of "grammar". These two distinctions — (i) between a theory of language and the grammar of a language whose description uses such a theory, and (ii) between the grammar itself and the grammatics that studies it — are ones that are useful to any theory of language.

2.2   Common ground and differences in two versions of SFG

We shall begin with a summary of the relationship between the version of SFL developed by Halliday and his colleagues ("the Sydney Grammar") and the version developed by my colleagues and myself ("the Cardiff Grammar"). As Halliday has remarked (1994:xii), the version of SFG with which "Cardiff Grammar" systemicists work is "based on the same systemic functional theory" as that of Halliday. However, in the light of the differences between the two, as pointed out in Fawcett (2000) and in Butler (2003a, 2003b), we should insert "essentially" before "the same".

Thus, while there are important differences between the two models of language, the two also have a very large amount in common. For example, both assume that the concept of a vast system network of

interdependent "choices between meanings" should be the foundation of a SFL model of language, and both assume that realization rules convert these meanings into words, syntax, intonation, and so on. At a more general level, both aim to provide, for the languages of the world, (i) a **descriptive** grammar — and so a grammar that is capable of being used to describe both languages and texts — and (ii) a **generative** grammar — and so one that is sufficiently well formalized to be able to operate in a computer as part of a natural language generation system. I take it as axiomatic that work on the descriptive grammar of a language benefits work on the generative grammar (and vice versa), because ultimately both draw on — and in turn contribute to — the same model of language.[1]

The SFL model of language to be presented here — i.e. the Cardiff Grammar — is no less systemic and no less functional than Halliday's. Indeed, there are ways in which it can claim to be both more systemic and more functional, e.g. in the explicitly semantic nature of its system networks.

The current position is therefore that, as a result of the extensive work by the team at Cardiff since the late 1980s, there are now two fairly comprehensive versions of SFG, with certain significant differences between them. As the names for the two versions used here suggest, the two models are generally referred to by the names of their academic bases, i.e. as "the Sydney Grammar" and "the Cardiff Grammar". Butler (2003a, 2003b) provides fairly full descriptions of both versions (as well as two other "functional-structural" models), and he reaches the encouraging conclusion that "in my view the Cardiff model represents a substantial improvement on the Sydney account" (2003b:471).

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[1]   See Fawcett 2000:78–81 for a discussion of the fact that we need to recognize that we find both "text-descriptive" and "theoretical-generative" strands of work in SFL – as in linguistics as a whole.

The main theoretical difference is that in the Cardiff Grammar the system networks for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME, TIME etc. are regarded as constituting the level of meaning — i.e. the semantics — so implementing Halliday's revolutionary proposals of the 1970s (e.g. 1971/73:110; see Chapter 4 of Fawcett 2000 for a summary of these and their significance). But in other writings (e.g. in Halliday & Matthiessen 1999 and 2004) Halliday suggests that there is a second and equally complex layer of networks of "choices between meanings" above these, and that it is these that constitute the semantics. However, the fact that in both versions the system networks for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME, TIME etc. are seen as modelling a "meaning potential" that is realized in functional structures means that the proposals in this paper are potentially relevant to both. The differences become most pronounced when we consider the question of what other components of the model of language lie above this level of system networks.[1]

2.3   How a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) works

I shall now provide a brief overview of how a SFG works. Here we assume a model with only one level of networks for the "meaning potential" of a language. You can interpret it as the semantics, as in the Cardiff Grammar, or as the lower of the two networks that specify "meaning potential", as in the Sydney Grammar.[2]

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[1]   Two problems about evaluating Halliday & Matthiessen's "two levels of meaning" proposal — which many SF linguists believe makes the model unnecessarily complex — are (i) that so far only fragments of such a description have been published, and (ii) there is no clear indication of how choices in that network would "predetermine" choices in the standard network.

[2]   See Chapter 5 of Fawcett 2000 for a discussion of the many major similarities and the relatively minor differences between the generative versions of the Sydney Grammar and the Cardiff Grammar.
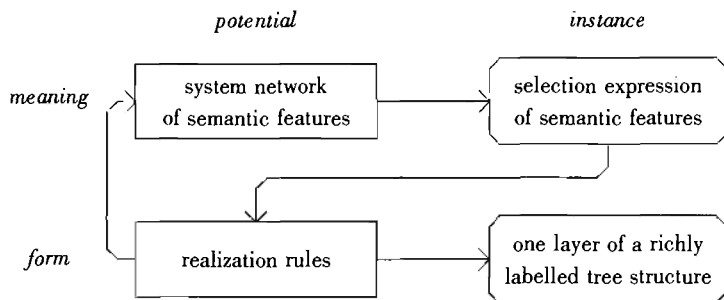
potential   *instance*

meaning   system network of semantic features   selection expression of semantic features

form   realization rules   one layer of a richly labelled tree structure

Figure 1: The main components of a Systemic Functional Grammar and their outputs

The process of generation is controlled by the **system network**. This models the "meaning potential" of the language, and it consists of statements about relationships between semantic features. One uses a system network by "traversing" it, collecting semantic features as one goes. In Section 5.5 I shall introduce a small part of the overall network.

Figure 1 shows (i) the two main components of the grammar of a language (on the left), and (ii) their outputs (on the right). As the label above the two main components suggests, the grammar specifies the two main "potentials" of a language: one at each of the two levels of **meaning** and **form**. Figure 1 also shows the two types of "instances", i.e. the outputs from each of the two components.

As the arrows in Figure 1 indicate, semantic features in the system networks generate the "richly labeled" syntactic structures of the language — but not directly. Each traversal of the system network results in one **selection expression**, this being the set of semantic features that have been chosen on that traversal of the network in the generation of one syntactic **unit**. The selection expression is the input to the level of **form**, but it is also the representation at the level of **meaning** of the unit being generated.

Each of the selected semantic features is then checked against the

realization rules, and if a rule that refers to the feature is found it is applied.

The output from the realization rules is added to the structure being generated, and it will consist of: (i) one syntactic unit, (ii) its elements, and (iii) the items that expound them — unless an element of the unit is to be filled by a further unit (for which see below). In comparison with other theories of language, the "nodes" of a SFL representation are, as the label on the output at the level of form says, "richly labeled" — as will be shown in the analyzed examples that we will meet.

While most types of realization rule build structures, one type re-enters the system network (as indicated by the arrow on the left of Figure 1). The first pass through the network typically generates a clause, but generation of a full text-sentence usually requires several re-entries to the system network to generate the nominal groups (and other units) that fill some of the elements of the clause, and some of the elements of the groups. We shall see the results of such a "re-entry" in the analyses of examples in Figure 2 onwards.

This paper, then, will focus on the structures that are generated as the **outputs** from the level of **form** — and in particular on some key areas of the nominal group. But we shall find that, in assessing the relative merits of alternative structures, we shall need to examine them in relation to (i) the part of the system network from which they are generated and (ii) the realization rules that express the relationship between meaning and form.[1]

2.4   A brief introduction to the structure of the English nominal group

While the **semantics** of the **nominal group** (like the semantics of the clause) involves several different types of meaning ("metafunctions" in Sydney Grammar terms, "strands of meaning" in Cardiff Grammar

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terms), at the level of **form** these are integrated into a single structure. In Halliday's description of the nominal group in *IFG* he at first takes precisely this position, but later, somewhat confusingly, he suggests the need for a se cond structure. As we shall see, the structure for the nominal group described here provides neatly for the problem that led Halliday to introduce a second structure, so that here all of the various strands of meaning that are realized in the nominal group are modeled in a single structure.[1]

A **nominal group** (**ngp**) consists of four broad types of element: **determiners (d), modifiers (m),** the **head (h)** and **qualifiers (q).** As a simple example, consider Figure 2. (This example is taken from a real question that I asked in Gent, Belgium: *Does anyone live in that impressive old castle in the centre of the city?*)

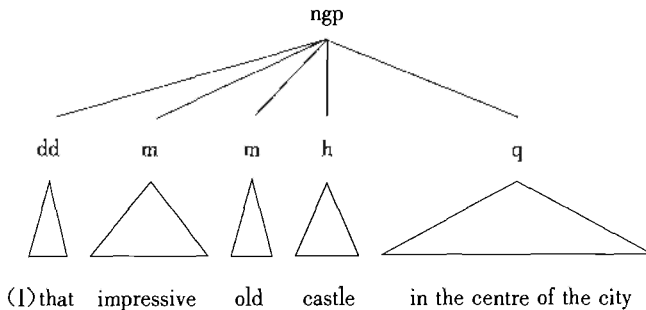**Figure 2: The primary structure of a simple nominal group**

Note the following points:

1 Each ngp has at least one **referent,** which may be "singular", "plural" or "mass".

2 We shall say that each of *this book, it, these books, they* and *oil* has a **single referent.** Thus a "plural" ngp has a single referent.

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[1]   See Fawcett forthcoming a for a full discussion of this question.

3 We shall use the following technical terms and abbreviations (as specified in Fawcett 2000) when describing a **ngp** — using (1) as an example. This **unit** is a ngp that has as its **elements** a **deictic determiner (dd),** two **modifiers (m),** a **head (h)** and a **qualifier (q).** The deictic determiner is expounded by the **item** *the* and the head by the **item** *castle*. The qualifier (whose internal structure is not shown) is **filled** by a **prepositional group (pgp)** *(in the centre of the city).* Each of the two modifiers is filled by a **quality group (qlgp)** (also not shown), the **apex** being **expounded** by the **items** *impressive* and *old*.[1]

4 A ngp may contain many types of **determiner** and **modifier** and several **qualifiers,** but it can only have one **head.**[2]

5 Each determiner, modifier and qualifier is a separate element, and each realizes a different type of meaning.

6 With only very minor variations, the **sequence** of the elements is fixed.

7 The presence of the **head (h)** element is almost OBLIGATORY (though we shall shortly meet an exception to this generalization). There are three main types:

   (i) heads that state the **cultural classification** that is being assigned to the referent by a choice in the vast system network of noun senses that a language makes available to its users ("common nouns");[3]
   (ii) heads that refer to their referent by a **token cultural classification** ("third person pronouns"); and
   (iii) heads whose referent is **named** ("proper nouns").

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[1] We recognize the presence of a qlgp here because almost all such cases can be preceded by a temperer, e.g. very. For the fullest grammar yet published of the grammar of the quality group (the unit whose pivotal element is an adjective or adverb), see Tucker 1998.

[2] However, the new proposal considered in Section 5.10 would, if accepted, modify this claim.

[3] For an excellent introduction to this important SFL concept, including a survey of the literature up to the time, see Tucker 1996.

Here we shall be concerned with Types (i) and (ii) — as in (1a) to (7).

8 All elements other than the head are structurally OPTIONAL, with Type 1 allowing far the widest range of elements.

9 The function of both **modifiers** and **qualifiers** (which precede and follow the head respectively) is to **describe** the referent. Both answer the general question "What sort of object?", and there are specialized questions for each subcategory of modifier and qualifier. But modifiers typically also serve one of three broad functions: in principle, all modifiers can be used to **classify** the referent, but some simply **depict** it (cp. the traditional terms "defining" and "non-defining") — and some modifiers are **affective** (e.g. nice, nasty).

2.5   The use of *of* in structures other than "selection"

We turn now to the use of the word *of* — a word whose centrality in understanding the structure of English cannot be overestimated. It is the second most frequent item in English after *the*, and it comprises about two per cent of all words in all types of text (Sinclair 1991:84, 143). It expresses many different semantic relationships, but in the grammar presented here these are realized in either of just TWO types of structure. One is the "selection" structure to be introduced in Section 4. and the other we shall deal with here.

In this "other" use, the item *of* functions as a preposition in a prepositional group. In this syntactic function, it can be used to express several different semantic functions, two of the more important being the meaning of "personal relationship" in (2) and the "reification" of an

event as a **nominalization**, as in (3).[1]

(2) (He was) the confidant of three prime ministers.
(3) (It was) the clash of two cultures.

Currently most linguists — other than those who use the approach suggested in Fawcett (1974–6/81, 1980) — appear to assume that this second structure is the only one that is required for modelling ANY instances of the word *of*.[2] Since we ourselves will shortly be considering the possible use of this structure to model the "selection" meaning of *of*, please look now at Figure 3 and its Key.

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[1] The function of *of* in a nominalization is to mark what follows as a Participant Role (PR) in the Process that is expressed (or partly expressed) in the head. So in *the clash of two cultures (with each other)*, "two cultures" functions as a PR in the Process of "clashing" that is realized in *clash*. A third (and rather different) use of *of* as a preposition occurs when it realizes part of the meaning of a Process, e.g. in examples such as *I'm thinking of you* and *I'm aware of the problem* (where "thinking of" and "being aware of" are the Processes).

[2] One group who don't make this assumption is Sinclair and his team. Sinclair (1990) lists the cases where they use a prepositional group (or "phrase") to represent the structural relationships around *of* (which include some that are handled here as types of "selection") but, disappointingly, that work doesn't say what the structural relationship between *of* and its neighbouring elements is in cases such as *five of them* or *a pile of books*. Nor is this explained in Sinclair (1991).
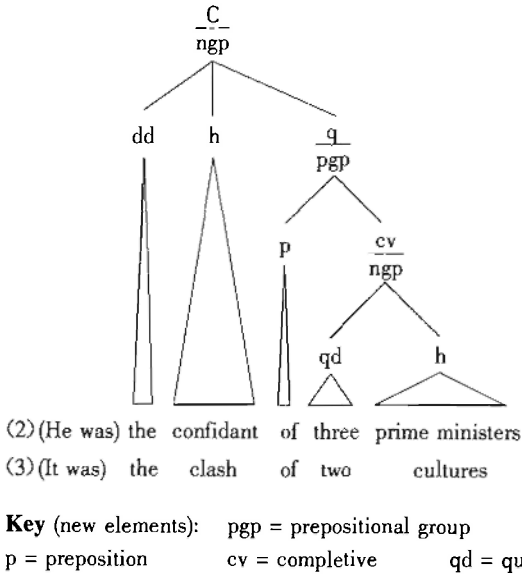
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                    _C_
                    ngp
              /      |      \
            dd       h       _q_
                             pgp
                            /    \
                          p       _cv_
                                  ngp
                                 /    \
                               qd      h
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(2)(He was)	the	confidant	of	three	prime ministers
(3)(It was)	the	clash	of	two	cultures

Key (new elements):   pgp = prepositional group

p = preposition   cv = completive   qd = quantifying determiner

Figure 3 The "prepositional group as qualifier" construction

Section 4, however, will introduce a very different structure as being appropriate to *of* in its "selection" sense.

3   The sparseness of the relevant literature
3.1   "Selection" and "typicity"

First, however, I shall offer a brief overview of certain publications that are — or should be — relevant to the concepts of (i) "selection" in the nominal group, as presented in Section 4, and (ii) "typicity" in the nominal group, as discussed in Section 5.

This paper will demonstrate that the concept of "typicity" and its various realizations at the level of form is far more central in the grammar of English than one might at first think. And yet much of the relevant literature, you should be warned, is very sparse — and, by and large, uninsightful.

3.2   Fawcett 1974 to 2000

Let me begin by tracing the history of the concept of "selection" in my own work on developing a SFG for English. So far as I am aware, this concept was introduced to linguistics for the first time in Fawcett (1973/81).

The approach to the structure of the English nominal group to be presented here is set within the broad framework of the principles set out in Halliday (1961) — while being significantly different from the description of English found in *IFG*. Most of the specific proposals set out in Section 3 have been published previously, but only as incidental components in papers or books whose main focus was elsewhere. The first presentation of the concept of "selection" in the nominal group was in Fawcett (1974–6/84), and it was presented again, in a slightly revised form, in Fawcett (1980).

The current version, however, which includes full system networks and realization rules, was developed with colleagues (especially Gordon Tucker) as part of the COMMUNAL Project. It is described briefly in Fawcett (2000); it is the main focus of Fawcett (forthcoming b); and the fullest descriptions are to be found in Fawcett (forthcoming a and c). Here I shall draw on those works to provide the framework for my discussion of the meanings of "typicity", and for the structures through

which they are realized.[1]

The types of determiner recognized in my early work — together with examples of what expounds them — were:

(i) "deictic" (e.g. *the*),

(ii) "uniquifying", a term that was replaced in my 1980 book by "ordinative" and "superlative"(e.g. *the first* and *the biggest*),

(iii) "quantifying" (e.g. *five* and *a small number*), and

(iv) "partitive" (e.g. *the back*).

Examples and brief descriptions of most of the others that we shall meet later in this paper are also given in my 1980 book — including, on p. 220,

(v)   the "typicity" meanings to be discussed in Section 5 (e.g. *this type*).

So virtually the full set of ideas to be presented here was in the public domain by 1980 — if only in outline form.

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[1]   In addition, I have presented (i) workshops on "selection in the nominal group" at several International Systemic Congresses; (ii) guest lectures on this topic at the Universities of Macquarie (Sydney), Doshisha (Kyoto) and Gent (Belgium); and (iii) undergraduate and postgraduate courses at Cardiff. There is also an excellent summary of the Cardiff Grammar's general approach to the nominal group in Butler (2003a:309–13), and on pp. 334–6 he ingeniously uses the early system network from Fawcett (1980) (which is the only one to have been published so far, apart from the fragments in Fawcett, Tucker & Lin (1993)) to trace the pathways through the network that are chosen in generating the example he considers, i.e. two old plush tablecloths. The large-scale networks in the current version for computer implementation are far more complete than those in Fawcett (1980) and Fawcett, Tucker & Lin (1993), but they operate on the same principles, so that Butler's description gives an authentic feel for how this grammar works. They will be published in Fawcett (forthcoming c).

3.3   Downing & Locke 1991

However, it was not Fawcett (1980) but Fawcett (1974–6/84) that Angela Downing and Philip Locke acknowledge as one of their sources for their valuable 1992 *University Course in English Grammar* (p. xix), recently revised as Downing & Locke (2006). The heading of their Module 47 is "Selecting and particularising 'things' ", and although Downing & Locke limit themselves to just two types of "selection" — selection by "deixis" and by "quantification" — they are using these terms in essentially the senses in which I intended them. ①   At a time when we who were working on the COMMUNAL Project were becoming aware that our proposals for improvements to the SFL description of English were falling on (largely) deaf ears in Sydney, this was a small but very welcome encouragement.

3.4   Matthiessen 1995

However, one of the Sydney group, Christian Matthiessen, has found my concept of "selection" useful, as he courteously acknowledges in a footnote in Matthiessen (1995: 655). So, even though this work is, in Matthiessen's own words, "based on Halliday's work" and "intended to be read together with ... *IFG* as a companion volume" (pp. i–ii), we should note that, in his 1995 book, he felt able to add concepts that were not found in *IFG*, if he considered them useful.

But I have to point out, regretfully, that there is a serious limitation in Matthiessen's use of the concept of "selection". It is that he only

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① Further work in the COMMUNAL Project on the nature of the referents of nominal groups has persuaded me to change my position on my earlier assumption (in Fawcett 1980) that "particularization" is itself a type of "selection". Logically the idea makes sense, but the way that English (and every other language I know of) works is, I now see, to treat the "particularization" as part of the meaning of what we shall refer to as the "rightmost referent". Section 4.3 will expand on this.

seems to be willing to recognize that "selection" is involved IF THE RELEVANT DETERMINER IS FILLED BY A NOMINAL GROUP AND FOLLOWED BY *of.* So for him *a pack of cards* involves "selection", but fifty-two cards does not — in part, perhaps, because of the presence of *of* in the former. However, I shall show in Section 4 why the syntax of the two should in fact be represented as broadly similar — though not, of course, precisely identical — irrespective of the presence of the item *of.*[①]

Matthiessen's treatment of "selection" is fuller than that of Downing & Locke, in that it makes provision for two more of the categories to be introduced here. These are the "representational" and "typic" types of "selection" for which see Section 4.3 — though he uses the alternative labels of "symbolization" and "exemplification" — so making five different types of "selection". However, there is a further problem with his description. This is that the classification of types of "Facet" that he offers on p. 657 implies that his five "sub-types" are in a systemic — so **paradigmatic** — relationship to each other. But the facts of English texts show that four of his five types are in a **syntagmatic** relationship to each other — as the many analyzed examples in Fawcett (1974–7/81) were expressly designed to show — and as Section 4 will demonstrate. (The exceptions are his "aggregate" and his "measure", which are subtypes of our "quantity".)

Nonetheless, this acceptance of at least some of our proposals by a second fellow systemicist was also a source of encouragement at the time to the Cardiff grammarians, and it appeared to give some hope that our proposals for improved SFG descriptions of English were being

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① Perhaps Matthiessen accepts this apparently illogical difference in structure out of deference to Halliday's early analysis of one-item quantifying expressions as "numeratives". But that analysis fails to capture the important generalizations that the present analysis captures — and both Halliday and Matthiessen are, by temperament, seekers after generalizations.

noted.[1]

3.5   IFG: Halliday 1985 & 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004

Interestingly, however, the concept of "selection" is completely absent from all three editions of *IFG* — even the 2004 edition, in which Matthiessen functioned as the "reviser". Unless he has changed his mind since his 1995 book, it would seem that his remit as "reviser" did not extend to the concepts used in the description.[2]

However, we should note that all three editions of *IFG* include two of the concepts proposed in Fawcett (1974–6/81), and so also in my later writings (though under different names from mine). The first is the concept of "Measure", as in *a pack of cards* and *another three cups of that good strong tea* (Halliday 1994:195). And this brings us to an apparent inconsistency. In the first example, *a pack of* is analyzed as a "Numerative", while, in the second (which occurs immediately below it on the same page), *another three cups of* is described differently, i.e. as a "Pre-numerative".

The second concept that was first suggested in Fawcett (1974/81) is that exemplified in *the front of the house*. In the 1994 edition of *IFG* *this* is described as a "Pre-Deictic", but in the 2004 edition it becomes a "Facet".

A further problem, apart from the inconsistency in the labelling in these examples, is that Halliday never offers any comment on the function of *of*. He simply analyzes it as PART OF the "Numerative",

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[1]   Matthiessen's discussion has the further virtue of reminding us of the discontinuity that our analyses must handle in cases such as *Dorian Grey I haven't seen a picture of*, and this was useful in pointing me to an even wider set of related problems to which Chapter 15 of Fawcett (forthcoming a) provides solutions.

[2]   Matthiessen has told me (personal communication) that the chapter on groups in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) was one for which Halliday took responsibility.

"Pre-Numerative", "Pre-Deictic" or "Facet", and this leaves the reader asking "What is the unit of which the word *of* is an element?"

The only possible conclusion is that the current *IFG* descriptions of these areas of meaning and form need substantial revision, if they are to account consistently for the data to be discussed here.

3.6   Butler 2003a & 2003b

Within the framework of a comparison of SFL with two other "structural-functional" theories   (Dik's Functional Grammar and van Valin's Role and Reference Grammar), Butler   (2003a, 2003b) provides an impressively full and detailed comparison of the two main versions of SFL. On pp. 309–13 of Butler (2003a) there is an excellent summary of the Cardiff Grammar's approach to the nominal group, based on Fawcett   (2000). It therefore includes a brief account of "selection", including all the determiners to be introduced in Section 4   (except one more recent addition). He avoids direct comparisons for much of the two volumes, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions, but in Butler   (2003b) he writes in summary that "there can be no doubt that SFG has lived up to its claim to be a text-oriented theory of language; ... it has achieved a much wider coverage of English grammar than other approaches, this being especially true of the Cardiff grammar" (2003b: 471). I hope this paper will exemplify Butler's comment on the Cardiff Grammar's coverage, and also that his remarks will encourage you to look seriously at the descriptions of the rest of English offered in this framework by my colleagues and myself.

3.7   Quirk *et al.* 1985, Biber *et al.* 1999 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002

While Quirk *et al.*   (1985) take a traditional approach to the phenomena to be examined here, they provide — as almost always — a useful *exploration of much of the relevant territory*. Their approach to

the "definite article" and the "indefinite article" (pp. 253–4) reflects the traditional approach established in the 18th century — a tradition that is challenged in the present approach   (in Section 4.1).   Then in pp. 248–52 they provide an informal survey of what they term "partitive constructions". They define these   (p.249) as   "denoting a part of the whole". This might at first appear to correspond closely to the concept of a partitive determiner that I shall introduce in Section 4.3, but in fact it does not. This is because Quirk *et al.* use the term in a extremely broad sense that includes several of the many meanings and forms to be described   here   —   BUT   ONLY   WHEN   THE   RELEVANT DETERMINER   IS   FILLED   BY   A   NOMINAL   GROUP   AND FOLLOWED BY *of.* Their notion of   "partition" can perhaps be seen as a more limited version of our concept of   "selection", and much of what they have to say concerns matters of   "agreement" between a Subject that contains a nominal group followed by *of* and the following verb.

Biber *et al.* (1999) state that they rely on "previous descriptions of English", and in particular that their   "descriptive framework and terminology closely follows" that of Quirk *et al.* (1985) (pp. 6–7).   Since they   characterize   this,   quite   accurately,   as   "terminologically conservative"   (p.7), we should not expect innovative proposals from them either. Their great contribution — and it is great — is to provide a mass of information about probabilities in language, derived from a very large corpus — and some of these, as we shall see, are relevant to the present study.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002), like Quirk *et al.* (1985), are largely concerned with so-called "agreement" phenomena (pp. 352–3), and they have nothing useful to say about the syntax of such constructions — assuming without question the traditional form-based approach, i.e. that *of* is a preposition and that what follows is an embedded noun phrase (e. g. pp. 411–3).

3.8   Sinclair 1991 and Prakasam 1996

To complete the picture, I shall now briefly summarize the proposals of two scholars who have made detailed studies of the word *of*. On the basis of a small corpus study, Sinclair suggests that "it is not unreasonable to expect that quite a few of the very common words in a language are so unlike the others that they should be considered as unique, one-member word classes" — and he proposes this status for the item *of*. It is indeed frequent, his corpus showing that *of* constitutes "every fiftieth word — over two per cent of all the words — regardless of the kind of text" (p. 84).

But from a functional viewpoint what is important about an item is not its "word class" but its function in a higher unit — and Sinclair fails to show that *of* performs the same structural function in every case. Indeed, he offers no structural analysis as all. However, he does separate off the 20% of cases in which *of* occurs as part of a set phrase, or when predicted by certain lexical verbs such as *consist* and adjectives such as *full*, and he then groups the remainder into a number of loosely defined categories (e.g. "focus on a component, aspect or attribute". Some, such as his "conventional measures" (for *both of them* and *a couple of weeks*) and his "focus on a part" (for *the middle of a sheet* etc.) clearly correspond to elements in the model proposed here (to my "quantifying determiner" and my "partitive determiner", in these two cases). But in other cases his categories cut across those described here, with examples of nominalizations (see Section 2.5) grouped with what seem to me to be clear cases of "selection" (see Section 4). Generously (or is it sceptically?), Sinclair reminds the reader of "the possibility that another way of organizing the evidence may lead to a superior description" (p. 84).

What would Sinclair think of the present proposals? Not a lot, probably. This is because he prefers to work with a minimal grammar that consists mostly of actual words, word classes and a few basic units such as the nominal group. As Sinclair (1991) shows, his instinct is to

avoid structural descriptions wherever possible — including functional ones. So it is not surprising that he has nothing to say about the functional structure of nominal groups that include *of*. And in this he is following Halliday, as we saw in Section 3.5.

What interests Prakasam, on the other hand, is precisely the challenge to establish an appropriate structure for each of the various functions that *of* may serve. He therefore shares my interest in challenging the apparently unquestioning acceptance by most linguists of the "prepositional group as qualifier" analysis. However, while Sinclair tends to characterize *of* constructions as "N1 *of* N2" (e.g. p. 93), Prakasam sees them as "NGp of NGp", on the grounds that "it is not in principle a noun but a nominal group that precedes and follows the item *of*" (1996: 568). In Section 4.2 I shall suggest that both approaches are too narrow, from a functional viewpoint. Within this "NGp of NGp" framework, Prakasam explores both right-branching and left–branching analyses as ways of representing the different meanings, together with some functional labelling. One of his eleven structures — that shown in Figure 15.12 — reflects the approach taken here. He in fact refers (p. 574) to my approach to such constructions (in Fawcett 1980:204), but he declines to comment on it. It would have been interesting if he had evaluated my proposal in relation to his.

The first problem with Prakasam's approach is that, while it provides for *a large number of those books*, it does not account for the functionally similar *five of those books* (unless we treat *five* as a nominal group). The second is that he appears to be working on the assumption that the differences in meaning between the various forms should be reflected in different branching structures (an assumption shared with formalist grammars). This is likely to lead to considerable difficulties in generating these structures, as we shall see in Section 4.2. Functional grammars tend to have simpler (i.e. "flatter") tree repre-sentations, and to use richer labelling to distinguish the various "functions", which helps to avoid such problems. And the third

problem is that Prakasam only gives us structures, so that we have no picture of what the system networks and realization rules from which such structures might be generated would be like.

In the present paper — in Sections 2.5 and Section 4 — I shall suggest that we need just two broad types of syntactic structure to handle all of the various semantic functions served by *of* — but with variants within one of them, i.e. "selection".

3.9   Summary of the literature

The works that we have surveyed fall broadly into two types. The first assumes that the item *of* is a preposition, and that *of* and the following nominal group together constitute a prepositional phrase (or group) — essentially as in Figure 3. This approach can be criticized for placing too much emphasis on the evidence at the level of form. In contrast, some scholars, notably Halliday and Sinclair, simply ignore the question of the syntactic role of the word *of*, and provide descriptions that leave its role unspecified. None of these scholars   (other than Prakasam) suggest a structure for *of* in its "selection" sense that in any way resembles the structure presented here, and none have anything insightful to say about the concept of "typicicty" and its realization in structure.

We turn next to a summary of the approach to "selection" to be presented here.

4   The concept of "selection" in the English nominal group

This section summarizes an approach to the structure of an important aspect of the nominal group which will be new to many readers, and which therefore needs justifying.   Here I have space to do no more than justify the most frequent type, but the principles

established here apply to the full range of types of "selection", and there is a fuller account of all these in Chapter 7 of Fawcett (forthcoming a) (and also in Fawcett forthcoming b).

However, this approach to analyzing nominal groups has been used by those working in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar for over thirty years — both for extensive text analysis and for generating text-sentences in the computer.   My intention here is simply to give you a flavour of this approach to the nominal group, as the necessary background to the issue to be addressed in Section 5.

4.1   The deictic and quantifying determiners

We begin with the concept that the two most frequent types of **widest referent** (a term that will be explained shortly) are (i) the **whole class** of an object (aka "generic reference"), as in Example 1, or (ii) a subset that is **particularized** (or "definite"), as in Example 2. The key semantic features are shown to the right of the examples. (Semantic features are normally shown in square brackets, as here; the "underscores" in the name of a feature reflect the requirement of the computer model of the full version of the grammar that each feature be a single orthographic word.)

    (1) books   [whole_class]
    (2) these books   [particularized]

Example (2) illustrates the **deictic determiner (dd)** *these*. This is the most frequent type of determiner, and it answers the question "Which (or whose) thing?" In over 99% of cases it is **expounded** by an **item,** and in over 90% of these the item is *the* (the most frequent word in English). But it may also be (i) a "demonstrative determiner" (*this, that, these, those, which* etc.), or (ii) a "possessive determiner"

(*my, your, whose* etc.).[1] Occasionally, however, a **dd** is **filled** by a **genitive cluster**. This typically expresses a "possessive" meaning, e.g. *Fred's, the new doctor's.*[2]

The second most frequent type of determiner is the **quantifying determiner (qd)**. It answers the question "How much?" or "How many?" This raises the question "Of what?" The answer is: "Of whatever is specified in the part of the nominal group that follows it." Usually this is simply a **head** (possibly preceded by one or more **modifiers**) — but it can also be a **dd** (or one of a few determiners to be introduced in Section 4.3) that is then followed by a head. We shall shortly address the question of how to model an example of this sort, such as *five of those books*.

There is a probability of around 90% that the **qd** will be directly **expounded** by an **item**, as in (3) and (4) — typical examples being *one, two, three ... ninety-nine; much, many, plenty (of); more, less, fewer; all, most, some* and *no*.

    (3) five books   [cardinal_plural]
    (4) plenty of books   [approximate_quantity]

The **qd** is also expounded by the fifth most frequent word in English, i.e. a (n). The fact that the two semantic features shown after (5) and (6) form a system reflects the close semantic and structural relationship between *a(n)* and *one*.[3]

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[1]   Frequencies such as these are derived wherever possible from the published results of corpus studies, e.g. Sinclair (1991) and Biber *et al.* (1999), and otherwise from my own considered estimates.

[2]   This requires two re-entries to the network: the first generates the genitive cluster and the second the ngp that fills its possessor element For a summary of all units and elements, including the genitive cluster, see Part 2 of Fawcett (2000), especially pp. 204-7.

[3]   However, when the feature "unmarked one" is selected from any referent other than the "whole class", e.g. from a particularized referent as in (11) below, its realization is NOT *a (n)* but the weak form of *one* that we may represent as *w'n* — as in *Now he feels more like w'n of the boys.* For the full justification of this analysis see Fawcett (forthcoming a).

(5) one ant   [cardinal_one]

(6) an ant / a large ant   [unmarked_one]

But in around 10% of cases the **qd** is **filled** by a **group**. This may be a **ngp**, as in (7) and (8), or a **quantity group (qtgp)**, as in (9) — or both (a **ngp** within a **qtgp**), as in (10).[1]

(7) <u>five hundred</u> children   [cardinal_plural]

(8) <u>two cups</u> of tea   [measured_by_container]

(9) <u>very many</u> people   [approximate_quantity]

(10)) <u>about two dozen</u> youths   [rough_numeral_unit, adjusted]

Now we are ready to look at the expression of "quantity" as a type of "selection".[2] We shall begin with examples that consist of **selection by quantity** from a **particularized** referent — i.e. a nominal group that has both a **qd** and a **dd**, as in (11) and (12). The question is: "How should their syntax be represented?"

(11) five of those books

(12) a large number of those books

To keep matters simple we shall focus on (11). However, since *five* and *a large number* are realizations of two meanings with a fairly close systemic relationship, the structure that we establish for (11) must also be right for (12) — even though the quantifying expression is a nominal group rather than a single item.

If we were to look only at (11), we might be tempted to formulate the problem — as Section 3 shows many linguistics to have done in the

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[1] This requires a re-entry to the network to generate the nominal or quantity group that fills the qd — and a second re-entry in the case of (10) to generate the embedded ngp.

[2] This section is, in effect, a summary of Section 4.4 of Fawcett (forthcoming b).

past — like this:

> "What is the most appropriate way to relate the two nominal groups of *a large number* and *those books* syntactically — while also finding some existing syntactic category in which to place *of*?"

But to ask this question is to foreground the patterns at the level of **form**. In a functional grammar it is more insightful to ask a question that embraces both (11) and (12), i.e.:

> "How should we relate a quantifying expression such as *a large number, very many, five* and so on to what follows it (e.g. *those books*) — while also identifying the semantic and syntactic functions of *of*?"

Let me now give my answer to this question. We start with the **semantics** of "selection". Put at its simplest, we shall say that, in *five of those books, five* is selected from *those books*. But it would be more accurate to say that the referent of *five of those books* is selected from the **referent** of *those books*. In what follows, however, I shall for brevity sometimes write as if *five* — and so *a large number* — had a referent.

At this point we need to introduce two further terms. The referent of the FIRST (or leftmost) determiner is the **substantive referent**. And the referent of the LAST (or leftmost) referent (excluding referents embedded in qualifiers) is termed the **widest referent**, because it is the most comprehensive one. In an example such as *five of these books*, then, the substantive referent is *five (of those books)*, and the widest referent is *those books*.

How, then, is the **meaning** of "selection" realized at the level of **form**? Clearly, the first part of the answer relates to the role of *of* — but the second and more challenging part is to identify a **structure** that represents appropriately the relationship of *of* to its neighbouring

elements.

4.2   Alternative structures for modelling "selection"

Let us now consider the alternative structures for (11) — and so for (12). In broad terms, there are three possible structures: in Option A *of* and *those books* form a unit; in Option B *five* and *of* do; and in Option C *of* is a sister element to both *five and those books*.

The reasoning that is necessary to choose between these three relates, as is natural with statements about syntax in a functional grammar, to (i) the **meanings** that are being expressed, and so also to (ii) the **realization rules** that relate meaning to form. In other words, it relates to the way the grammar "works" and so, in SFG terms, to the way in which it generates structures from "selection expressions" of features from the semantic system networks (see Figure 1).[1]

The full set of reasons for preferring Option C is set out in Fawcett (forthcoming b). Here I shall simply show examples of analyses of our two key examples in terms of the three major structural possibilities and summarize the conclusions reached in that paper.

The overwhelming consensus of opinion, as reflected in published grammars, is that examples such as (12) should be analyzed as shown in Figure 4 (which is Option A). However, no reasons are given for preferring this structure to the alternatives.

[1]   See Appendix A of Fawcett (2000) for a simple explanation of how a SFG works, and Fawcett, Tucker & Lin (1993) for a much fuller one.
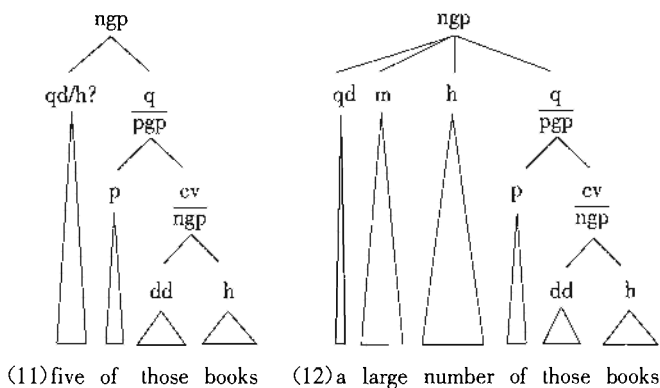
(11) five of those books   (12) a large number of those books

Figure 4: Option A:
The use of the "prepositional group as qualifier" construction
to represent "selection"

There are in fact no fewer than five problems with this analysis. One, which is evident from Figure 4, is that, while the analysis of (12) may appear to be similar to the pattern found in Figure 3, the analysis of (11) is not. Nor is it clear what element *five* expounds. Is it functioning as a **head** — perhaps on the generally assumed (but unexplained) grounds that a nominal group has to have a head? Or is it a quantifying determiner (which most linguists would agree that it is in *five books*). But the two most serious problems arise when we consider how the grammar would generate this structure, and both result from the fact that the word which expresses both the "cultural classification" and the "number" of the widest referent would, in Option A, be buried TWO LAYERS BELOW THE MATRIX NOMINAL GROUP. For example, before the grammar can select between alternative choices in "quantity", it needs to know whether the "widest referent" — i.e. *books* — is "singular", "plural" or "mass". But in Option A this item would be buried two layers below the matrix nominal group, and so would not have been generated at the higher point in the structure at

which the quantifying expression would be generated. These and the other reasons for rejecting Option A are set out in full in Fawcett (forthcoming b).

Now consider Option B, as shown in Figure 5.

(11) five of those books   (12) a large number of those books
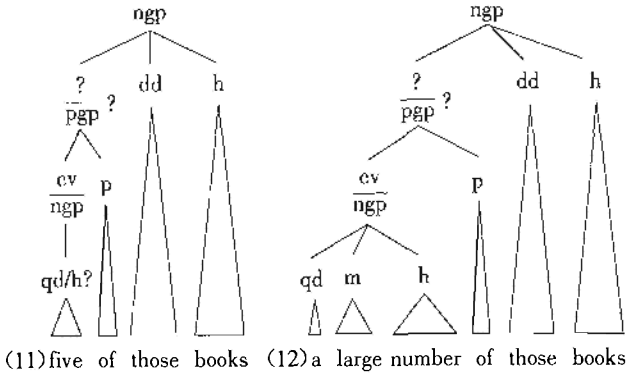
Key (new elements):   ? = new name for element required
pgp = pre-/post-positional group   p = pre-/post-position

Figure 5: Option B:
The use of a pre-head "postpositional group" construction
to represent "selection"

Option B is the inverse of Option A. It has fewer disadvantages, but, as with Option A, it raises problems for the established units and elements of the grammar.

Its second disadvantage — which is also shared by Option A — is that it requires TWO MORE LAYERS OF STRUCTURE than Option C. The relevant principle is that additional structure that is not justified by the requirements of the grammar should be avoided.

Option C, which is shown in Figure 6, brings the enormous advantage that NEITHER *those books* NOR *five* is buried. In this option the "cultural classification" and the "number" of the widest referent are always expressed in the head of the matrix nominal group,

and the "relating" element *of* is treated as AN ELEMENT OF THE SAME UNIT AS THE TWO ELEMENTS THAT IT RELATES — the **qd** and the **dd** — so neatly meeting all the requirements that have emerged in the discussions of Options A and B.[①]
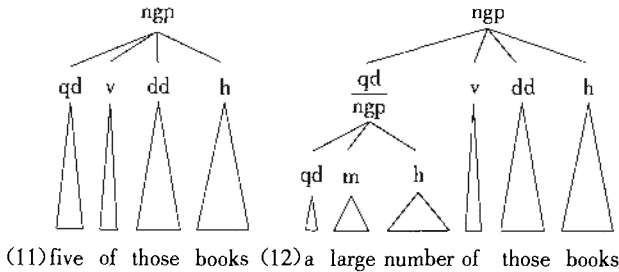

(11) five of those books   (12) a large number of those books

Figure 6: Option C: The structure of two nominal groups with 'selection'

The structure used in the Cardiff Grammar is therefore that shown in Figure 6. Moreover, this structure functions equally well for ALL examples of selection between a **qd** and a **dd,** including (11). It is therefore not just a structure that is used when the **qd** is filled by a nominal group (as it is in Matthiessen 1995:655). Furthermore, as we shall see in Section 4.3, it handles various other types of "selection" equally neatly. For obvious reasons, we call the element expounded by *of* the **selector (v).**[②]

There are THREE major ways in which a **particularized** widest referent is manifested in a nominal group with "selection". Consider

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①   In this respect it plays a role with similarities to that of a "relational" Process such as "being" and "having" in the clause. Compare the interesting analysis in Prakasam (1996:57–8) of a subset of nominal groups in which *of* is analyzed, as a lexical verb would be, as the element "Process".

②   However, the reason for using "v" to represent the selector in a diagram may be less obvious. Why not use "s"? The answer is that (i) a capital "S" is already in use for the Subject and (ii) there is another group element whose name begins with "s" (the scope in a quality group). So here we use *here* "v" — because it represents the minimal phonetic representation of *of*.

(14) to (16):

 (14) I'll take <u>five of those bananas</u>. [cultural_classification]
 (15) I'll take <u>five of them</u>.   [token_cultural_classification]
 (16) I'll <u>take five</u>. [token_cultural_classification_unrealized]

In each of (14) to (16), then, the **qd** is expounded by *five* — so generating *five* BY THE SAME RULE in each case. Thus (16) has no head and no selector.

We have now established the pattern for "selection by quantity" from a "particularized" referent. But what is the semantics of examples such as (17) and (18), in which the referent is NOT "particularized"?

 (17) five books
 (18) many / plenty of books

The answer is that the relationship between *five* and *books* in (17) is the same as that between *five* and *those books* in (11). The difference between the two is that *those books* in (11) refers to a **particularized** sub-set of "books", while *books* in (17) refers to the **whole class** of "books". And it follows from this that *one book* — and so also *a book* — have the same syntax as (17), i.e. **qd h**. So in all such cases "selection" occurs WITHOUT BEING MADE OVERT in the word *of*.

There are in fact many cases of "selection" without *of* — often with a semantically similar form that does use *of*. In (18), for example, *of* occurs with *plenty* but not with *many*, and other semantically similar pairs are: *much grass* and *lots of grass*, *several thousand books* and *several thousands of books*, and *all those children* and *all of those children*. In each pair of examples the relationship of "selection" is **covert** in the first case and **overt** in the second. These close semantic similarities suggest that in all of the above examples — irrespective of

whether "selection" is realized by *of* — the grammar should (i) treat the word expressing the cultural classification as the **head** of the matrix nominal group, and (ii) treat the quantifying expression and the optional selector as sister elements to it — so as **qd** and **v**, as in Figure 6. Any other decision would add a great deal of unnecessary complexity to the realization rules that convert the features in the system network into structures at the level of form. This, then, is further evidence that Option C is the most appropriate of the three syntax models.

4.3   The other determiners

Consider the relationship between the familiar example in   (1) and the more complex structure in (2):

(1) five of those books

(2) five of the most interesting of those books

Our analysis of   (1) is given in Figure 6 — and I introduce here a more economical equivalent LINEAR REPRESENTATION:

(1a) ngp: five [qd] of [v] those [dd] books [h]

But how should we analyze   (2)? The two instances of *of* suggest that the referent of *five* is selected from the referent of *the most interesting (ones)*, and that this is in turn selected from the referent of *those books*. So we have a second type of "selection" — and the analysis   (ignoring for the moment the internal structure of *the most interesting*) is as in Figure 7.
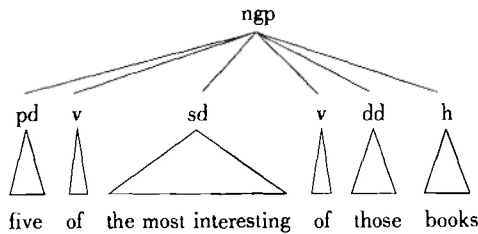
Figure 7: The structure of a nominal group with two types of "selection"

Thus the **superlative determiner** **(sd)** occurs between the **qd** (if there is one) and the **dd** (if there is one) — with the **sd** being filled by a **quality group** (Tucker 1998, Fawcett 2000:206–7, 307). And, to be consistent — and so to keep the realization rules simple — the structure that realizes *the most interesting books* must be as in (3) — again, with a quality group filling the **sd**.[①]

(3) ngp: the most interesting [sd] books [h]

The SEQUENCE of the three determiners in relation to each other is fixed as **qd (v) sd (v) dd (m) h**. The model therefore predicts that these elements will always occur in this sequence.

I shall now briefly explain how TWO APPARENT COUNTER-EXAMPLES are to be analyzed. Each uses words that typically occur as a **qd** — but here they serve a different function.

The first is the occurrence AFTER the **dd** of words such as *few*, *many* and cardinal numerals, as in *her five grandchildren* and in (4):

(4) one of her five grandchildren (is here).

In (4), the **qd** *one* is the **substantive referent** (as the verb is

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[①]   Thus (3) is not, as you might at first think, similar in structure to these very interesting books – the latter being ngp: these [dd] very interesting [m] books [h].

shows) and *five* is a **quantifying modifier (qtm)**. And such modifiers, like *elderly* in *her elderly father*, almost always serves the **depicting** function (Section 2.4).[1]

Example (5) illustrates a second apparent counter–example, with *all* occurring AFTER the **sd**.

(5) one of the most important of a̲l̲l (of) his benefactors

Again, *one* is the **qd**, and the function of *all* is simply to "emphasize" that what follows refers to the "full total" of the referent. Thus *all* (which, note, cannot here be replaced by any other item) expounds the **totalizing determiner (tod)**.

We come next to the **fractionative determiner (fd)**. This answers the question "What fraction of it (or them)?" about whatever is specified to the right of it. It is often expounded directly by *half*, but it may also be filled by a **nominal group**, such as *three fifths, three in / out of (every) five* and *sixty per cent*. Its place in the sequence of determiners is shown in (6):

(6) a third [fd] of [v] his set [qd] of [v] the best [sd] of [v] the [dd] prints [h]

The **ordinative determiner (od)** answers the question "Which thing is being uniquely identified in terms of its position in a sequence?" Its typical position among the determiners is shown in (7):

(7) one [qd] of [v] the first [od] of [v] the fastest [sd] of [v] the [dd] runners [h]

---

[1]   It is this relatively infrequent element (rather than the qd) that appears to correspond. positionally, to the "Numerative" in IFG.

The **partitive determiner** (**pd**) answers the question "What part or parts of it (or them)?" A **pd** is invariably filled by a **nominal group** whose **head** denotes a part of something, e.g. *the back of the house, the head of the valley, the head / president of the company, the peaks of the mountains*. The place in sequence of the **pd** is shown in (8):

(8) the porches [pd] of [v] half [fd] of [v] those [dd] old [m] houses [h]

Semantically, the **representational determiner** (**rd**) is unlike any determiner that we have met so far, in that "selection by representation" does NOT identify a referent that is A SUB-SET OR A PART of what follows it. It is not, strictly speaking, a type of "selection" at all, but an "abstraction by representation". It answers "Yes" to the question "Is this a representation of the referent of the following part of the nominal group?" It is filled by **a nominal group** whose head expresses one of various types of "representation", and it may be **physical**, as in *a map of the world, a recording of her voice* and (9) below, or **mental**, as in *the concept of liberty* or *an example of this construction*.

(9) (This is) a photo [rd] of [v] the back [pd] of [v] our [dd] house [h]

One indication that *house* is the head of the full nominal group is the fact that the overt specification of the "representation" is itself an option in a system — i.e. in many circumstances we refer to the **substantive referent** (i.e. the photo) by simply saying *This is the back*

of our house.[1]

The **rd** precedes all the determiners considered already. This means that if one of them APPEARS to occur before the **rd**, it is in fact **embedded** in it (as described in the next section).

The final determiner   (for now) is the **qualifier-introducing determiner**   (**qid**). It is the least frequent of all, and is always expounded by *those*. Its sole function is to signal that the **cultural classification** in the head is about to be **sub-classified** by additional information in a **qualifier** — as in (10).

(10) those [qid] of [v] her [dd] family [h] who are mentioned in her
     will [q]

Note: if you are already familiar with the model of "selection" in the nominal group presented here (e.g. from Fawcett 1980 or 2000) you might expect me to introduce at this point a tenth determiner: the "typic determiner". But since the purpose of Section 5 is precisely to evaluate the status of this concept, we shall say no more about it till then.

4.4   Embedding and discontinuity within the determiners

There are two final complications to the picture of structure in the nominal group that we have developed — and both will be important in the decision to be made in Section 5.10.

This question arises: "Can an embedded nominal group, such as those found in the **rd**, the **pd**, and the **qd**, contain a further embedded nominal group?" The answer is that they can — and quite frequently do.

Consider the following two examples, each of which involves two

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[1]   This option is one of the earliest that we teach our children, i.e. when looking at a
       picture book with a year-old baby we say *What's this? It's a cow*, and so on — not *It's
       a picture of a cow.*

determiners filled by nominal groups (a **rd** and a **qd**):

(1) (What I liked best was) <u>that simple picture</u> of <u>a bowl</u> of fruit.
(2) (Which one? — There are) <u>several roomfuls</u> of <u>pictures</u> of fruit!

In any one nominal group, the sequence of determiners that are (or may be) filled by an embedded nominal group is:

$$\textbf{rd v pd v ... fd v qd v ...}$$

Since the **rd** and **qd** in (1) are already in that sequence there is no problem. But in (2) they are not. The present model can handle this, because the "pictures" in (2) is "quantified" by the nominal group *several roomfuls* (plus of). So in (2) there are THREE nominal groups, and the linear representations of the three layers of the structure are:

(2a) ngp: several roomfuls of pictures [rd] of [v] fruit [h]
(2b) ngp at **rd**: several roomfuls [qd] of [v] pictures [h]
(2c) ngp at **qd**: several [qd] roomfuls [h]

(For a full diagram of a similar structure, see Figure 10.)
Now consider the underlined portion of (3).

(3) The picture of the fruit <u>that I like best</u> is this one.

This is clearly a qualifier, but does it describe "the picture" or "the fruit"? It could be either — so the syntax must allow for the qualifier to be a sister element to either *picture* or *fruit*. And in the former case the nominal group *the picture that I like best* is **discontinuous**. In a full representation of such examples, therefore, the line joining the qualifier to the rest of its nominal group crosses the analyses of *of, the* and *fruit*. (A similar type of discontinuity will be

described in the discussion in Section 5.10.)

4.5   Summary: the "selection principle"

The set of concepts that underlie the description of the nine determiners summarized here constitutes the *selection principle*. This states that:

1 Each **determiner, pronoun** and **proper name** has an associated **referent** that is expressed in that element (and in what follows it, if anything does).

2 The last (or "rightmost") part of the nominal group refers to the **widest referent**, e.g. *books* in *five books, them* in *five of them* and *the books* in *five of the books*. It is the referent of EITHER (i) the **deictic determiner** (if there is one) plus any following modifiers, head and relevant qualifiers, OR (ii) the **pronoun** or **proper name** that is the head, plus any relevant modifiers or qualifiers.

3 The referent of the **last determiner** (if any) that occurs before the widest referent is treated as being **selected** from the widest referent.

4 This relationship of **selection** is repeated for the referent of the **second last determiner** (if any) before the widest referent, then for the referent of the **third last determiner** before it, and so on, each being selected from the referent of what follows to the right of it.

5 The leftmost referent is the **substantive referent,** the others being simply other referents from which it is selected. The substantive referent may be realized in a nominal group that is **embedded** within another determiner (see 9 below).

6 The type of "selecting relationship" between the referent of the determiner and the referent of what follows varies according to the type of meaning that the determiner realizes.

7 The meaning of "selection" is frequently not expressed overtly — especially when a **qd, od** or **sd** is the last determiner before the widest referent. But when the relationship of "selection" is realized

the **selector** is always expounded by *of*.

8 It is rare for more than three determiners to co-occur, but when they do they occur in the following sequence:

rd v pd v fd v qd v od v sd v tod v qid v dd ... h

9 When a **nominal group** fills a determiner, **embedding** occurs, thus occasionally permitting what may at first appear to be a non-canonical sequence of determiners.

Finally, I should emphasize that this model has served those working in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar well for over three decades of work in text analysis and computer generation. Moreover, it has easily accommodated minor additions such as the **tod** *(all)* and the **qid** *(those)*, when these were noted.

However, the important question of the status of a possible "typic determiner" remains, and we now turn to that.

5   Is there a "typic determiner" — and what alternative analyses should we consider?

5.1   The data to be explained

The structure in English for which I originally proposed the concept of the **typic determiner** (Fawcett 1980:220) answers the apparently simple question: "What type or types of thing?". Typical examples of "typic nouns" that expound the head of a nominal group that fills such a determiner are shown in the underlined portions of (1a) to (3a) — which are repeated here from Section 1.1. The question is: "How are such 'typic nouns' related, syntactically and semantically, to the words that precede and follow them?"

(1a)(The system needs) a few different <u>sorts</u> of documents.

(2a)(You need to determine) the appropriate type of insulin the person should use.

(3a)(This is) one of the first of the new varieties of GM wheat.

Given the analyses in Section 4, the obvious way to model such phenomena is to say that a nominal group whose head is *type* (or a semantically similar word) fills the typic determiner, this being followed by the selector *of* However, there are several reasons to consider a different and more radical proposal.

What are the main "typic nouns" of English? The first three in the following list, which all express a "general" meaning, are by far the most frequent. Those on the second line are less frequent "general" ones, and those on the third are similar — but they need to be understood in their "product" rather than their "process" sense. The items in the fourth line tend to occur with certain classes of object, e.g. *this brand of washing powder / icecream, a new breed of cattle / chicken, a different make of car / television, another strain / variety of rose / wheat*, etc. And those in the fifth line are some of the principal technical terms for "type" used in biology.[1]

type, sort, kind;
class, category; sub-class, sub-category, sub-type;
classification, categorization, sub-classification, sub-categorization;
brand, breed, form, make, variety, version, genre etc.,
phylum, class, order, family, genus, species, variety, biotype etc.[2]

However, when we think systemically and semantically (rather than

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[1]   But see the discussion in Section 5.7.2 of the possibility of expanding this list to include words such as *size, shape, colour* etc.

[2]   Notice that the word *example* and its near-synonyms are not listed here — as they are in the equivalent list in Matthiessen (1985:657). "Example" and "type" are in fact two different — if frequently confused — concepts. Example typically occurs as the head of the nominal group in one sub-type of representational determiner (see Section 4.3).

merely structurally at the level of form) we become aware that there are other forms which express "typicity", as well as those illustrated in (1a) to (3a). Most importantly, we need a description that provides for certain **covert** realizations of "typicity" which go unnoticed much of the time. An unproblematical example is *They've brought out a new stamp*, where the meaning is clearly "a new type of stamp". The high frequency of such examples suggests that "typicity" occurs much more frequently than is implied by the peripheral place it occupies in most grammars.[1]

In the rest of Section 5, I shall (i) summarize my previous approach to this area of the grammar; (ii) present the evidence that led me to consider a radical alternative syntax for it; (iii) state four hypotheses which, if supported by the evidence of corpus data, could be interpreted as strengthening the claims of the new model; (iv) describe the corpus data used to test the hypotheses; (v) report on (a) how far these data supported the hypotheses and (b) the further evidence that appeared; and finally (vi) decide between four alternative models of the syntax of this part of the nominal group.

5.2   My previous approach to "typicity"

The description of the English nominal group on which this paper draws were originally prepared as part of the "guidelines" for use by members of my research team on a large text analysis project (Fawcett & Perkins 1980a–d, 1981). Parts of this description have appeared in Fawcett (1974–6/81, 1980, 2000 and forthcoming b). In these works I treated examples such as (1a) to (3a) as just another determiner that

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[1]   There are yet more semantically related variants — including, alongside this type of document, (i) a document of this type, (ii) this document type, (iii) such a document and (iv) the like(s) of this document. While the system network and realization rules given in Sections 5.5 and 5.12 can be set within a wider network that handles these, they are not covered in this paper. (However, we refer to Type (ii) in Section 5.7.2.)

uses the pattern of "selection" that we met in Section 4. It is an approach that has served my research team, myself and many generations of students well in various large-and small-scale text analysis projects. Indeed, it is my proposal of this structure for handling examples with *type of* that we find reflected in Matthiessen's account of this part of the grammar (1995:657).

However, as I reviewed the examples in the above–mentioned notes in preparation for writing this paper, I was struck by certain patterns which led me to consider a radically different way of modelling their syntax.

At this point I decided to consult the three recent comprehensive grammars of English (Quirk *et al.* 1985, Biber *et al.* 1999, and Huddleston & Pullum 2002) to see what they had to say about the semantics and syntax of "typicity". Disappointingly, there was little of value on either the semantics or the syntax of *type*, etc., most assuming without discussion that the structure should be what I have termed the "prepositional group as qualifier" construction. However, Biber *et al.* (1999:258) do at least comment that "it is not clear how these structures should be analyzed", and they go on to suggest, interestingly, that "there are indications that species nouns [i.e. *type*, etc.] may be felt to be subordinate in much the same way as a determiner" — a viewpoint which seems to reflect the proposals in Fawcett (1974–/81 and 1980),

but which they presumably reached independently.[1]

5.3 Thinking the unthinkable: "selection" between heads

To explain my route to the new conceptualisation of the semantics and syntax of typicity to be considered here, it will be helpful to introduce a new term: the **typic head**. We saw in Section 4 that the major function of the noun at the head of a nominal group is to spell out the place of the **widest referent** in the language's taxonomy of the **cultural classification** of "things". For the present discussion, then — and without prejudging the nature of their structural relationship to each other — we shall say that, in (1a), the word *sorts* expounds the **typic head,** and the word *documents* expounds the **cultural classification head** (or **cc head** for short). Note, then, that I am not at this stage suggesting an answer to the question of how the "typic head" relates to the structures with which it occurs. That is precisely the question that we are investigating in this section — together with other questions that will arise in the course of this exploration.

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[1]   The topic on which all three "big grammars" focus is one which is realized in morphology — and which has long been a preoccupation of traditional and prescriptive grammars. It is the question of so-called "agreement" in examples such as *these types of oil are ...* v. *these type of oil are ...* Quirk *et al.* (1985: 248–52) are less helpful than usual on the meaning of such items. They suggest that nominal groups with *type* etc., are a sub-type of the construction that is here called the **partitive determiner.** Thus they describe *a new sort of computer* as "partition in respect of quality" while *a piece of cake* is said to be "partition by quantity". Yet it is clear that, when typic nouns are followed by *of*, they should not be grouped with the "partitive" nouns that we met in Section 4 — if only for the structural reasons given there. It is perhaps significant that Biber *et al.* (1999:256–70), in their approach to this area of grammar, break with their usual practice of adopting the categories of Quirk *et al.* (1985). Instead, they treat this phenomenon — which they term a "species noun" — as one to be considered in its own right. Their main contribution to the present grammar was to provide useful information on the probability of occurrences of *sort(s), kind(s)* and *type(s)* and *variety/ies* in the four major registers around which their work is structured, and I have incorporated these probabilities in the generative version of the grammar presented in Sections 5.5 and 5.12.

The first intimations that it might be valuable to consider an alternative structure came when I noticed the **place** in the nominal group that the typic head typically occupied in the small corpus with which I was working at the time. These suggested that, unlike all the determiners introduced in Section 4, the typic head typically occurs IMMEDIATELY BEFORE the cc head. In other words, it seemed that there were, typically, NO MODIFIERS BETWEEN THE TYPIC HEAD AND THE CC HEAD.   (We shall return later to consider how strongly that generalization should be stated.)

If this was so, what was the reason? In search of an answer, I re-examined   (i) the semantics of the typic and cc heads and   (ii) their relationship to each other — and I was struck by how closely their meanings are related. The main function of the cc head is to identify the referent in terms of the language's **cultural classification** of "things" — and so in terms of the "class" of "thing" that it is. And the word *class* is a member of the list of items that function as the typic head. So, when a noun fills the head of a nominal group, as in *this ant*, it means something like "The referent is a member of the class 'ant' ". And, in a nominal group with a **typic head** such as *this type of ant*, THE SUBSTANTIVE REFERENT IS A SUB-TYPE (OR SUB-CLASS) OF THE TYPE (OR CLASS) SPECIFIED IN THE HEAD.[1] And, taking this to its logical conclusion, we might adopt the position that the "selection" is made in terms of the type of **meaning** realized in the cc head.

Sections 5.4 to 5.10 will explore this question: "What are the implications of this way of viewing the data for the semantics and syntax of the nominal group?"

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[1]   Strictly speaking, then, we should call the typic head the "sub-typic head", but we shall stick with the shorter form of "typic head".

5.4   Four hypotheses

As I began to think about the data in terms of this general hypothesis, I noticed other patterns in examples such as (1a) to (3a) that seemed to fit neatly with it. After collecting 100 further examples (using the google search mechanism; see Section 5.6), I formulated the following four hypotheses, each of which I then tested against the evidence of two very much larger corpora.

Hypothesis 1 In nominal groups that contain a **typic head**, the modifiers will PRECEDE not only the cc head   (as ed) but also the typic head — with the result that there will be no modifiers between the typic head and the cc head. [1] Thus, if we do find modifier-like items between these two elements, the prediction is that they will be part of a **compound noun** — and so PART OF the **cc head**. In other words, the possible modifier and the cc head will constitute EITHER   (i) an established compound noun — OR   (ii) a **nonce-formation** of one, i.e. an item created by the Performer "for the nonce" (Quirk *et al.* 1985:1522). **Example:** in *one of the first of the new varieties of GM wheat*   (3a), the initials GM   (which stands for "genetically modified") are part of the recently-formed compound noun *GM wheat*. [2]

Hypothesis 2 There will similarly be no determiners between the typic head and the cc head. Examples: (1a) to (3a).

Hypothesis 3 The usual "describing" relationship of the qualifier (s) to the cc head will be unaffected, since qualifiers always occur after it. However, the substantive referent is

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[1]   More accurately, between the of that follows the typic head and the cc head.

[2]   Notice that there was no hypothesis at that stage of the investigation about modifiers that precede the typic head. However, that was to emerge later as a significant factor (see Section 5.7).

often expressed in the **typic head**, ① so that we should expect that if it requires a qualifier to classify it, this will occur after the cc head (since there is no other place for it to go). **Example**: in *the appropriate type of insulin (that) the person should use* (2a), the qualifier *(that) the person should use* classifies the referent of *type (of insulin)* — and not *insulin*.

Hypothesis 4 (This was originally motivated solely by personal interest, but we shall find that it too is relevant to the general hypothesis.) There is a dialectal variation between forms such as *different sorts of documents* — as in (2a) — and *different sorts of document* (with no final 's'). Example: The google corpus example in (1a) illustrates the "plural form" usage in *documents*, while at least some British middle-class speakers of English in their sixties in 2006 (including myself) prefer the "singular form" *document*.

5.5 The variables to be investigated: the TYPICITY network as the source

The next task is to identify the variables that we need to consider. In principle, we might investigate variations at the levels of either **form** or **meaning** — or both. In SFL, where the heart of the grammar is the system network of choices between meanings, we prefer, whenever we can do so with confidence, to state the variables in terms of the options in meaning of the system network — while at the same time paying close attention to their realizations at the level of form. The features that specify the main variables used here are shown in the right half of the system network in Figure 8, and we shall shortly meet realizations of all four types. However, as the entry condition to the TYPICITY network shows, each applies to both [count_cc] and [mass_cc] things, so that there are eight combinations to consider. And, when [overt_type] is

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① But it is also expressed in (i) the part of the nominal group that precedes it and (ii) the cc head, since a "type" must be a "type of something".

selected, these are multiplied by the number of the choices between *type, sort, species,* etc.

The network is given in the form in which it would be used in the generative version of the grammar, so that we can use it later on for this purpose. The three associated realization rules, (62.2), (80) and (80.01), are given in Section 5.12.[①]
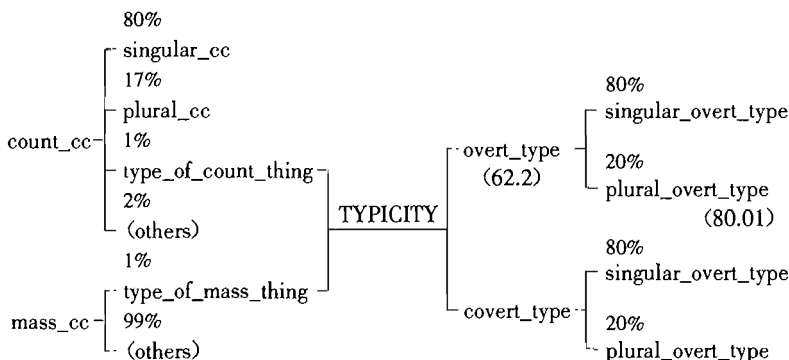

Figure 8   The system network for TYPICITY

We can relate the network in Figure 8 to Examples (1a) to (3a) as follows (working through the network from left to right):

1 A [thing] in the system network for the CULTURAL CLASSIFICA-
TION (cc) of "things" is either [count_cc], as in (1a), or [mass_cc] as
in (2a) and (3a).[②]

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①   The probabilities on the features in the systems are derived from various sources; those for [*singular_cc*] v [*plural_cc*] and for [*singular_overt_type*] v [*plural_overt_type*] *are* derived from Biber *et al.* 1999 (pp. 334 and 256 respectively), and those for [overt_type] v [covert_type] and [singular_covert_type] v [plural_covert_type] are estimates — the latter being based on the probabilities for [singular_cc] v [plural_cc].

②   This is a slight over-simplification, because some "things" are [pair_only] (such as "scissors" and "trousers") and some are [plural_only] (such as "police"). The system to which these lead also includes the feature [type_of_count_thing], so that they too enter the TYPICITY system.

2 If either [type_of_count_thing] or [type_of_mass_thing] is chosen, the TYPICITY sub-network is entered. So in (1a) [type_of_count_thing] has been chosen, and in (2a) and (3a) [type_of_mass_thing] has.

3 Notice that the system entered from [count_cc] also includes [singular_cc] and [plural_cc]. This means that when [type_of_count_thing] is chosen the usual choice of [singular_cc] or [plural_cc] is not available. In other words, "typic" nominal groups do NOT choose between making the cc head "singular" or "plural". (Thus, if there is variation in the cc head — as Hypothesis 4 suggests there is — this model predicts that it doesn't realize a choice between meanings, but is due to some extraneous factor, e.g. the divided usage of different dialects and/or idiolects.)

4 We now come to the first system in the TYPICITY network — which, despite its primacy in the network, we have so far barely mentioned. The choice it offers is between [overt_type] and [covert_type] — and it is the choice of [overt_type] that is illustrated in (1a) to (3a).[1] To see the difference that the choice of [covert_type] makes, compare (1a) to (3a) with (1b) to (3b):[2]

 (1b) (The system needs) a few different documents.
 (2b) (You need to determine) the appropriate insulin the person should use.
 (3b) (This is) one of the first of the new GM wheats.

5 Each of the two features of [overt_type] and [covert_type] then enters a system that resembles the usual NUMBER system for "count" noun

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[1]   The realization rule 62.2 on [overt_type] ensures that one of the items *type, sort, kind, variety, species* and so on is generated on re-entry to the network (see Section 5.12).

[2]   These examples, which are vital to the development of a full picture of what the model must be able to handle, were generated from (1a) to (3a) by "thought experiments". This is a clear example of the need to use this source of evidence as a complement to evidence from corpora.

senses. But this is a different system; it is the "type" that is either "singular" or "plural", so that the choice gets realized in the typic head — not the cc head. In (2a), then, [singular_overt_type] has been chosen, while in (1a) and (3a) [plural_overt_type] has.

6 The network from which the items *type, sort, species,* etc. are generated is implemented in the full version of the grammar, but there is no space to show it here. However, it is partly inferable from the examples in Section 5.1, and Section 5.12 gives typical realization rules.

It will now be clear that modelling TYPICITY is not only a matter of identifying an appropriate way to represent the structure round a typic head. As (1b) to (3b) show, each of (1a) to (3a) has an equivalent form in which the meaning of "typicity", while still present, is expressed **covertly**. We must therefore also identify an appropriate structure for cases where the "typicity" is covert.

Interestingly, (1b) is ambiguous, in that these items can also be generated without entering the TYPICITY system. Does (1b) mean "many different types of document", or simply "many different documents"? The context (a technical description of a computer system) suggests the former interpretation, but the latter is in principle possible too. This explains my earlier suggestion that the meaning of "typicity" is much more frequent than many linguists — and especially corpus linguists, with their understandable preoccupation with evidence at the level of form — have so far assumed. And a functional grammar must attend to meaning as well as form.

5.6   Obtaining and supplementing relevant corpus data

To test the four hypotheses, I used three types of corpus evidence. The first was the "second level" source of corpus data found in Biber *et al.* (1999) — the first major grammar to be built around the concept of corpus frequencies. On pp. 256–7 they provide an interesting set of

data on the probabilities for "typicity" — but only at a fairly high level of generalization and — unsurprisingly — only in relation to items that are overtly realized.[①] The main value of their data for the present study was that it established that, if I searched in a corpus for *sort(s)*, *kind(s)* and *type(s)*, I would probably cover around 95% of examples of nominal groups containing a typic noun.

The second type of corpus evidence was the vast (but unstructured) google corpus that is available to every user of the Internet. A pilot study of the first 100 examples was used to check the coverage of the semantic categories derived from the system network in Figure 8, assuming that [overt_type] had been selected, and to formulate the four hypotheses. Next, I checked a further 200 examples to look explicitly for counter-examples to the hypotheses. (I shall comment on the latter in the next section.)

Thirdly, I checked the interim findings based on these pilot studies by a far larger sample from the COBUILD corpus. There were 500 examples of each of *type(s) of*. *sort(s) of*. and *kind(s) of*. While all 500 examples with *type(s)* were "typic", only 300 (60%) of those with *kind(s)* were, and only 200 (40%) of those with *sort (s)* were. I thus had a further corpus of 1000 examples of what we may call "typic nominal groups". [②] In addition, as a further test of Hypothesis 2, I examined all cases of *sort(s)*, *kind(s)* or *type(s)* followed by *of the* in the 56 million word version of the COBUILD corpus. But almost all these were what Biber *et al.* term "vagueness markers or hedges" (1999:257), e.g. *He'd like sort of the goals widened.* (We shall explore the important implications of the few exceptions in Section 5.7.2.)

[①]   It is extremely challenging — though not always impossible — to devise ways of interrogating a corpus for unrealized items, as in cases of "covert typicity" such as (1b) to (3b), and for the purposes of the present study it did not seem necessary to attempt this major task.

[②]   The test for whether *sort* or *kind* express "typicity" is to replace the item by *type* — since *type of* cannot be used as a vagueness marker.

Here, contrary to established practice in corpus-based studies, I shall not illustrate my main points with corpus examples — valuable though these are for many purposes, especially as a source of counter-examples. Instead, I shall present "homogenized" forms, in order to bring out the similarities and differences clearly. The corpora show that all four of the types being considered here exist in large numbers, and the VARIATIONS IN FREQUENCY ARE REFLECTED IN THE PERCENTAGES ON THE FEATURES IN THE NETWORK. A set of four such examples is set out below as (4a) to (7a), under the heading of **with [overt–type]**.

My next step was to derive from these a directly equivalent set with the feature [covert_type] — these being set out below as (4b) to (7b). Let us be explicit about the evidence for these. They are invented examples. But this doesn't mean that there is no evidence for them. Each was produced by a careful "thought experiment", in which I first constructed an example that would be equivalent to the original, but with covert typicity, and then asked myself whether it illustrated a frequent meaning-form unit in English. My judgement in each case was that it did. If I had had doubts, I would have conducted "informant-testing" experiments. [1] So, while we have no direct corpus evidence for (4b) to (7b) as we have for (4a) to (7a), I am confident that very substantial numbers of these types occur in natural texts.

The imaginary context for all of these examples is: *Scientists have recently discovered* ....

with [overt_type]

(4a) a new type of ant	[singular_overt_type, count_cc]
(5a) a new type of oil	[singular_overt_type, mass_cc]
(6ai) two new types of ants	[plural_overt_type, count_cc]

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[1]   I would first use corpus evidence to check if what I thought would help, but in the case of "covert typicity" it would only work for "mass" things with a "plural covert type".

google: 99%   COBUILD:70%

(6aii)two new types of ant   [plural_overt_type, count_cc]

google: 1%   COBUILD: 30%

(7a) two new types of oil   [plural_overt_type, mass_cc]

with [covert_type]

(4b) a new ant   [singular_covert_type, count_cc]

(5b) a new oil   [singular_covert_type, mass_cc]

(6b) two new ants   [plural_covert_type, count_cc]

(7b) two new oils   [plural_covert_type, mass_cc]

Figures are given for (6ai) to (6aii), because Hypothesis 4 requires this information (see Section 5.7.4).

5.7   Interpreting the findings of the corpus searches

Let us now see how each of the four hypotheses fared.[①]

5.7.1   Hypothesis 1: findings

This hypothesis, you will recall, predicted that any apparent modifiers between the typic head and the cc head would be interpretable as elements of a compound noun. The corpus of 300 google examples included eight possible counter-examples, as shown in the underlined portions of (1) to (8) below.

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①   The first three hypotheses are also supported by the fact that all the corpus examples cited in Biber *et al.* (1999:257) and in the relevant entries in the *COBUILD English Dictionary* conform to these predictions. There is one apparent counter-example in Biber *et al.*, i.e. *His eyes had a kind of icy brilliance about them.* Here the modifier *icy* occurs immediately before the cc head, yet seems unlikely to be "classifying". By coincidence, however, the following section concerns vagueness markers. Their examples are all from the register of conversation, with none from fiction — the register from which the above example comes. The "typicity" test of replacing *kind* by *type* produces a very odd-sounding result, i.e. *His eyes had a type of icy brilliance about them,* and this suggests that we might in this case interpret *type of* as a literary "vagueness marker".

(1) a particular type of <u>inflow band</u>
(2) various types of <u>star clusters</u>
(3) one sort of <u>reactive agent</u>
(4) four major categories of <u>concept maps</u>
(5) types of <u>variable stars</u>
(6) this type of <u>joint resolution</u>
(7) different kinds of <u>free email</u>
(8) the types of <u>plant and animal communities</u> living in and on the soil

Examples (1) to (5) appear to be technical terms in various fields, and so to be reasonably strong candidates for the status of "compound noun". The problem with such data is that it is notoriously hard for someone from outside a specialist field to know what is a technical term in it and what is not. Expressions such as *inflow band, star clusters* and *concept maps* are typical compound nouns, being made up of two adjacent nouns. But compound nouns can also consist of an adjective followed by a noun, as in (3), so that we should not rule out (5) to (7). In Chapter 15 of Fawcett (forthcoming a), I suggest a battery of tests to help identify compound nouns, one of which is the **pronunciation test** (aka the "stress test"). It supports the present analysis in several cases, i.e. *inflow band* is pronounced '*inflow band* (not '*inflow 'band*), and the same holds for '*star clusters*, '*concept maps* and probably '*plant and* '*animal communities*. And those of (1) to (8) that don't pass the pronunciation test probably pass the **semantic test** — though only a member of the community using this particular technical vocabulary could decide with confidence. It is therefore seems possible that the underlined portions of (5) to (8) are technical terms in their respective fields, and so also compound nouns.

Because of the number of these borderline cases, I then made a detailed study of similar examples in the 1000 examples of the COBUILD corpus. Surprisingly, over 10% of these were either (i) a clear case of a compound noun functioning as cc head (*cervical cap, Christmas card, climate change,* etc.) or (ii) a "modifier–head pair" with

such a strong collocational link (if only for a specialist group) as to suggest that they function as compound nouns (*automatic weapons, biosafety suit, business loans,* etc.). These two sets of examples constituted about 3% of all typic nominal groups.

However, there was a third group that was twice as large, in which there was a strong case for recognizing a modifier between *of* and the cc head. These included:

> *American novelists, arabesque marquetry, clear criteria, cognitive errors, confidential material, good advice, gimicky Irish-American showband, ingratiating nod, largish coil, spectacular match, titanic battle.*

Some of these have no collocational ties (e.g. *American novelists*) and, while others do (e.g. *good advice*), they don't pass the tests that identify compound nouns. It is therefore clear that Hypothesis 1 must be either revised or rejected.

I propose this revision: that the grammar permits modifiers which serve the **classifying** function (see Section 2.4) to occur here. In other words, for the purpose of defining the "class" of "thing" from which the "sub-type" (or "sub-class") is selected, ANY MODIFIER THAT OCCURS BETWEEN *of* AND THE CC HEAD IS DEEMED TO BE PART OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE WIDEST REFERENT. This in turn suggests that they should be modelled in a similar way to compound nouns, i.e. as a nominal group with a "modifier + head" structure that fills the head. And this analysis, notice, requires only a minimal modification to the basic claim of Hypothesis 1 (i.e. that modifiers do not occur between the typic and cc heads).

Your response might well be to point to adjectives in the above examples that are not typically used to **classify** (e.g. *good, gimmicky, ingratiating, spectacular, titanic*). Indeed, two are purely **affective** modifiers, (*good* and *spectacular*). But these are the only two in 1000 examples, and we must give weight to this fact too. The Cardiff

Grammar does this, recognizing that ANY modifier can serve the **classifying** function — even an **affective** modifier, in certain cases. And a close examination of the above cases, in their context, suggests that these modifiers do indeed classify the widest referent — and so are, in effect, part of it.

In all these cases, then, a modifier may occur between the typic and the cc head. And with this proviso Hypothesis 1 can stand.

However, while studying the 1000 COBUILD examples, I noticed a second pattern that is interpretable as evidence for the possible new approach. It concerns the modifiers that occur BEFORE the **typic head**, but we shall consider this phenomenon now because their meanings relate, like those that occur directly BEFORE the cc head, to the **cc head**.

Well over a fifth of the typic heads in the 1000 examples were preceded by modifiers — which is within the expected range. [1] Predictably, almost 90% of them clearly describe the referent of the **typic head** that immediately followed them — typical modifiers being *different* (40%), *certain* (17%), *other* or *another* (10%), *various* (8%) and *particular* (7%). [2] Interestingly, however, a significant minority (over 10%, so almost 3% of the 1000 COBUILD examples) contain modifiers whose semantic values appear to describe the referent of the **cc head**. Their position is surprising, because THE PERFORMER COULD INSTEAD HAVE PLACED THEM IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE CC

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[1]   This assumes that modifiers occur with typic heads in the same proportion as with other types of "common noun" head. But this varies according to register: in academic and news registers it is around 40%, but it is only 8% in conversation (figures based on Biber *et al.* 1999:578).

[2]   The rest were spread among a variety of different items, some being semantically related to those listed above, e.g. *same*, *varying*. Others reflect frequent parameters for identifying subtypes *(new, traditional, older; rare, common, obscure)*, and others importance *(main, predominant)*. A further set expressed affective evaluation *(special, exciting, popular)*. There are two other types of modifier that precede the typic head, and these will be mentioned briefly in Section 5.7.2.

HEAD. Typical examples (with the relevant modifier underlined) are as follows.

(9) similar psychosocial types of illness   (cp similar types of psychosocial illness)

(10) this callous type of killing (cp this type of callous killing)

(11) an inefficient and ineffective type of person   (cp a type of inefficient and ineffective person)

(12) the longer term strategic type of research (cp the type of longer term strategic research)

Why, we may ask, do speakers of English sometimes place such modifiers BEFORE THE TYPIC HEAD? Is this an area of variation in dialect and idiolect — possibly leading to language change? Might the same person use both structures? Only further research can tell us. One possible explanation is playfulness — i.e. it is fun to test the "rules" of our syntax, as poets do. But another could be that we sense the close semantic relationship between the meaning of "sub-class" expressed in the typic head and the meaning of "cultural classification" (i.e. "class") expressed in the cc head, so that we try to avoid separating the two types of head (other than by *of*) by placing the modifier before the typic head, so raising questions about which is the "main" head.

To summarize: in the surprisingly high proportion of 10% of examples with modifiers, a modifier that we might have expected to occur immediately before the cc head position is in fact placed BEFORE THE TYPIC HEAD. We should therefore consider what a structure of the nominal group designed to handle such phenomena might be like, and we shall do this in Section 5.10.

Both of the findings noted here suggest that, even though we have had to modify the original hypothesis slightly to allow classifying modifiers to occur, Hypothesis 1 does indeed express a clear tendency in modern English.

5.7.2   Hypothesis 2: findings

The second hypothesis predicted that there would be no determiners between the typic head and the cc head. In the small google corpus there was just one case which challenged it:

(13) What type of a virus do you consider the most dangerous?

But in the COBUILD corpus there were ten further cases with *a*, including:

(14) If you want to use that kind of a metaphor ....
(15) I do believe that it is some sort of a right.

And in the full google corpus there are almost three million examples containing *type (s) of a* .... Interestingly, in the hundred or so cases I inspected the *item a (n)* can always be omitted without a change of meaning. This suggests that this may be one of those areas of English in which there are — at least for the moment — alternative forms that express the same meaning. So the concept of variation in dialect and idiolect — possibly leading to language change — may be relevant here, as it is in the findings on Hypotheses 1 and 4 (see Section 5.7.4).[1]

If the position was that the quantifying determiner was always expounded by *a(n)* in such cases, the grammar could accommodate it by treating *a metaphor* in (15) and *a right* in (16) as a nominal group that

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[1]   One possible way in which examples such as (14) and (15) may have come into use is as follows. Since the word *a* is pronounced as a schwa, such examples may be a representation of a spoken form that adds a schwa between of and the initial consonant of the following word — and subsequently this minimal phonetic addition has been transferred to the written form as a (rather as a primary school child may write *He must of seen me*). A second (and complementary) possibility is that forms such as *a metaphor* and *a right* may be being used here to express the concept of the "whole class" of the referent (aka "generic reference").

is embedded in the head — rather as with the **m h** structures in Section 5.7.1. However, a further search in google revealed small but still substantial numbers of equally valid examples such as (16) and (17):

(16) Insects are <u>only one type of several potential biological control agents</u>.

(17) The operator compares <u>the type of two expressions</u>.

The conclusion to be drawn from these examples is that the grammar must provide for the presence of a quantifying determiner between the typic and the cc heads, and we shall consider this requirement in Section 5.10.

But what about the deictic determiner *the* in this position? There were no such examples in the small google corpus, but on the model of (13) I created *What type of the virus do you consider the most dangerous?* This I judged to be acceptable, so I then made a special search in 500 COBUILD examples of *type / sort / kind of the xxxx*. I found only one clear case, i.e. (18).[1]

(18) The psychosocial type of the condition (will determine the outcome).

However, I then consulted the full google corpus, which registered almost 8.6 million cases of *type(s) of the ...* — showing clearly that here too there is a phenomenon that requires explanation.

But how far is this a case simply an equivalent of (13) to (17) with a deictic determiner? Consider first the semantics of *the* in (18). We can infer that the referent of *the condition has* already been referred to in the text (or is recoverable from the context of situation), and that it is this that enables it to be referred to here by *the condition*. This, then, is the only explanation needed for the occurrence of *the* before the cc

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[1]   All the cases of sort of and kind of were vagueness markers.

head. But does this affect the relationship between *the psychosocial type* and *of the condition*?

At this point we need to pause, in order to note that there are two types of modifier that precede a typic head, in addition to those examined in Section 5.7.1. Both are typically filled by a nominal group (which usually has just a head). In the first sort, the modifier states the **variable** (or "attribute") that is relevant to specifying the "type of xxxxx", as in (19):

(19) What is the content type of the file?
     = "the type of the file, in terms of the type of its content"

But it may also be an adjective — as is *psychosocial* in (18). So *psychosocial* in (18) serves essentially the same function as the noun *content* in (19), i.e. both identify the "dimension of variation" within which the "type" is to be specified.

But in the second sort of "thing" that fills the modifier that precedes the typic head is very different. Surprisingly, it states the cultural classification of the referent — i.e. it is THE NOUN THAT TYPICALLY OCCURS AS THE CC HEAD. Compare (20a) with the more familiar structure of (20b):

(20a) Map the element type to a root table.
(20b) Map the type of element to a root table.

In the case of examples such as (20a), then, the grammar cannot avoid the fact that THE MEANING OF "TYPE" IS TREATED AS THE HEAD OF THE WHOLE NOMINAL GROUP. This implies that it is functioning as a "cultural classification" IN ITS OWN RIGHT — i.e. as a particularly abstract class of "thing". ① Probably the most frequent

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① Notice too that, if the referent of *the element* had been more readily recoverable, it would have been referred to by *it*, as in *Map its **type to the root table*** — so giving us a second realization of "typic" meaning with *type* as the cc head.

example of this structure is the blood type (= "the type of blood") —
though for many users this now functions as a compound noun.[1]

The fact that typic nouns sometimes occur as the cc head of a
nominal group, as in (20a), raises the question of whether the typic head
in (18) and (19), though semantically different, should also be analyzed
as a cc head.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that other variables
in the specification of "things" — other "dimensions of variation" —
can be co-ordinated with *the type*, such as *the size* in (21a). This
strongly suggests that *type* and *size* are the heads of two co-ordinated
nominal groups. If so, the full form of the underlined portion of (21a)
that showed this ellipsis would be as in (21b).

(21a) The treatment varies with the size and type of the tumor.
(21b) the size (of the tumor) and (the) type of the tumor

Interestingly, this suggests that "size" can be construed as a type
of "type" — just as "psychosocial type" in (18) and "content type" in
(19) are types of "type". And this in turn opens up a whole new area of
investigation, i.e. the possibility that concepts such as "size" in *What
size of shoes do you wear?* are in fact realized as typic heads. Indeed,
we can answer the question *What type of thing is it?* by using virtually
any of the many ways in which a "thing" can be specified — so by a
modifier, a qualifier (so using a full clause) and even some types of
determiner. As a textbook example (literally) of this, consider this text,
which is headed *Types of volcano:*

Volcanologists have classified volcanoes into groups based on
the shape of the volcano, the materials they are built of, and
the way the volcano erupts.

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[1]   We shall not consider cases on the boundary between such cases and cases in which the
typic selector and the following head are ellipted, as in There are three types of volcano.
The first type is ...

Clearly, more research needs to be done on these sub-and super-types of "typicity" before a comprehensive and principled analysis emerges. Regretfully, we cannot reach a clear position on these matters here.[①] But we do need to note that it is at least arguable that, in nominal groups that contain the *type of the xxxx* pattern, the "typic head" functions as the "cc head" of the whole nominal group (with what follows analyzed as a qualifier). This would mean that such cases needn't be treated as counter-examples to the claim made in Hypothesis 2.

In summary, then, we can say that English prefers not to have a determiner between the typic and cc heads. But the grammar must nonetheless provide for certain cases in which quantifying and deictic determiners appear to occur in this position — perhaps by providing for alternative structures within the cc head in some cases. But in others — e.g (16) — it seems that a **qd** occurs between the two types of head, and it would be useful if the grammar provided for this (e.g. in the way suggested in Section 5.10).

5.7.3   Hypothesis 3: findings

The third hypothesis predicted that if a qualifier follows the cc head it would normally describe the referent of the typic head (plus what precedes and follows it, including the cc head). This proved to be overwhelmingly the case, typical examples being:

(22) the type of fish (that) <u>they like catching</u>
(23) the sort of deta l (that) <u>I could never get from photos</u>

In (22), for example, *(that) they, like catching* completes the meaning of *the type (of fish)* — not fish.

Occasionally, however, the corpus provided examples where the qualifier's function was to complete the meaning begun in the cc head, as in:

(24) a very different type of agreement <u>with former Cold War rivals</u>
(25) different types of behaviour <u>from men</u>

In these and many other similar examples the cc head is an "event noun" — so that it is predictable that a qualifier will be introduced to express a Participant Role associated with the event, as here. Thus such cases are not counter-examples to the claim, but examples of a functionally different structure.

The significance of this last finding is considerable, because it clearly suggests, once again, that we should treat the typic head as an element of the matrix nominal group — rather than locating it in an embedded nominal group. I shall explain why this is so when I introduce the possible new structure in Section 5.10.

5.7.4 Hypothesis 4: findings

The fourth hypothesis was concerned with a possible minor dialectal variation — i.e. the presence or absence of "s" in examples such as the following (repeated below from Section 5.6):

	google	COBUILD
(6ai) two new types of ants	99%	70%
(6aii) two new types of ant	1%	30%

I added this fourth hypothesis because of my puzzlement at the difference between (i) my own usage (e.g. *types of determiner*, in this paper) and (ii) the evidence from (a) Quirk *et al.* (1985:764–5), (b) Huddleston & Pullum (2002:352–3) and (c) the original small google corpus. Even though the two great "comprehensive" grammars devote

most of their discussion of this construction to the morphology of "agreement" (which (6aii) challenges) the surprising fact is that neither provides for (6aii). And google yielded only four examples. So was my usage an illegitimate variant of Standard English, I wondered?

Biber *et al.* (1999:255–6), however, do allow for it (e.g. certain types of car) — but only as a marked form that fails to follow what they present as an "agreement principle".[1] However, in a study of 500 cases of *types of* in the COBUILD corpus, I was relieved to find a 30% usage of the pattern I use, as in (6aii) above. So my usage is perhaps not so aberrant as its omission in two of the three great grammars implies! [2]

In contrast, all three big grammars point out that we shall attest forms with a different type of lack of "agreement", as in *These sort of parties are dangerous.* While I found just one such example in the small google corpus (*these type of files*) and only two in the COBUILD corpus of 1000, there were almost 0.8 million examples in the full google corpus.

All such variants, however, are matters of morphological variation according to dialect or idiolect — and they may be instances of language change. They should therefore be handled in the realization rules (i.e. NOT as choices between meanings in the system network). So how, you might ask, are they relevant to a study of the semantics and syntax of this construction? See Section 5.10 for the answer.

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[1] The rule implementing this "agreement principle" states: "If the 'type' is 'plural', make the cc head 'plural' too — but only if the cultural classification is 'count', as in *two sorts of ants*, and not 'mass'" Thus, despite the existence of *these oils* (in the sense of "these types of oil") we shall not find cases of **these sorts of oils*. Thus, while Biber *et al.* present their "agreement principle" as applying generally, it does not in fact apply when the cc head is "mass".

[2] Could it be that Huddleston and Pullum, who are both British in upbringing but who have both worked elsewhere for most of their professional lives (Huddleston in Australia, Pullum in the US) have in this respect lost touch with their British roots? But that wouldn't explain the omission in Quirk *et al.* (1985).

5.8   The implications of the findings: five statements

We can now replace the FOUR hypotheses by the following FIVE statements — each of which needs to be taken into account when deciding how we may most appropriately represent the structure of such examples, as we shall in Section 5.10. (Statement 1a arises from a modifier pattern noted while investigating Hypothesis 1.) The "description" avoids commitment to any one structure, so is simply in terms of the string of items and unit classes (as in the products of COBUILD, such as Francis *et al.* 1996 & 1998).

Statement 1 In a nominal group that contains a **typic head**, there will usually (with a 95% probability of all typic nominal groups) be no modifier between the *of* that follows it and the **cc head** (which may be expounded by a simple or a compound noun). When there is one, it is functioning as a **classifying** modifier that describes the referent denoted by the cc head.[1]

Statement 1a Occasionally (with a 3% probability) a modifier which appears to describe the referent of the cc head — and which we would therefore expect to occur immediately before it — occurs BEFORE THE TYPIC HEAD.

Statement 2 There will almost always (over 99%) be **no determiner** between the typic and cc heads. Nonetheless there are several structures in which quantifying and deictic determiners do occur in this position and, while no final decision can be made at this point on the analysis of all of them, it may well be useful if the grammar provides for the possibility of modelling THE REALIZATION OF TYPICITY AS OCCURRING BEFORE THE QUANTIFYING DETERMINER.

Statement 3 When a **qualifier** follows the head, it will probably (over 90%) describe the substantive referent, i.e. the referent of the **typic head** in the examples considered in this paper (and

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[1]   Since this is not the focus of this paper, let me say at this point that the resulting m h structure is to be treated as a ngp embedded as the head of the matrix ngp.

so also of the rest of the nominal group that precedes and follows it, including the cc head, since a "type" must be a "type of something"). Exceptions occur when the function of the qualifier is to fill out the meaning of the cc head — e.g. in nominalizations, where it is expounded by a lexical verb or an "event" noun.

Statement 4 There is dialectal or idiolectal variation (so possibly language change) if (i) the typic head has a "plural" meaning and (ii) the cc head denotes a "count" referent. The variants are:

    1 *these sorts of comments* (the most frequent),

    2 *these sorts of comment* (half as frequent, possibly most frequent in British English) and

    3 *these sort of comments* (relatively rare in standard English because this form is stigmatized, but increasingly used).

However, this usage does not extend to mass nouns. (See Section 10 for the relevance of these findings to the main issue with which this paper is concerned.)

Thus the three examples in (1a) to (3a) with which we started Section 5 are indeed typical "typic nominal groups" — except that I have found no corpus examples that remotely match the complexity before the typic head in the invented example of (3a). Nonetheless, I have found, over the years, many cases with two and occasionally more such determiners and their selectors that precede a typic head, so I am satisfied that the overall model needs to provide for examples such as (3a).

We turn now to the question of how these proposals should be formalized in the grammar itself. We shall first discuss the alternative ways of representing the **syntax** of "typic" constructions — both overt and covert — and then I shall set out the realization rules that translate the semantic features from the network in Figure 8 into the **formal structures** that we are about to meet.

In the functional approach to language used here, we assume that

the representations at the levels of form and meaning are mutually dependent — *tout se tient*, as Meillet (1937) expressed it. And this gives a central role to the realization rules that relate the two. Any discussion of alternative structures, therefore, necessarily involves asking questions about (i) how directly such structures correspond to the meanings they express, and (ii) whether they would cause problems for the realization rules.

Since it is simpler, we shall start with the structure required when the typicity is **covert.** Then in the following section we shall address the trickier problem of deciding on the structure to represent **overt** typicity.

5.9   The structure of examples with "covert typicity"

How should "covert typicity" — as in (4b) to (7b) in Section 5.6 — be realized at the level of form?

The type of example in which it is most obvious that "covert typicity" is present is the type when the cc head is expounded by an inherently **mass** noun, as in *a new oil* (5b) and *two new oils* (7b). In such examples, the paradoxical effect is that the head that realizes the meaning "mass" (i.e. *oil*) also signals the meaning of "singular" or "plural" — and so apparently also the meaning "count". In other words, it is the **cc head** that expresses the meaning of "singular covert type" or "plural covert type" — meanings which, when "typicity" is realized OVERTLY, are realized in the **typic head** (as *type or types* etc.). And, because nominal groups with a "mass" referent do not express the meanings of "singular" and "plural" (except in the present case and *the two teas* case) we recognize immediately that these meanings apply here to the covert meaning of "type".

However, "covert typicity" also occurs with **count** nouns, as in *a new ant* and *two new ants* in (4b) and (6b) in Section 5.6. But the "typicity" is usually less obvious. In our initial example of *a few new documents*, for example — which we met in (1b) in Section 5.5 — it isn't immediately clear whether the referent is a "count" thing with a

"plural type" that is "covert", or simply a "plural" thing — though the context suggests the first. But in an example such as *Six new stamps are on sale at the post office* the meaning of "covert typicity" is quite obvious, because we know from our beliefs about what post offices sell that the Performer is referring to "types of stamp".

Moreover, the far greater frequency of "count" nouns over "mass" nouns suggests strongly that there are likely to be many more cases of "covert typicity" than most grammars appear to assume, so that "typicity" may well be far more central to understanding the English nominal group than is commonly assumed.[1]

The key question for this section is: "Is the syntax of *a new ant* in (1) below — which is like (4b) in Section 5.6 — different from that in (2) below?"

    (1) Scientists have recently discovered a new ant.
    (2) <u>A new ant</u> is coming to help (spoken while watching a nature film of ants transporting a leaf).

Is there any alternative to treating *ant* as the head in both? It might at first seem desirable to treat *a new ant* in (1) as derived by ellipsis from *a new type of ant*, with *type of* ellipted. But now consider (3) — which is like (4b) in Section 5.6.

    (3) Scientists have recently discovered <u>two new oils.</u>

Clearly, this cannot be an ellipted version of *two new types of oils*, because we do not use this form (as noted in Section 5.7). This demonstrates that "covert typicity" really is a choice in the **semantics** (as modelled in Figure 8) — and that it is not to be explained as ellipsis at the level of **form**. We therefore use the same structure (**qd**

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[1] *It would be an interesting project to try to establish what proportion of apparently simple nominal groups in fact carry the meaning of "covert typicity".*

m h) for both (1) and (2).

Thus all such examples share the same syntax but are, in principle, ambiguous between the two semantic interpretations.

5.10   The structure of examples with "overt typicity"

We come now to the most challenging question of this paper: "What structure should be used to represent nominal groups with 'overt typicity', such as *two new types of ant(s)* in (1)?"

(1) (Scientists have recently discovered) two new types of ant(s).

We shall consider in turn each of four possible structures, bringing to bear on the decision two major types of evidence: (i) findings from the corpus studies described in Sections 5.4 to 5.8, and (ii) factors involved in integrating the possible structure into the full, generative version of the grammar. However, the first type of evidence inevitably involves the second, as we found in Section 4.2.[①]

5.10.1   Four candidate structures

I suggest that there are four main candidate structures (though more could be invented). We shall begin by considering two that we have already rejected in Section 4.2 for a formally similar structure — that of *five of those books*.

Option A   (as in Section 4.2) is the "prepositional group as qualifier" construction   (as illustrated in Figure 4).   Section 4.2 cited

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① Thus, while traditional "formal tests" can help in deciding between alternative structures in a "text-descriptive" grammar that doesn't have a "theoretical-generative" counterpart (see Fawcett 2000:78-81 for these terms), they are regarded here supplementary guides to determining the structures required as outputs from the realization rules. They are replaced here by (i) the criterion of elegance, i.e., roughly, simplicity in the operation of the grammar and (ii) the principle of maximizing the transparency of the representation at the level of form of semantic relationships between elements.

five reasons why Option A would be an extremely poor choice for modelling *five of those books*, most being derived from the basic evidence of how a SFG works. Essentially THE SAME REASONS APPLY IN THE PRESENT CASE. The main difference comes in the second major reason cited in Section 4.2. Here it is not choices in "quantity" that are conditional on the choice of "singular", "plural" or "mass" (as realized in the head), but the probabilities in the network of choices in "type of type" (e.g. *type* v *species* v *brand* v *genre* v *strain* etc.), since these vary with the "cultural classification" of the head. And in this case too it is important to make the choice of a meaning realized in the head ON THE FIRST TRAVERSAL OF THE NETWORK — because the choices in the "type" network can only be safely entered when the grammar knows the "class of thing" of the widest referent. (We shall return to this point in Section 5.10.3.)

But in a typic nominal group there is a further reason. This is that in *a new ant* — whether it is "simple" or realizes "covert typicity" — the word *ant* has to be the head of the nominal group (as we saw in Section 5.9). So, to enable the relevant realization rule to capture the generalization that *ant* realizes the "cultural classification" of the "thing" in all these cases, we must treat *ants* in (1) as the head of the matrix nominal group.

For these six compelling reasons, then, we reject the use of the "prepositional group as qualifier" construction for modelling such examples.

Option B is the mirror image of Option A. In such a structure, *of* would function as a "postposition", and in this case it is the typic head that would be buried one or two layers down. Again, we considered this structure in Section 4.2 for *five of those books* and we rejected it. Here we reject it again — and for similar reasons. The first is that we often need to generate examples such as the short version of (2), in which the cultural classification is recoverable — i.e. with neither the cc head nor the preceding selector *of*. This is most simply achieved if both are

elements of the same unit, as in Options C and D. The second reason to reject this option is that, like Option A, it has the disadvantage that it introduces at least one additional layer of structure that is avoided in Options C and D.

(2) <u>What type</u> (of <u>ant</u>) is that?

We come now to the two final candidate structures. **Option C** is to treat overt "typicity" as a type of "selection" — so on a par with the structures that realize meanings such as "part" or "representation" (which we met in Section 4.3). Its structure is therefore like that of Option C in Figure 9. This is the structure that I have assumed, for the last thirty years or so, to be the best way to represent the semantic relations involved — but which I have recently begun to query. Essentially, it represents the view that, just as a **representational determiner**, as in *a recent photo of her house* or *his concept of democracy,* is one type of "selection by abstraction", the **typic determiner** in *a new type of house* and *this variety of democracy* is another.

However, we have seen that "typicity" involves certain factors that make it significantly different from most of the determiners described in Section 4.3. One is the existence of both **covert** and **overt** versions — though this occurs, arguably, with "representation", as we saw in Section 4.3. Another is the concept introduced in Section 5.3, i.e. the notion that the relationship BETWEEN THE TWO ITEMS THAT EXPOUND THE TWO HEADS (the **typic head** and the **cultural classification (cc) head**) may be best modelled as one of "selection" between heads. It was to investigate this notion that I undertook the corpus studies described in Sections 5.4 to 5.8.

However, the structure that most directly reflects the new interpretation of the semantic relations involved is **Option D**, i.e. the attractively simple one shown in (1b) in Figure 9 (where **th** stands for

typic head and **h** stands for **cc head**).
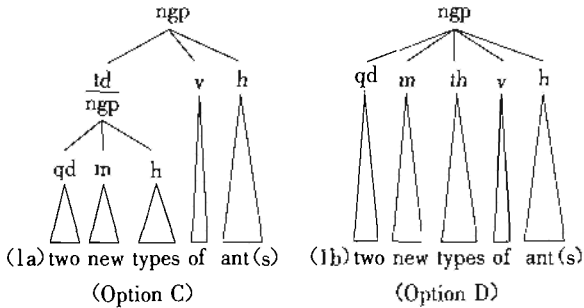
Key (possible new categories only):
td   = typic determiner (preferred structure)
th   = typic head (rejected structure)
h   = head (also described here as "cultural classification head")

Figure 9   Two ways of representing the structure around the typic head

The choice therefore lies between Options C and D. As before, there are two types of evidence to take into account: (i) the findings of the corpus studies and (ii) the requirements of the full, generative version of the grammar.

5.10.2   Evaluating Options C and D: (i) evidence from the corpus studies

Let us begin by asking how well each structure matches the requirements of the data that have emerged from the corpus studies (as summarized in Section 5.8).

Statement 1 summarizes a view of the structure in which no modifiers may occur between the typic and cc heads. Those which at first appear to do so are interpreted as part of the "classification" of the referent, and so as occurring WITHIN the **cc head** (either as a compound noun or as an embedded nominal group with a **m h** structure). Option D can accommodate this fact by allowing a further embedded nominal group at the cc head (if there is no existing compound noun). Precisely the same analysis, however, could be used with Option C. And

Option C would also be able to model any modifiers that describe the referent of the cc head as occurring between the **td** and the **h**, if this were after all to prove desirable. So on this criterion the evidence doesn't point clearly to either option.

However, **Statement 1a** points out a problem for Option C — namely, that we sometimes find a **modifier** which describes the cc head — but which actually occurs BEFORE THE TYPIC HEAD. The question is therefore "How can the grammar ensure that in such cases the adjectives generated for such a modifier are semantically appropriate to the **cc head**?" Recall (from Note 3 in Section 2.4) that in this version of SFG adjectives do not expound modifiers directly; they expound the apex of a quality group that fills the modifier (because they can be "tempered"). The most straightforward solution to the problem is therefore to HAVE THE CC HEAD IN THE SAME UNIT AS THE MODIFIER, as in Option D. Then the realization rule for the feature which inserts the **modifier** into the structure can also do the following. Referring to the relevant features in the CULTURAL CLASSIFICATION network, it can state for each (using preference rules) what features are more and less likely to be selected on re-entry to the network to generate the adjective at the **apex** of the **quality group** that fills the modifier. However, the grammar required for Option C (in which the quality group is one layer lower in the structure) can handle such cases with only a little additional complexity, so Option D has only a small advantage over Option C.①

Statement 2 points out that, while there are usually no **determiners** between the typic and cc heads, there are several structures with quantifying and deictic determiners in this position whose semantics and syntax require further study — with a strong case already for some. For this reason it would be desirable to provide for

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①   The grammar already provides for cases when the selection of a given feature on one traversal of the network influences the selection of a feature on a later traversal of the network — even when it is realized two layers lower in the structure.

the possibility of modelling the realization of "typicity" as occurring BEFORE THE QUANTIFYING DETERMINER ― other things being equal. This is therefore an argument ― though one based at this point only on the likely need for future extensions of the grammar ― for Option C.

Statement 3 makes essentially the same requirement on the grammar as Statement 1a. When there is a **qualifier** (which follows the cc head), the grammar typically needs to ensure that its internal semantics is appropriate to the **typic head** rather than the cc head ― even though it isn't adjacent to it. The grammar operates most straightforwardly if the qualifier is a sister element to the typic head. But in this respect Options C and D are equivalent, because in Option C any qualifier of the typic head would be shown as an element of the nominal group that fills the **td** (as we saw in Section 5.12). Option C, however, involved a type of complexity in the realization rule that is avoided in Option D, i.e. the discontinuity that arises from the fact that the qualifier occurs after the cc head. Thus the qualifier of *types* occurs after *ant(s)*. This is quite a strong argument for Option D.①

Statement 4 described three co-existing patterns in the morphology of the typic and cc heads, where the differences reflect register and dialectal differences rather than differences of meaning. (Two of them are shown in Figure 9.) This is further support for the picture suggested in Statements 1a and 2, i.e. that there is uncertainty as to where the "headship" of a typic nominal group lies. And this in turn could perhaps be interpreted as support for the radical new analysis in Option D (though we should consider whether other concepts, such as the combination of "substantive referent" and "widest

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①   However, I should point out that this doesn't make a new requirement on the grammar, since it already has to provide for a small number of other types of discontinuous unit (e. g. the underlined quality group in The Prime Minister is a more important person than the Chancellor).

referent", may provide an equally appropriate framework for expressing this uncertainty).   Moreover, if the **cc head** is to "agree" with the **typic head**   (as in the most frequent pattern of *two new types of ants*), this "agreement" is a little simpler for the grammar to provide for IF THE TWO HEADS ARE ELEMENTS OF THE SAME UNIT. But realization rule for Option C can be adapted to handle it with the addition of one line, so it is not a major criterion.

On balance, then, the findings of the corpus studies favour Option D. In other words, at this stage of the investigation of "typicity", there seemed to be several advantages in treating all four elements of modifier, typic head, head and qualifier   (together with any preceding determiners) as sister elements of the same unit.

5.10.3   Evaluating Options C and D: (ii) their use in generating typic nominal groups

When the corpus evidence that seemed to favour Option D began to grow, I decided that I must test its viability in the generative version of the grammar. I therefore wrote new realization rules for the basic "typicity" network in Figure 8, and the result was a satisfyingly elegant grammar. The problem was that the rules that generated Option C were equally elegant — so this exercise failed to resolve the issue.

However, when at the end of the corpus studies there was still no clear conclusion, I went back to the two versions of the generative grammar, in order to try to refine them to the point where they could also provide for the variation in the probabilities on the features in the sub-network from which the items *type, sort, breed, strain* etc. are generated. It was then that I discovered that Option D would require a significantly more complex grammar than Option C.

The specific problem is that of how to model the fact that, if the cc head is *sheep*, the typic head is much more likely to be *breed* than, say, *brand, make* or *strain*. And one of the goals of the present grammar is to model probabilistic "rules" such as these as well as "all-or-nothing"

rules. What makes this difficult for Option D is that the features from which both *sheep* and *breed* are generated are located in the CULTUR-AL CLASSIFICATION network. In Option D the typic and cc heads are elements of the same unit — so that, if the network is to generate both *sheep* to expound the cc head and *breed* to expound the typic head, it would need to be entered twice ON THE SAME TRAVERSAL OF THE NETWORK.

It is certainly POSSIBLE to construct a SFG that enters the same network more than once when generating a unit   (and we have experimented with that approach in the COMMUNAL Project). And it is probably also possible to provide for the probabilities to be changed in conjunction with this   (though so far as I know no SFG has yet implemented this). But our experience in COMMUNAL has convinced us that the overall grammar is significantly simpler — and so more elegant and easier to "service" — if it operates on the principle that IT ONLY ENTERS THE NETWORK ONCE IN GENERATING EACH UNIT. Other things being equal, therefore — and we think they are — it is DESIRABLE to generate the exponent of the **cc head** on one traversal of the sub-network for the CULTURAL CLASSIFICATION of "things", and the exponent of the **typic head** on a SUBSEQUENT traversal of the network. So, while it is not impossible to generate them both as elements of the same unit, the adoption of Option D would make the grammar considerably more complex — and so add to its fragility.

At this point in the investigation, then, the decision between Options C and D was still fairly evenly balanced, with the weight of the evidence now somewhat in favour of Option C — but with the fascination of the new concept that underlies the new syntax still exerting a significant pull.

5.10.4   Evaluating Options C and D: (iii) the fresh evidence and the decision

It was at this point — with the corpus studies completed but with

no convincing result — that I encountered, entirely by accident, an example of a typic nominal group with a new structure. It provided such persuasive evidence of the need for Option C that the various tentative arguments for Option D were immediately swept away.[1]

The relevant example is the underlined portion of (4):

(4) The first   [i.e. *this type of callous killing*] could mean "this particular sub-type of the type of killing 1 am calling callous".[2]

Let us call this a "type of type" structure. As soon as 1 noticed (4), I did a search of the google corpus for similar examples — and I quickly found a small but significant body of them. This confirmed that, while the "type of type" structure is infrequent, it is fully legitimate — and so one that it is essential for the grammar to provide for. Examples from google that are like (4) include (with the two typic heads underlined):

(5) each type of several types of health facilities
(6) (a class can be) a type of many classes (of entities)
(7) (it was) another type of the same species (of xxxx)

It is satisfying to be able to say that the system network in Figure 3 can be used to generate such structures without any alteration. This is because it already allows re-entry to the overall network to generate the embedded nominal group that fills the **td**, as in Option C in Figure 9. It is because of this that the embedded nominal group can itself be given a typic determiner which is in turn filled by a nominal group. Structurally, this type of embedding is similar to that noted in Section

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[1]   Ironically, this vital example arrived as part of a comment in an email from Chris Butler — and its unintended effect was to delay somewhat the completion of this paper.

[2]   This example occurred in the context of a discussion of Example (10) in Section 5.7.1.

4.4. In contrast, Option D is simply incapable of handling "type of type" structures, because it doesn't have the embedded nominal group that is needed to model the recursion.[1]

The analysis of each of (4) to (7) is broadly similar, i.e. as in Figure 10:
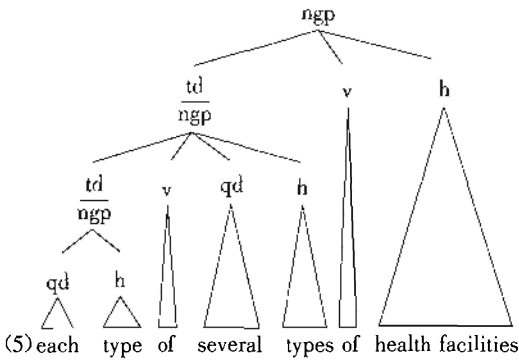

Figure 10: Embedding in the typic determiner

Interestingly, both (5) and (6) happen to exemplify the need to locate the typic determiner before the quantifying determiner — a point to which we shall return in the next section.

This section, then, has identified the need to use Option C rather than Option D to represent this aspect of the nominal group. We have seen in the discussions of the findings of the corpus studies that the problems for the realization rules that this decision brings are relatively small. We can therefore now abandon Option D with some confidence that the grammar that uses Option C has been — or can be — extended to handle such patterns.

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[1]   You might think that it could add typic heads recursively to the same nominal group, but this would run up against one of the founding principles of the grammar — namely, that each element in a unit serves a different function.

5.11   The place in the nominal group of the typic determiner

What should be the position of the typic determiner in the sequence of the determiners? In my earlier descriptions of the English nominal group I had assumed that it occurred immediately before the deictic determiner — probably influenced by the proximity of the typic head to the cc head in practically all examples, as noted in Section 5.3. But the evidence from my corpus studies suggests that it should be located much earlier, at least before the quantifying determiner.

We have also noted that, like the **representational** and **partitive determiners,** it is always and only filled by a nominal group. Such determiners are typically — but not exclusively — the first determiner in the overall nominal group in which they occur.

Here we treat the typic determiner as occurring at the start of the nominal group, so as immediately preceding the representational determiner. [1] This means that any determiner that may APPEAR to occur before it should in fact be treated as embedded in it, i.e. as a determiner in the nominal group whose head is *type*, etc.

5.12   The realization rules that generate these structures

In the last two sections we have established the principles that have led to the decision to use Option C, and here I shall state the basic realization rules that generate such structures from the system network in Figure 8. The reason for doing this is to enable you to test the general claims made in the last few sections about the elegance with which this grammar operates.

There are two sets of rules: (i) those that apply when building the **matrix nominal group**, and   (ii) those that apply on re −entry (as specified in Rule 62.2) to generate the **embedded nominal group**

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[1]   Regrettably, there is no space to discuss the reasons here.

(which fills the **td** of the matrix nominal group). I shall first give the rules themselves, then "translate" them into English, with brief comments. Here is the first set:

62.2 : overt_type :
    td @ 5,
    for td prefer [thing, ... abstract_thing, ... thing_as_type],
    if singular_overt_type then for td prefer [singular_cc],
    if plural_overt_type then for td prefer [plural_cc],
    for td re_enter_at entity,
    tv @ 6, tv < "of".[1]

80 : plural_cc or plural_covert_type :
    if not ["irregular noun senses"] then h <+ "+s".[2]

80.01 : plural_overt_type :
    if count_cc
    then (if not ["irregular noun senses"] then h <+ "+s").

Here is the s econd set of rules — i.e. those that state the realizations in the head of the nominal group that is generated to fill the **td** in the matrix nominal group. Note that Rule 80 applies again — this time to generate the "plural" form of *type* (or a near–synonym) that expounds the head of the embedded nominal group.

78.001 : informal_type_c: h < "sort".

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[1]   In the generative version of the grammar, the selector — which is represented in the text-descriptive version simply as "v" — is distinguished from any other selectors that may be generated for the same nominal group by labelling it as **tv**, i.e. as the "typic selector".

[2]   The plural forms of "irregular nouns" such as *man, woman, child* and *species* are generated by a different rule, which consults a table of the relevant forms. This also provides for the irregular plural of *species*, when it occurs in the embedded nominal group that fills the **td**.

78.002 : general_type_c :   h < "kind".

78.003 : general_technical_type_c :   h < "type".

76.012 : unmarked_variety_c or biol_variety_c : h < "variety".

76.004 : class_c or biol_class_c :   h < "class".

76.017 :type_of_typically_tame_animal_c :   h < "breed".

76.025 : species_c :   h < "species".

....etc, for over a score other near-synonyms of *type*.

Rule 80 (as above).

These few rules generate the eight basic variants provided for by the system network in Figure 8 (four for each of "count_cc" and "mass_cc"), as well as a sample of the variations on *type*.

Each **realization rule** is composed of one or more **statements**. Their purpose is to specify that, under the conditions specified in the realization statement (which may be simply the choice of the feature to which the rule is attached) one or more **operations** get executed. They are therefore "statements" about what is to be done, so they are, in effect, commands.

Here is the "translation" of Rule 62.2, which contains seven "statements":

1 If the feature "overt_type" is selected, the element **typic determiner (td)** is to be located at **Place 5** in the structure of the nominal group currently being generated. (The role of the numbered Places is to get the elements in the right order, and when this is done the unused ones are stripped away.)

The grammar then instructs itself to do three things when it re—enters the system network — which it must do, to choose the "selection expression"

2 The grammar instructs itself to select the bundle of features — [thing] and seven other features, then [type_of_thing] — that will lead to the generation of a head such as *type* or *species*. This **preference re-setting rule** applies unconditionally.

3 The grammar then instructs itself that, if [singular_overt_type] is chosen on the current traversal, the feature [singular_cc] must be chosen on re-entry.

4 Similarly, if [plural_overt_type] is chosen, [plural_cc] must be selected.

   Thus each of the second and third instructions has a condition.

5 The grammar instructs itself to re−enter the overall system network at its initial entry condition. i.e. at the feature [entity].

   Without this, (2) to (4) would not happen.

6 Finally, the grammar locates the **typic selector** **(tv)** — i.e. the selector that gets introduced when there is a typic determiner — at Place 6... and

7 ... it specifies that it is to be expounded by the item *of*.[1]
   Rule 80 is much simpler. It states:

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[1]   You may be wondering why the grammar needs to specify the "number" of the embedded "typic" nominal group when generating the matrix nominal group, since the choice between [singular_cc] and [plural_cc] needs to be made for the lower unit in any case. "Isn't it rather clumsy," you might ask, "to first make the choice for the matrix nominal group and then to transfer it, via the two 'preference' statements, to the embedded nominal group?" The answer is that the choice must in fact be made for the matrix nominal group, in order to ensure that the grammar generates the plural form of the head of the matrix nominal group when the "number" of the "types" is "plural". Thus the present grammar generates *two types of ants* rather than *two types of ant* — as is required by the statistically dominant dialect of English, according to the google and COBUILD corpora. (The grammar of my dialect is even simpler, however: the choice is only made for the embedded nominal group, because the head of the matrix nominal group always uses the base form of the noun, as in two types of ant.)

"If either of the features [plural_c] or [plural_overt_type] is se-
lected — and so long as the 'noun sense' that is being se-
lected on the same traversal of the network forms its 'plural'
variant in a **regular** manner — the **head** (which will already have
been expounded by an item such as *ant* or *oil*) is to be further
expounded by the addition of the suffix 's'."

For the many noun senses whose plural form is **irregular**, as in
men, women and *children*, the plural form is generated by a special rule
containing similar conditions, which we omit here.

This one rule (and its "irregular" equivalent) elegantly provides the
"plural" forms of the head in three different situations. The rule
realizes: (i) the simple "plural" form in the matrix nominal group (e.g.
two ants); (ii) the "plural" form in the matrix nominal group (when the
meaning of "typicity" is "covert" and "plural", e.g. *two oils* and, in
this sense, *two ants*); and (iii) — since the rule applies to the embedded
nominal group as well as the matrix nominal group — the "plural"
forms for *type* and its near-synonyms in the embedded nominal group (e.
g. *two types of ant (s)*),even including the "irregular" plural form of
species, as in *two new species of ant(s)*.

Rule 80.01 is equally elegant and economical (and also has an
"irregular plural form" equivalent). It states:

"If, when the feature [plural_overt_type] is chosen, the feature
[count_cc] has also been chosen — i.e. if the referent is 'plu-
ral' — then (as in Rule 80), if the 'noun sense' is not realized
by an irregular plural, the head is given the suffix 's'."

Notice that the rule neatly avoids generating *two types of oils*,
because it only applies to [plural_cc] things, and not to [mass_cc]
things.

Interestingly, this rule is only needed in those dialects of English
that use the form *two new types of ants*, in contrast with *two new types*

of ant (the majority, according to both google and COBUILD corpora). No such "agreement" rule is needed in dialects such as my own that use the second form, so that their grammar is simpler than the "agreement" version by one rule.

Any other elements and items that may be required for the matrix nominal group are generated by the normal rules for generating nominal groups. These include the head of the matrix nominal group (e.g. *ant* or *oil*), the full range of types of determiner and "selection" described in Section 4, and modifiers and qualifiers.

Now we turn to the rules that apply to the nominal group embedded at **td**. We shall take Rule 62.31 as an example of the set of forty or so rules that provide the "base" of the item that expounds the **head**. It simply states:

"If the feature 'informal_type' is chosen, the head will be expounded by *sort.*"

As with the matrix nominal group, the other elements and items that may be required for the embedded nominal group that fills the **td** are generated by the normal rules for generating nominal groups. Again, these include the full range of types of determiner and "selection" described in Section 4 (though with their probabilities greatly reduced) — while the exponent of the head is, of course, preselected (by Rule 62.2). Other nominal group elements such as modifiers and qualifiers may be generated — but only within the restrictions identified in the relevant statements in Section 5.8. Thus any qualifiers in a nominal group that fills a **td** will be discontinuous, occurring after the head of the matrix nominal group.

In summary, we can say that the attractive simplicity of the structures described in Sections 5.9 and 5.10 is matched by the simplicity of the realization rules that generate them.

6   Conclusions

6.1   Overview of the grammar of "typicity"

The first aim of this paper was to develop a more adequate model than those currently available for the syntax and semantics of "typicity". I shall now offer a very brief summary of my proposals for this, and then I shall turn to the second aim: to make a critical evaluation of the methods used in investigations of language in general, and in this paper in particular.

The proposals set out here combine with the existing generative grammar of the English nominal group, as described in the Cardiff Grammar, to form an even more comprehensive generative grammar of the nominal group. And from this, of course, we can derive a text-descriptive version of the grammar, i.e. a framework for describing nominal groups at the levels of both form and meaning.[①]

The most difficult decisions were made in Sections 4.2 and 5.10, where we considered the arguments for and against different structures for modelling (i) "selection" in general (as in *five books* and *a large number of those books*) and (ii) "typic" nominal groups such as *two new types of ant (s)*, etc. In the first case we rejected the traditional "prepositional group as qualifier" structure (Figure 4) in favour of the "selection" model (Figure 6), and for "typicity" we rejected both the "prepositional group as qualifier" analysis and the possible "two head" structure — again in favour of the "selection" model (Option C, as illustrated in (1b) in Figure 9 and in Figure 10).

[①]   Sometimes, in the development of a new area of grammar, the text-descriptive grammar is produced first. But when this happens it should be regarded as the first stage in the development of a full, generative grammar. Any such initial text-descriptive grammar is a temporary model, and it is only when a text-descriptive grammar is derived from a full theoretical-generative grammar that it should be regarded as stable.

However, there are no "purely formal" criteria for choosing between alternative structures, and our criteria have in practice depended on two characteristics that are desirable in any functional grammar: a *syntax* that reflects the semantic relationships involved as transparently as possible, and a set of **realization rules** for "translating" meanings into forms that are as economical as possible. And in SFL these two work in concert with an equally carefully structured **system network**.

How can we summarize the **theoretical-generative** version of the grammar proposed here? The best way is simply to refer you to the relevant sections and diagrams. The overall model is summarized in Figure 1. Figure 8 in Section 5.5 gives the system network for TYPICITY. Section 5.12 states the associated realization rule, and Option C in Figure 9 and Figure 19 show typical resulting structures. Thus, when evaluating a generative SFG, it is necessary to take account of all three of these: system network, realization rules and the structural outputs at the level of form.

And how can we summarize the **text-descriptive** version of grammar — i.e. the version that is adapted for use in describing texts? We can summarize the proposals for modelling the structures of the **overt** forms of the determiners as follows (the elements being listed in the sequence in which they occur in the matrix nominal group):

element	item	unit(s)
typic determiner		ngp (h < *type*, etc.)
representational determiner		ngp (h < *photo*, etc.)
partitive determiner		ngp (h < *back*, etc.)
fractionative determiner	*half* o··	ngp (h < *fifth* etc.)
quantifying determiner	item or	ngp or quantity group
ordinative determiner		quality group (apex < *fifth* etc.)
superlative determiner		quality group (apex < *finest* etc.)
totalizing determiner	*all*	
quality–introducing determiner	*those*	

| deictic determiner | item or | genitive cluster |
| head (aka "cc head" in Section 5) | noun | ngp (occasionally) |

As a final example, consider *one of the first of the new varieties of GM wheat* (i.e. (3a) from Section 1.1). Using linear representations of its first and second layers of structure, its analysis is:

(3ai) ngp: one of the first of the new varieties [td] of [v]
                     GM wheat [h]

(3aii) ngp at **td**:   one [qd] of [v] the first [od] of [v] the [dd] new
                     [m]varieties [h]

In a tree diagram format, then, the overall structure resembles that in Figure 10 — but the complex structure within the **td** is more like that in Figure 7.

A grammar that provides only structures (as in the first two editions of *IFG*) can be used for text description, so long as its criteria for identifying categories are sufficiently clear (i.e. it is a **text-descriptive grammar**). But it should be regarded as a "place-holder" description until its proposers develop both its system networks and its realization rules — i.e. until it is presented as a **theoretical-generative** grammar — so that we can see that it actually "works".[1]

To summarize: the structure used here, as in Option C in Figure 9, is significantly simpler than that suggested by other scholars — who, when they express a view at all, almost always press into service the standard "prepositional group as qualifier" analysis (using an analysis similar to that in Figure 4). The attractive simplicity of the structure proposed here is the result of the pleasing economy of the realization

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[1]   Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) adds some networks, but there is no attempt to provide systematic coverage of ALL the networks, nor to provide realization rules. This is understandable, since that work's goal is to be a text-descriptive grammar, not a theoretical-generative one.

rules — and so in turn with the carefully crafted system network. The three, as I have emphasized throughout, are interdependent — so that, while it is tempting to characterize a grammar by the elegance of one or other component, the three in fact need to be evaluated as one composite package.

We have seen that the realization rules for the "prepositional group as qualifier" structure would be far more complex than those given here, largely because many of the choices in other elements of the matrix nominal group depend on the choices in "cultural classification" and "number" that are expressed in the head — and the head would in that approach be buried two layers down, in an embedded nominal group.[1]

The structure used here, then, has these twin advantages: (i) it is both simple and as transparent a reflection of the semantic relationships involved as one could hope to find — which makes it ideal for use in text analysis — and (ii) it is generated by simple realization rules — so that it contributes importantly to the elegance of the generative version of the grammar.

6.2   Methodology in linguistics in general and SFL in particular

Finally, we shall consider briefly the methods used in this investigation — and their lessons for future work. Let us first establish the overall framework in which, I suggest, the science of linguistics should be undertaken. This will be a more formal and more general description than the informal characterization of how we should make progress in linguistics given in Section 1.3. Essentially, the methods are those likely to be used by a scientist working in any discipline.

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[1]   It would not be impossible to do this, and there are occasional places in the full grammar where it is necessary. But it would involve introducing a degree of additional complexity that any linguist would prefer to avoid, unless it is absolutely necessary. And, as the explicit grammar set out here shows, it isn't.

They are (expressed here in a way that attempts to transcend different viewpoints within the philosophy of science):

> 1 the initial observation of patterns of behaviour in data (which presupposes, minimally, a set of tentative "pre-theoretical" categories);
>
> 2 adapting or building a theory-based model (or part of one) that could account for those patterns (so, in linguistics, this must include a "grammar" of meaning and form that is capable of being used to generate and analyze text-sentences, and ultimately to be a component in an overall model that explains the generation of whole texts, including interactive dialogue);
>
> 3 testing the model against the evidence of a much larger quantity of data (obtained from either systematic observation or experimentation);
>
> 4 changing, refining, and/or occasionally rejecting and replacing part (or even all) of the model ...
>
> 5 ... and so on, repeating 3 and 4 in a potentially unending attempt to develop a fully comprehensive and maximally insightful model.

In principle, a linguist — or any other type of scientist — can undertake any such programme of research on their own. But they are likely to make better progress when they operate with a small team of researchers, and when they test their findings through comparisons with others working in the same field through publication.

I shall now say a little about the various types of evidence that I have drawn on in this study, in relation to the phases of research outlined above. Some of the conclusions that I draw will, I should warn you, go against current fashion.

For me, Phase 1 occurred in the 1970s. As with most linguists who wished to use real data at the time, the "patterns of behaviour in data" that I observed were noted down from (i) the everyday language in

use around me, and   (ii) the real life texts that my students and I were trying to analyze. But there was also (iii) the evidence of patterns noted by other linguists and found in their books and papers — most notably in (a) Quirk *et al.* (1972) (the first of the big modern grammars) and (b) the various Scale and Category grammars being written in the 1960s and early 1970s. [①] And I must also have used a fourth type of evidence — invented examples — about which I shall have more to say in a moment.

Phases 3 and 4 in the development of a model recur cyclically, and the most recent recurrence in relation to "typicity" in English occurred for me in the years 2004–5. By then the types of evidence available to the scientist of language were very different. The value of corpus linguistics was very well established, and Sections 5.6 to 5.8 describe how I was able to draw quickly and easily on the data available in large corpora. This, then, was my major source of the "much larger quantity of data" required for Phase 3 of the research, as I refined the model. And this was the "systematic observation" of the data referred to in the summary above of what happens in Phase 3 of the scientific approach.

However, we should note that these days the use of corpus data doesn't necessarily depend on spending long hours on primary research. Evidence from corpus linguistics is increasingly available through what Neale (2002:187) has called "the 'second level' use of corpora" — e.g. as found in the *COBUILD Dictionary* (Sinclair 1987/95), the detailed descriptions in Francis, Hunston & Manning (1996 & 1998), and Biber *et al.* (1999). Neale (2006) describes how we discovered the existence of a whole new class of Process types in English through the "second

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①   All were, of course, derived from Halliday (1961) (see Fawcett 2000:26f for this early stage of the history of SFL). Thus my "tentative categories" in Phase 1 came from these works. They were therefore only "pre-theoretical" in the sense that they were based on an earlier theory than the one from which my present categories are derived (for which see Fawcett 2000).

level" use of corpora. So the boundary between what I have earlier called the "big grammars" and the evidence from large corpora is disappearing. However, we have seen in Section 2 that the large grammars have been very little help in the present study, so that I found it necessary to consult the primary data of COBUILD and google — and this situation seems certain to continue for detailed studies for some years to come. Nonetheless, we must count "consulting the literature" as a second potential source of insights in scientific inquiry.

Next I want to point out the central role played by a third type of evidence — probably in all subject areas. It is one that has a long history in linguistics but that is currently out of fashion. [1] It is what I have referred to above as "invented examples".

The formal linguists of the 1960s and onwards dignified invented examples by describing them as the results of "native speaker intuition". But the most accurate and most useful name for this source of data is, I suggest, **thought experiments**. The value in using this label is to remind us to check that, when we use this source of data, we exercise proper scientific care.

What, precisely, is involved in a "thought experiment"? Let us assume that you are considering an example that could be analyzed in more than one way — as in the case of the "typic nominal groups" considered here. The first step is to try to create in your mind a number of possible alternative texts — texts that might have occurred at that point but didn't. You will probably do this first at the level of **form** but, as a systemicist, you should also be thinking about the

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[1]   This is probably the result of (i) an understandable reaction to the over-dependence on invented examples by formal linguists from the 1960s onwards, and (ii) the current fashionable emphasis — which is fully justified — on the value of corpus-based research.

contrasts in **meaning** that are expressed in the forms.[1] The second step is to evaluate the status of the possible alternatives. Do native users of English say or write such things? If so, with what dialect and register restrictions? And with what probabilities? ... and so on. If you have any doubts, test your results against the evidence of corpora and/or informant testing. The basic principle, then, is to distrust your natural assumption that you "know" what people (including yourself) actually say (as I was reminded when I investigated Hypothesis 4 in Section 5.4). I suspect that all linguists in fact carry out thought experiments — and if we do it is best to acknowledge it, and to check regularly that we are doing it in a scientific manner.

As you may have noticed, thought experiments have been an essential tool in the present study. Without them I could not, in Section 5.6, have derived the crucial examples of **covert typicity** in (4b) to (7b) from (4a) to (7a). As a second example of the value of using thought experiments, I could have waited for ever to establish the canonical sequence of the determiners if I had restricted myself solely to the evidence of recorded texts. To resolve this question I needed BOTH to look at a great many texts AND to conduct a lot of thought experiments. It was only by combining these two methods that I was able to discover the patterns that lie hidden behind the first impression that is conveyed by the high frequency items. [2] And I have used thought experiments at

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[1]   However, one of the lacks in SFL publications is that so far none provide a full set of clear, user-friendly system networks, with guidance in how to use them. The Cardiff Grammar has comprehensive system networks designed for the computer grammar, and I intend to make these available in a user-friendly form in Fawcett (in preparation). It would be good to have equivalent documentation from the Sydney Grammar in due course, to facilitate comparison. (Sadly, the networks in Matthiessen 1995 and Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 do not meet these criteria.)

[2]   As another example, I might point out that it was because the 18th century grammarians didn't look beyond the high frequency of the items *the* and *a (n)* that they developed the model of a system for the "article" with its two features "definite" and "indefinite" — which is, as we saw in Section 4, misleading.

various other points in the study, e.g. in creating *what type of the virus* from *what type of a virus* in Section 5.7.2.

However, in the current widespread appreciation of the value of corpora, it is easy to dismiss thought experiments as an outmoded tool. Yet they are, I suggest, still one of the best and most natural tools of linguistics. This is because a scientist building a model of any phenomenon should always be on the look out for counter-examples, and thought experiments are the quickest way to find them.

Thought experiments have a particularly natural place in SFL. A SYSTEMICIST SHOULD ALWAYS BE THINKING SYSTEMICALLY — i.e. you should consider not only the data before you but also the bits of text that might have been used at that point but were not — AND IT IS BY THOUGHT EXPERIMENTS THAT WE IDENTIFY THESE.

So far we have noted these three sources of evidence for deciding between alternative structures: (i) large corpora, (ii) the literature on English grammar (which increasingly includes "second level" corpus evidence) and (iii) thought experiments. But there are two further sources of evidence that I have used to help me to decide between the alternative structures for representing "typicity". And one of these, we have found in this paper, inevitably invades discussions of the weight to be attached to the findings of the first three.

This fourth type of evidence is one that has been important in the present study, i.e. the degree of complexity that the structure introduces to the model when it operates as a **generative grammar** — and specifically the complexity of the **realization rules** through which **meanings** come to be expressed as **forms** (as described earlier in this section). As in all scientific modelling, we look for economy and clarity in the way the grammar operates, but in linguistics we also look for a representation in syntax that reflects, as transparently as possible, the semantic relationship of "selection" between the referents, and so of

elements of the nominal group, as described in this paper.[①]

However, this paper is, as I said at the start, the story of the use of FIVE types of evidence. In particular, it is the story of how the fifth type of evidence made the crucial difference when deciding between the structures of Options C and D. This fifth type is in fact the type with which my study of "typicity" started, back in the 1970s. Moreover, it is another type which, together with the use of thought experiments (aka "invented examples" and "native speaker intuition"), is often stigmatized by linguists as "unscientific" in today's corpus-oriented culture. It is the linguistic data of our **direct experience** — the spoken and written acts of everyday communication and thought that surround us all the time. Indeed, if in mid–2005 I hadn't noticed in an email from a friend the counter-example to the model I was then considering, I would probably not have become convinced — as I now am — that the structure presented here is the best that can be proposed in the current state of our knowledge.

What are the lessons of this study for the methodology of linguistics? There are at least the following six.

First, the exploratory use of large corpora provides many examples that we should not expect to be able to think up without the help of that technology. Indeed, some of these examples were counter-examples to my initial hunches, and some suggested new patterns of "typicity" that we need to provide for.

Second, we should not assume that even the most comprehensive of modern grammars (such as Huddleston & Pullum 2002) will have adequate statements at the levels of meaning and form for every topic.

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① It is these factors, in my view, that are reflected indirectly in tests that are supposedly "purely formal". If form and meaning are mutually defining, as Saussure's concept of the "sign" suggests, then there is no point in trying to set up tests that are "purely formal" or "purely semantic". AS I have remarked earlier, citing Meillet (1937), "tout se tient".

The third lesson, which is perhaps less obvious, is that it is inadequate merely to evaluate the merits of alternative structures as insightful or not on the basis of how we feel about them. We must also pay attention to how they would operate in a generative version of the grammar that turns meanings into forms.

The fourth lesson is that we should not be afraid to create new examples — i.e. "invented examples" — by thinking systemically — and then testing them in thought experiments and by checking them in large corpora.

And the fifth lesson is, of course, that the grammarian should continue to cultivate an ear and an eye for the real-life example that will expand or undermine one's current model of a language. The fact is that my corpora — large though they were — happened not to include the vital counter-example that I needed. So I am confirmed by the experience of this investigation of "typicity" in an old habit, i.e. an expectant alertness to the data of my everyday encounters, whether spoken or written. But since this is all part of the pleasure of linguistics, adding this fifth source of evidence to the other four is no great hardship.

And what is the overall moral of this tale — and so the sixth and final lesson? It is that one should not assume that every single new idea that one has, however exciting it may at first appear, will turn out to be valid. Every new idea needs to be tested, using all the means at our disposal (as we have here for the new idea of the "two-headed nominal group"), and only adopted if it passes those tests. And this is a principle that must be applied to every new idea, no matter how eminent its progenitor.

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Review

Suzanne Eggins:
An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics (Second Edition)
Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 2004

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【内容简介】

这是介绍Suzanne Eggins的《系统功能语言学入门》(第2版)的书评。作者首先对该书的各个章节进行介绍,对各章的重点部分作了勾画,然后对该书进行整体评价,结论是:这是一本清楚介绍Halliday系统功能语言学的入门书,尤其适合语篇分析者使用。

Introduction

Suzanne Eggins' *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2004) is the second edition of the author's 1994 book (Eggins 1994) with the same title. It is a textbook designed to introduce students (who may have little or no formal knowledge of linguistics) to the major concepts, principles and techniques of the systemic functional approach to language. It presents an overview of systemic functional theory and demonstrates how systemic functional principles and techniques can be applied in the analysis of spoken and written texts. It takes M. A. K. Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994) as its base and offers a functional description of the context of culture, the context of situation, and the simultaneous metafunctional organization of the clause, and it also introduces the

basic techniques for analyzing cohesive patterns in text.

Seeing that much had taken place in the study of systemic functional linguistics since the first edition of the book was published in 1994, the author of this second edition had updated the book with recent references, and apart from a newly-written chapter on clause complex (Chapter 9) the original chapters in the first edition had been modified and rewritten with new text examples and clearer explanations of systemic functional concepts, principles and techniques.

There are 11 chapters in this book, respectively dealing with an overview of systemic functional linguistics (Chapter 1), texture, cohesion and coherence (Chapter 2), the context of culture: genre (Chapter 3), the context of situation: register (Chapter 4), lexico-grammar (Chapter 5), the interpersonal meaning: Mood (Chapter 6), systems (Chapter 7), the experiential meaning: Transitivity (Chapter 8), the logical meaning: Clause complex (Chapter 9), the textual meaning: Theme (Chapter 10), and applications of systemic functional linguistics to text analysis (Chapter 11).

Synopsis

Chapter 1: An overview of systemic functional linguistics

As the title of the chapter suggests, this is an overview of systemic functional linguistics. The chapter begins with the explanation of the aim of the book, which is "to introduce you the principles and techniques of the systemic functional approach to language". Many of the important terms and concepts are introduced with clear explanations and text examples, and these notions are developed in the relevant chapters that are to follow. In this chapter, the author also provides with text examples the answers to the two questions concerning the systemic functional approach to language: (1) How do people use language? (2) How is language structured for use?

Chapter 2: What is (a) text?

In this chapter the author looks at the concept of "text" and gives a technical explanation within the systemic functional framework. The chapter addresses the issue by asking three searching questions: (1) What is (a) text? (2) How do we know when we have got one? (3) What does the nature of text tell us about the organization of language as a text-forming resource? By discussing ideas of texture, cohesion and coherence, the author is able to present the ways of distinguishing between "a text" and "a non-text". In this chapter, cohesive devices such as reference, lexical cohesion, and conjunctive cohesion are illustrated with the analysis of text examples. The author here reminds readers of the Hallidayan concept of "text" which refers to both spoken and written language, by saying that in systemic functional linguistics "text is a technical term for any unified piece of language that has the properties of texture".

Chapter 3: Genre: context of culture in text

"Genre" is a term that is used in many disciplines (e.g., literary studies, film studies, art theory and cultural studies). In this chapter the term is used in a specifically systemic functional way, as in Martin (1984), and the author discusses the first dimension of contextual coherence, that of genre by presenting the systemic functional interpretation of genre as the "cultural purpose" of texts and by illustrating how texts express genres through structural and realizational patterns of language. The author explores how texts are coherent in terms of their cultural context, through the notion of genre. Ideas concerning register configuration, schematic structure, the uses of genre analysis and critical genre analysis are also discussed with text examples of both written (including literary texts) and spoken English.

Chapter 4: Register: context of situation in text

Following Chapter 3, which looks at how texts are coherent with

respect to their cultural context, this chapter explores how texts are coherent in terms of their context of situation through the notion of register. The chapter is organized to answer the following two questions: (1) What is meant by context of situation and the register variables? (2) How is register realized in language? The author deals with the idea of context of situation by addressing the question of why context matters and how context gets into text. The focus of this chapter is on register theory and the three register variables of field, tenor and mode. The chapter ends with a clear illustration of the relationship between the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, textual) and register.

Chapter 5: Introduction to the lexico-grammar

Having looked at what   (a) text is and how people use language in texts (Chapter 2) and how texts make meanings in cultural (Chapter 3) and situational (Chapter 4) contexts, the author turns to the explorations of the lexico-grammatical level of language by looking at the function of grammar and grammatical coding. Assuming that language allows us to mean anything we like to mean and that language enables us to make more than one meaning at a time, the author describes how language can take a finite number of expression units to realize an infinite number of meanings we need to express in our daily life. The focus of the chapter is on principles of grammatical analysis   (units and constituency), dealing with concepts such as constituents, the rank scale, bracketing, embedding, labeling and multifunctionality of clause constituents. The chapter ends with a section discussing the notion of "appropriacy" in line with descriptive grammar.

Chapter 6: The grammar of interpersonal meaning: MOOD

The interpersonal meaning is one of the three strands of meaning in a clause in systemic functional terms. This chapter looks at how the clause is structured to enable us to express interpersonal meanings, by dealing with Mood structures of the clause. The chapter explores the relationship between functional constituents and their configurations in

clauses of different Mood types and looks at the role of modality in interaction. The focus of the chapter is on Mood structures of the clause in terms of exchanging information and exchanging goods and services, and special attention is also paid to the concepts of modalization (referring to the probability or frequency of propositions) and modulation (referring to the obligation or inclination of proposals).

Chapter 7: Systems: meaning as choice

As the name suggests, systemic functional linguistics has two major dimensions: "systemic" and "functional". Having explored the functional approach to language in Chapters 2 to 6, this chapter deals with the systemic aspect of the theory, the systemic modeling of meaning as choice. The author revisits concept of the semiotic system introduced in Chapter 1 by discussing the paradigmatic relations in terms of choice of content and expression. The chapter presents a description of a simple semiotic system of traffic lights and then the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes with respect to relations between linguistic signs. The focus of this chapter is on the concept of system and issues related to this notion: the relationship between system and structure, and priority of paradigmatic relations in systemic functional linguistics.

Chapter 8: The grammar of experiential meaning: TRANSITIVITY

Having dealt with the interpersonal strand of meaning in Chapter 6, this chapter explores one component of the ideational metafunction (i.e., experiential meaning; with the other component presented in the following chapter), which is concerned with how we represent reality in language (e.g., the meanings about the world, about our experience and perception of the world). The focus of the chapter is on the description of the system of Transitivity, which is about the process types associated with participant roles and configurations. Six process types (Material,

Mental, Behavioural, Verbal, Existential, Relational) are illustrated with examples and diagrams, which are concerned with three aspects of the clause: the selection of a process, the selection of (a) participant(s), and the selection of (a) circumstance(s).

Chapter 9: The grammar of logical meaning: CLAUSE COMPLEX

With the experiential meaning presented in Chapter 8, the other component of the ideational metafunction (i.e. logical meaning) is dealt with in this chapter. This component of the ideational meaning is concerned with the logico-semantic systems of the clause complex (which is the term used in systemic functional linguistics to refer to the grammatical and semantic unit formed when two or more clauses are linked together), which provide options that can be used to link individual clauses of experiential meaning together into ideationally coherent clause complexes. The focus of this chapter is on the structure of the clause complex, the system of taxis (interdependency between linked clauses), and the system of logico-semantic relations (projection and expansion).

Chapter 10: The grammar of textual meaning: THEME

With the two of the three metafunctions already dealt with respectively in Chapter 6 (interpersonal meaning) and Chapters 8 (ideational-experiential meaning) and 9 (ideational-logical meaning), this chapter discusses the third strand of meaning (metafunction) in the clause (i.e. textual meaning), which is concerned with the organization of the clause as a message. The chapter focuses on the system of Theme, which "is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message" and "it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 64). The system of Theme/ Rheme, types of Theme (topical, interpersonal, textual, and multiple;

marked and unmarked), and thematic structures in different clause types are presented with examples.

Chapter 11: Explaining text: applying SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics)

This last chapter is designed first to summarize the linguistic model presented in the previous chapters and then to demonstrate how a systemic functional approach to language can be applied to text analysis in a comprehensive manner. The demonstration of text analysis offers a comprehensive lexico-grammatical and cohesive analysis of three important texts ("the Crying Baby texts") introduced in Chapter 1; the analysis involves discussions on the similarities and differences of the texts in different systems of meaning-making mechanisms. This last chapter ends with a very interesting point, which is: "At issue in all linguistic analysis is the process by which lived or imagined experience is turned into text. Text is not life — it is life mediated through the symbolic system of language", and the author hopes that her book has shown the reader "how SFL analysis can help us understand something of the process by which we live much of our lives at one remove — as texts".

Evaluation

Eggins' first edition (1994) is based on the first edition of Halliday (1985), and this second edition (2004) mainly on the second edition of Halliday (1994). As the author points out, when the third edition of Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) appeared, this second edition was in production. Thus, the author had tried to update the references where possible, but the motivating text for this second edition is still Halliday (1994).

In the first edition (1994), Eggins followed Martin (1992) in

regarding the stratum of language above grammar as "discourse-semantics" and as a result there was a chapter (Chapter 4) dealing with Martin's methodology for the analysis of cohesive patterns as discourse-semantic systems. In this second edition, she returns to Halliday's (e.g., 1994) model, calling the top linguistic stratum "semantics" (instead of "discourse –semantics") and following Halliday's methodology for the cohesive analyses interpreted as non-structural grammatical systems. One obvious result of this theoretical modification is that Chapter 4 (Discourse-semantics: cohesion in text) in the first edition has been rewritten and become the main part of Chapter 2 (What is (a) text?) in this second edition. As a textbook aiming at introducing the principles and techniques of the systemic functional approach to text analysis, this rewritten chapter is much better in that the focus is more on texture, cohesion and coherence and on the relationships between and among these important concepts. However, one may argue that as the focus of the textbook is on text analysis it is advisable to follow Martin's (1992) "discourse-semantics" proposal which may be more appropriate when the analysis is beyond the clause.

The newly-written chapter (Chapter 9: The grammar of logical meaning: CLAUSE COMPLEX) in this second edition is more than necessary, as it is the other important component of Halliday's ideational metafunction. With regard to text analysis, the relationship between clauses in the clause complex is highlighted when both the system of taxis and that of logico-semantics are taken into consideration, which means that an overview of the grammar of logical meaning is an essential part of the book. Thus, I would congratulate the author on her decision to add this component to this revised edition.

This second edition is much better than its first edition in a number of ways, one of which is the overall structure and organization of the book, and it also avoids shortcomings in the first edition. For example, in the first edition, the same figure appeared twice, but with slightly different labels (p. 21: "Levels or strata of language"; p.81:

"The strata of language").

I am deeply impressed by the author's abilities and techniques in convincingly illustrating and demonstrating text analysis within the systemic functional framework. The principles and techniques of the systemic functional approach to text analysis are more clearly and explicitly presented in this book than in Halliday (e.g. 1994), the motivating text for this book. The successful attempt as exemplified in this textbook shows that systemic functional linguistics is one of the most powerful models of grammatical theory that has been constructed "for purposes of text analysis: one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken or written, in modern English." (Halliday 1994: xv) As can be seen in my review of Renkema (2004) <http://linguistlist.org/issues/16/16-1220.html>, the powerfulness of the Hallidayan approach to text analysis is also recognized by Jan Renkema, a non-systemicist discourse analyst, who states that the Hallidayan approach seems to be the best candidate that "offers a good general framework for analyzing all the different aspects of discourse" (Renkema 2004: 46).

I totally agree with the author, Dr. Suzanne Eggins, when she says that "since 1994, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has moved from 'marginal' to 'mainstream' as an approach to language, at least in Australia". I would add that the same is true in the People's Republic of China.

My overall impression of this book is clearly a very positive one. This book introduces and interprets Halliday's theory in a clear, concise and reader-friendly way. It demonstrates convincingly, with text examples of both written and spoken English, how systemic functional linguistics can be applied to text analysis. The book is certainly a welcome and valuable addition to the current literature both on introductions to systemic functional linguistics and on text analysis. I would certainly recommend this as the main textbook and/or reference book on introduction to systemic functional linguistics and/or systemic

functional text analysis.

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Synopses of Functional Linguistics PhD Theses Completed at Sun Yat-sen University

【内容简介】

2001—2006年期间,共17位学者在中山大学外国语学院"英语语言文学"博士点("功能语言学"研究方向)完成了博士论文,这里收辑了他们的论文提要。下面是这些博士学位获得者(括号里标明他们获得学位的年份)及其论文题目。

于 晖(2001)

语篇体裁:学术论文摘要的符号学意义分析

(Discourse as Genre: Arresting Semiotics in Research Paper Abstracts)

曾 蕾(2001)

系统功能语言学的"投射"研究

(A Systemic–Functional Interpretation of "Projection")

李国庆(2002)

文化语域与语篇——从语篇体裁的角度分析《老人与海》

(Contextual Conditioning in Text: A Genre–Centered Analysis of *The Old Man and the Sea*)

丁建新(2002)

预制性语言——旅游广告语域中习惯性搭配与习语表达的系统功能研究

(Prefabricated Language: A Systemic Functional Study of Habitual Collocations and Idiomatic Expressions in the Register of Travel Advertising)

杨炳钧(2002)

英语非限定小句之系统功能语言学研究

(A Study of Nonfinite Clauses in English: a systemic functional Approach)

常晨光(2003)

英语习语的人际功能研究

(English Idioms and Interpersonal Meanings: A Systemic Functional Perspective)

何 伟(2003)

英语小句复合体中时态关系之功能语法研究

(A Study of the Tense Relationships in Finite Hypotactic Clause Complexes: A Systemic Functional Approach)

尚媛媛(2003)

政治演讲词翻译中的转换

(Translation Shifts in Political Texts from English into Chinese: A Systemic Functional Approach to Translation as Language Use in Context)

何恒幸(2004)

另一视角下的假分裂句——英语变域句

(An Alternative Perspective on Pseudo-clefts: Sphere Shifts in English)

王 鹏(2004)

《哈利·波特》与其汉语翻译——以系统功能语言学理论分析情态系统

(*Harry Potter* and Its Chinese Translation: An Examination of Modality System in Systemic Functional Approach)

戴 凡(2004)

《喜福会》的人物话语和思想表达方式——叙述学和文体学分析

(Speech and Thought Presentation in *The Joy Luck Club*: From the Perspectives of Narratology and Stylistics)

李发根(2005)

人际意义与等效翻译——《蜀道难》及英译文的功能语言学分析

(Interpersonal Meanings and Equivalence in Translation: A Functional Linguistics Analysis of "Shu Dao Nan" and its English Versions)

王 瑾(2005)

中文报章中英语码转换的系统功能语言学研究

(Chinese/English Code-switching in Chinese Newspapers: A Systemic Functional Approach)

司显柱（2006）
功能语言学视角的翻译文本质量评估模式研究
(A Text-based Translation Quality Assessment Model: A Functional Linguistics Approach)
王　勇（2006）
英语评价型强势主位结构的功能语言学研究
(A Functional Study of the Evaluative Enhanced Theme Construction in English)
邓仁华（2006）
另一系统功能语法视角下的英语存在型强势主位结构
(The Existential Enhanced Theme Construction in English: An Alternative Systemic Functional Perspective)
齐　曦（2006）
英语使役结构的系统功能语言学研究
(English Causative Constructions: A Systemic Functional Approach)

The School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen (Zhongshan) University began to offer an "Introducing Systemic Functional Linguistics" course in its MA Programme of English Language and Literature in 1996, and the first group of MA students majoring in Systemic Functional Linguistics graduated in 1997. The first group of PhD students working within the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework was admitted into its PhD Programme in 1998 and the year 2001 witnessed the first two PhD graduates whose theses are concerned with Systemic Functional Linguistics issues.

This section of the book consists of 17 abstracts of PhD theses, whose theoretical framework is Systemic Functional Linguistics, completed between 2001–2006, at Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, P.R. China. Each of the abstracts is preceded by a brief biography of the researcher. The researchers are arranged in the chronological order according to the years in which they graduated.

Yu, Hui

Yu Hui is currently an associate professor in the English Department, Luoyang Foreign Languages Institute in China. She began her undergraduate studies in 1991 in the English Department, Luoyang Foreign Languages Institute, where she received her MA degree in English Language and Literature in 1998. She continued her higher education at Sun Yat-sen University in Systemic Functional Grammar and received her PhD degree in 2001. Her PhD thesis is a genre-based approach to research paper abstracts. She has published a number of articles and a monograph concerning genre study. Yu Hui's main interests are genre analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. She is a member of China Association of Functional Linguistics.

Discourse as Genre: Arresting Semiotics in Research Paper Abstracts

This thesis investigates the generic properties of research paper abstracts. It hopes to serve as a "testing ground" for hypotheses concerning the semiotics of genre. The focus of the research is on the realizational linguistic patterns of the abstracts. Our data consist of naturally occurring abstracts in journal articles from a variety of academic disciplines, viz. linguistics, economics, science, management, and geography.

The opening chapter situates the work as a contribution to the study of semiotics and formulates a set of aims and objectives for the research. Chapter 2 gives an overview of previous literature on genre analysis as well as relevant models for analyzing genre. The first part of this chapter sketches theories that have been particularly influential to the development of the notion of genre. The second part outlines four approaches to genre analysis according to their different orientations, i.e. folklore studies, sociolinguistics, conversa tion analysis and applied

linguistics. Chapter 3 outlines the basic theoretical assumptions underlying the present research, and draws, based on the Systemic Functional framework, a stratified model for analyzing discourse.

The remainder of the thesis is a detailed account of the connection between genre and its linguistic realizations of abstracts in our data. Chapter 4 explores the structural organization of abstracts at a macro-level, and proposes a formula of the Generic Structure Potential for abstracts, which is comparable to a system of the total structural potential of a genre. Chapters 5 and 6 constitute the analysis of the lexicogrammatical encodings of abstracts in terms of Theme and Transitivity. In Chapter 5, the Prague school notion of thematic progression is closely investigated as well as the realizational patterns of Themes. We postulate that clause Themes in abstracts have the function of orienting readers to the most important information that is to be communicated in the source article. Chapter 6 explores the prototypical experiential organizations in abstracts that are realized by the system of Transitivity. The investigation into the occurrence and distribution of process types in our data reveals that the abstract as a genre includes a high frequency of relational processes, which is reflective of what the writer considers to be the most important Tokens in the source article as well as their Values. A comparative analysis of two generic elements, i.e. Purpose of Study and Conclusion, reveals systematic variation in their general process types and the nature of participants involved in the process.

Chapter 7 analyzes the relation between lexical cohesion patterns and the genre. There is evidence that the major lexical strings in an abstract reflect the essential messages of the article and some of them may also appear in the title of the article. Nevertheless, no fixed connection exists between a certain generic stage of a text and its local lexical cohesion structures. In Chapter 8, we postulate that conjunction is one of the systems for generating frames. The result of our analysis suggests that certain internal conjunctive items are best interpreted as

discourse realizations of frames, options for marking the transition from one generic element to another. In the final chapter, some conclusions and implications for pedagogy are presented as well as some suggestions for future research. It is suggested that the result of our study could be incorporated into the language learning classroom and benefit those students who are learning to write academic papers.

Throughout our work we have tried to illustrate how the level of language instantiates its higher level of context, i.e. the genre. On the one hand, the linguistic realization of a text is conditioned by different layers of context; on the other hand, text is the realization of the type of context. The lexical, grammatical and semantic choices that constitute a text encode and construe the higher layers of context in which the text has been institutionalized. Texts are not just neutral encodings of natural reality, but enact the purpose of institutional members in certain social and cultural situations.

Zeng, Lei

Zeng Lei is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She graduated from Hunan Normal University with a BA degree in 1986. In 1995, she received her MA degree in Nankai University. In 2001 she received her PhD degree in Sun Yat-sen University. She was a visiting scholar during 2000–2001 in the University of Hong Kong. She is a member of China Functional Linguistics Association.

Zeng Lei's main research area is in Systemic Functional Linguistics. She has published on Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, language teaching, etc. Her recent main papers appear in journals such as *Modern Foreign Languages, Foreign Languages and Their Teaching, Foreign Language Education,* etc. She has published several books, including *A Functional Interpretation of Projection* (2006), *English for International Academic Conferences* (2004) and *Modern Tourism English* (1997). She has finished research

projects such as "A study of postgraduate students academic writing and speech skills in English," "A study of discoursal pattern of the speech script at international academic conference," "Grammatical metaphor, projection, and scientific language".

A Systemic-Functional Interpretation of "Projection"

This thesis studies projection in English within the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The aim of this research is to explore the projection system, taking into account of all types of projection, and to show how they work within SFG. According to SFG, projection mainly deals with the logico-semantic relations between clauses in the clause complex, in which "a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation" (Halliday, 1994: 250). Besides interpreting this kind of relationship between clauses, Halliday also extends projection to cover embedded projection and facts. Compared with traditional approaches, Halliday's approach is functional and semantically motivated. It involves complex interactional relationships, which go beyond what is usually covered in grammatical descriptions of reported speech. As projection in SFG has been discussed mainly in terms of the logical function in the ideational metafunction, this research sets out to provide an extended view on other grounds, such as experiential function in ideational metafunction, modality in interpersonal metafunction, thematic structures in textual metafunction, grammatical metaphor, discourse and so on, to interpret this language phenomenon.

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1 presents a brief introduction to the theoretical framework of SFG. The introduction is organized around four headings: metafunctions, clause complex, grammatical metaphor and discourse, which underlie the perspectives from which projection is investigated in this thesis. In addition, this

chapter also lays out the objectives, the research methodology and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter 2 presents various approaches to projection, including philosophical approaches, literary approaches, and linguistic approaches. The existing approach to projection in SFG falls in the section of linguistic approaches. By comparing it with other approaches, the chapter demonstrates why projection has become such a problem within so many separate paradigms as well as addresses the problems in the analyses of projection. In addition, the advantages of adopting a Systemic Functional approach are also assessed. All the approaches discussed in this chapter provide useful insights into our arguments. Finally, the terminology concerned in the thesis is interpreted.

Chapter 3 explores projection at different ranks of the lexicogrammar in the ideational system. We have observed that the existing analysis of projection in SFG has focused exclusively on the clause complex and the embedded structure. Projection in Halliday's work is mainly identified within the logical metafunction rather than on the experiential metafunction in the ideational system. Nevertheless, the language phenomenon of projection also occurs at the lower ranks in the lexicogrammar. For this, we provide an extended view on both the logical metafunction and experiential metafunction to interpret projection, which leads to our argument that projection can enter into other processes besides verbal and mental processes, and projection can be probed at all ranks in the lexicogrammar.

Chapter 4 discusses another metafunction in terms of the interpersonal decomposition of grammatical resources. It systematically investigates projection mainly from the aspect of Mood in the interpersonal system, which is conducted under two general structures: projection clause nexuses and projection clauses. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the interpersonal scale of projection.

Chapter 5 explores the textual possibilities for the thematic structures of projection, which is also illustrated at the rank of the

projection clause and at the rank of the projection clause complex. Each structure carries different thematic progression. At the rank of clause, the initial element is considered to be Theme. At the rank of clause complex, the analysis is made from two perspectives: the combinations of taxis and projection, and the thematic progression. Further, this chapter devotes another three sections respectively to proposing our initial view on the thematic structure of projection text, to analyzing marked Theme and unmarked Theme in the projection structures, and to presenting the cohesion in projection.

Chapter 6 explores projection from the perspective of grammatical metaphor. First, it discusses how the three types of grammatical metaphor (i.e. ideational metaphor, interpersonal metaphor and textual metaphor) work in the projection system. Then, we demonstrate the similarity of projection cline with the scale of grammatical metaphor. Finally we propose the cline of grammatical metaphor be mapped onto the cline of projection.

Chapter 7 probes into the relation between projection and discourse. It suggests the possibility of analyzing projection not only at the clause complex level and clause level, but also beyond the clause complex level. The rest of the chapter is focused on the various functions of projection types in unfolding the texture of discourse as well as the roles projection plays in the field of register and genre.

Chapter 8 demonstrates how our framework helps to analyze the language phenomenon of projection. This refined framework, which is to a certain degree different from the original framework in SFG, has marked advantages for application in text analysis.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis with a definition and a classification of projection drawing on the conclusions reached in the preceding chapters. It also discusses implications for further research.

Ding, Jianxin

Ding Jianxin is currently an associate professor of English in the

School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, where he received his PhD degree in 2002. He worked as a visiting scholar in the School of English and Communication of Hong Kong City University in 2004. He received a grant from the China Scholarship Council for Overseas Studies in 2006. His research interests include Systemic Functional Grammar, critical discourse analysis and social semiotics, with special reference to the tradition of functional semantics represented by B. Malinowski, J.R.Firth and B.L.Whorf. He has published about thirty academic papers, many of which appeared in the three most important academic journals of English language and linguistics in mainland China.

Ding Jianxin is currently engaged in several research projects. One of them, "A Social Semiotic Study of Narrative", is granted by the National Foundation of Social Sciences of China. His textbook on English lexicology was published in 2004. He has also published three monographs: *Language Studies in Critical Perspective* (with Liao Yiqing); *Linguistic Capitalism: Discourse Analysis of Prefabricated Language in the Register of Advertising; Critical Discourse Analysis of Narrative: A Social Semiotic Approach.* He has also translated J.R. Firth's paper collection.

Prefabricated Language: A Systemic Functional Study of Habitual Collocations and Idiomatic Expressions in the Register of Travel Advertising

With it focus on the creativity of language, Chomskyan Linguistics ignores one important aspect of language use, i.e. prefabrication. This study focuses on two of the most important types of prefabricated language, i.e. habitual collocation, and its close kin, idiomatic expression. Being the two main realization forms of Sinclair's "idiom principle", they are covered by the general term "collocation" in this study (idiomatic expressions are labeled "idiomatic collocations" or

"strong collocations"). Most of the previous studies on prefabricated language are from a structural point of view. This study, however, aims at exploring its functions in discourse. The data used is the discourse of travel advertising. The theoretical framework is Systemic Functional Grammar. The three research questions in this study are: 1) What are the functions of collocations as prefabricated language in discourse? 2) How are collocations as lexicogrammatical resources related to register? 3) How do collocations contribute to the balance of routine and creativity in discourse?

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study. Chapter 2 is a review of the main literature related to the study of collocation. As one of the first linguists interested in the familiar aspects of language use, Firth discusses collocation within his theory of meaning. Under the framework of Scale and Category Grammar, Halliday treats lexis as a linguistic level independent of semantics and grammar. Mitchell is mainly concerned with "forms of language" and sees collocation and other lexical matters arising on the syntagmatic record as reflecting the "on-going" nature of language. Sinclair extends the notion of collocation into the idiom principle and prophesies that "the traditional domain of syntax would be invaded by lexical hordes" with the development of the lexis-driven approach of the corpus linguists.

Chapter 3 sets up the Systemic Functional framework for the modeling of collocation. Systemic Grammar is fully capable of accommodating the phenomenon of idiomaticity, so long as we reconcile the lexis-driven approach of corpus linguists with the grammar-driven approach of systemic linguists. This means a reinterpretation of Halliday's (1961) notion of "lexis as most delicate grammar". For functionalists, human creativity is subject to the mastery of appropriate social and linguistic conventions. In this chapter, collocations are functionally categorized into three types: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The three types of collocation are cooperative in social discourse and organize discourse as harmonious semantic unit.

Collocations as lexicogrammatical resources are sensitive to register. From a linguistic point of view, advertising is a dubious manifestation of free enterprise in which language becomes a natural resource which is exploited by agencies in the sectional interests of their clients' marketing programs. This is called "linguistic capitalism" of advertising, of which a recent trend is to exploit the idiomatic resources of language.

Chapter 4 is concerned with collocation in its ideational function, its guise as a way of representing the world. Compared with grammar and single words, collocations are typically specific in the delineation of the world, typically process-oriented and typically evaluative. In order to unpack the semantic relations involved in ideational collocations, Halliday's framework of logico-semantic relations of elaboration, extension and enhancement is applied so as to analyse the experiential grammar of collocations in travel advertisement. Quantitative analysis shows that typical collocations are favored by this register. They play an essential role in representing scenic beauty, service hospitality and travel stories. They also contribute much to express attitude and ideology.

Chapter 5 turns to interpersonal collocation, which realizes "meaning as exchange" in a language. They usually show higher idiomaticity than ideational ones. They are the main resources to construct dialogue, to create text voices and to promote conviviality. Travel advertising as a register is dialogic by nature. Its dominant function is to promote services and the dominant atmosphere is that of amity. Therefore, interpersonal expressions of conviviality, rather than conflict, are favored by this register. The discourse of travel advertising is multi-voiced. Interpersonal expressions, particularly those of language reporting, play a fundamental role in constructing heteroglossia in this register.

Chapter 6 deals with textual collocations, those multi-word expressions which help to make explicit the semantic unity of discourse.

Despite the simple and economic nature of travel advertisements, there are a large number of multi-word connectives in this register. They establish conjunctive connections within or between clauses, as well as between portions of a discourse. They sequence travel stories in ways that are chronologically appropriate to the situation presented via the discourse. They constitute the idiomatic "vocabulary of temporality" (Fernando 1996) of the register of travel advertising.

Chapter 7 examines metaphors in travel advertisements. The notion of "collocational metaphor" is put forward to parallel Halliday's "grammatical metaphor". A syntagmatic way of interpreting metaphor is suggested to supplement the traditional referential interpretation. Seeing metaphor as collocational unconventionality leads us to view language use on a cline of metaphoricity. Three typical syntactic patternings of metaphor are examined: intensive process, genitive structure and apposition. Advertisers usually use them to fulfill three functions: to excel in description, to persuade and play language games, to structure texts. Metaphorical expressions are located on different points on the continuum of idiomaticity. Some of them are highly creative, others are prefabricated to different degrees. Much of the history of every language is one of demetaphorizing: expressions began as metaphors, then gradually lost their metaphorical character and became part and parcel of ordinary language. The register of travel advertising has its typical conventionalized metaphorical expressions. Such expressions constitute the "core metaphorical vocabulary" of this register.

Chapter 8 answers the three research questions of this study: 1) Prefabricated language is used to construe experience, to create dialogue, conviviality, text voices, and to make the "logic" of text explicit. They fulfill simultaneously the role of language user as the experiencer, interlocutor and thinker. 2) Collocations as lexcogrammatical resources are closely related to register. The register of travel advertising, like every other register, has its typical "ways of saying" and typical "ways of meaning"; therefore it has its typical multiword expressions. 3) The interdependency of the open-choice

principle governing the *ad hoc* collocations, and the idiom principle governing the use of prefabricated multiword expressions is the central rule of text construction. The balance between routine and creativity is particularly maintained through the use of metaphors in language. The theoretical and pedagogical implications of this study are also discussed in this chapter.

This study is essentially an attempt to model linguistic idiomaticity in the Systemic Functional framework. Through an investigation into the "phraseology" of the register of travel advertising, we have explored the phenomenon of prefabrication and conventionalization in language use and human behavior and examined how the two fundamental principles of language use, the "idiom principle" and the "open-choice principle", interact with each other to construct English texts. In a way, the research is a reaction against the traditional structural approach to collocations and idiomatic expressions.

Li, Guoqing

Li Guoqing is a professor of English at the School of Foreign Languages, Jinan University. She received her MA in 1985 in Northwest Normal University, and her PhD degree in 2002 in Sun Yat-sen University. Li Guoqing's research interests include Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis and translation. She has published about twenty academic papers. She has also finished one monograph on discourse analysis, and is currently engaged in one research project. In 2000, Li Guoqing went to Menlo College, U.S.A. to teach Chinese Literature.

Contextual Conditioning in Text:
A Genre-Centered Analysis of *The Old Man and the Sea*

The objective of this PhD thesis is to investigate the generic quality of text and to examine the contextual conditions in text within

the Systemic Functional framework by analyzing Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*. The research on the generic variation of the text is mainly conducted by looking into the generic structure. The exploration of the text typology is conducted in a multi-leveled approach by correlating the choices of the linguistic units in the text with those at the particular stages of the generic structures, and thus to genres as a whole. The text interpretation is done by recontexualizing the linguistic choices by setting them in the connotative contextual surroundings.

In order to identify the text typology, the thesis places the delicacy on the scale of the micro-register texts embedded in the complication part of the macro-genre of the novella, which may occur as different stages at the macro-level. In our research on identifying and accounting for different types of text, it is not only possible in practice but also theoretically sound to consider the text synoptically in order to discover the underlying systems, which can be described via the functionally-motivated generic structures. In order to interpret and evaluate the text at the macro stratum, it is theoretically reasonable though difficult in practice to consider the text dynamically, which is considered to be a complementary system to the synoptic system of text analysis.

The research is divided into two parts. The first part is literature review on the theoretical framework employed, focusing on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics regarding the study of language and genre. Hasan's register model of text and Martin's genre model of text are reviewed, which constitute the primary theoretical models for the ensuing text typology and text interpretation. In addition, the nature of genre, especially the nature of literary genre, is discussed in detail. The second part is mainly concerned with the text typology and text interpretation within the theoretical framework proposed in part one. The thesis places the delicacy on the scale of the micro-register texts embedded in the complication part of the novella. The study of the text typology is carried out in a multi-leveled fashion including discussions

on the genre plane, the register plane, and the lexico-grammatical plane. Accordingly, five types of text are identified. They are narrative texts, opinion texts, descriptive texts, hortatory texts, and observation texts. It is shown that genre gets into text through the generic structure. The finding that, to varying degrees, choices at the level of context are correlated with and determine the choices of the linguistic units in text in a realizational manner supports the probabilistic model of language in context. The text typology study is mainly carried out in a synoptic manner.

The final chapter focuses on recontextualizing and evaluating the novella, which is carried out from the perspective of the three metafunctions based upon the dual order context theory. The analysis in the present research demonstrates that the deliberately designed balance of the wave-like rhythm echoed throughout the novella is in harmony with one of the novella's main themes that Hemingway intends to reveal: the ecological natural balance of Nature's laws. Furthermore, the novella's balanced rhythmical macro-structure achieved through the regular alternation of different types of micro-register text also matches the subject. The finding that the equilibrium between matter and manner, between content and form, foregrounds a semiotic viewpoint on language. The text interpretation is mainly carried out in a dynamic manner.

From this study, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) Context enters text through the generic structure; (2) Language, as a semiotic system, is a realization of context in a metaphorical way, and therefore can only be interpreted in its context; (3) Context, as a semiotic system, is a realization of language in a metaphorical way, and it can provide interpretation for language.

Yang, Bingjun

YANG Bingjun is a professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Southwest University, Chongqing, China. He received his MA in

Linguistics in 1995 from Southwest Normal University (now Southwest University) and his PhD in Functional Linguistics in 2002 from Sun Yat-sen University. He was sponsored by the Freeman Foundation to do research in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign as a visiting scholar. Currently he is doing postdoctoral research at the School of Psychology, Southwest University.

Yang Bingjun has published in the areas of linguistics, translation and psychology in journals such as *Language Sciences, Translation Quarterly* and *Psychological Sciences*. He has published a book on functional syntax (2003), and translated a book in cognitive psychology by Robert Sternberg (2006). He has edited a number of books/ collections, including *Discourse and Language Functions* (with Huang Guowen *et al.*, 2002). His research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics and translation studies.

A Study of Nonfinite Clauses in English:
A Systemic Functional Approach

The identification and categorization of non-finite constructions in English remain to be difficult areas in text analysis. This thesis, based on Systemic Functional Grammar, proposes four criteria of English non-finite clause identification.

The first criterion is process-oriented, and it consists of the "number of processes" criterion and the "order of processes" criterion. It is found that the number of processes helps distinguish verbal group complex from embedding and clause complex. The order of processes affects the status of non-finite components and a change in the order may result in the constructions of different status. Usually, the construction becomes a clause complex when the process expressed by the non-finite component precedes the finite clause. The second criterion is that there should be at least one covert participant and one

overt participant if a construction consisting of a non-finite component is to achieve the status of a clause complex in which the non-finite component construes a non-finite clause. The third criterion is relator-oriented, and is highly applicable to non-finite clause identification in some controversial constructions. According to this criterion, if a conjunction can be inserted before the non-finite component, then the construction is likely to be a clause complex. The fourth criterion is on the interpersonal level: the Modal Adjunct "not" can be employed to identify non-finite clauses. A non-finite component which can be preceded by the Modal Adjunct "not" is very likely to be a non-finite clause, either an embedded or a dependent one.

Chang, Chenguang

Chang Chenguang is a professor of English at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. He began his university studies in 1982 in the Foreign Languages Department, Sun Yat-sen University. He has been teaching in the same university since he got his MA in 1989. He attended an intensive course on "The Teaching and Testing of English" in UCLES, Cambridge University in 1994, and then went on to the University of Wales, Swansea as a visiting scholar and worked on a dictionary project there until September 1995. From August 2001 to June 2002, he was sponsored by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia to work as a visiting scholar in Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington. He received his PhD in Functional Linguistics in Sun Yat-sen University in 2003. Currently, he is Deputy Director of Functional Linguistics Institute, Sun Yat-sen University and Secretary-General of China Functional Linguistics Association.

Chang Chenguang's research interests include Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, lexis and lexicography. He has published papers and monographs in these areas. One of his publications, *A New Dictionary of English Phrasal Verbs*, won the China National Book Award in 2000.

English Idioms and Interpersonal Meanings:
A Systemic Functional Perspective

Much past work on English idioms has often been concerned with typology, syntactic behaviour, semantics and psycholinguistic processing, to the neglect of discoursal functions. Based on authentic data of both written and spoken English, this PhD thesis studies English idioms from the Systemic Functional perspective, focusing on how people actually use idioms in communication on the interpersonal level. The main source of the data comes from the researcher's own collection of English idioms used in the three CNN television programs, *Larry King Live*, *Talkback Live*, and *Crossfire*, aired during the period from 1 January to 30 May 2002, and from English newspapers and magazines of the 1990's and late 1980's published in Britain and the U.S.

There are 7 chapters in this thesis. The opening chapter, "Introduction", gives the background and introduces the purpose of the study, pointing out that the study of idioms is extremely important to our understanding of how language works. It presents the data and methodology used in the research and gives a working definition of an idiom, namely, a conventionalized multi-word expression whose syntactic, lexical, and phonological form is to a greater or lesser degree fixed, and whose semantics and pragmatic functions are opaque or specialized, also to a greater or lesser degree. This chapter also formulates a set of research questions for the thesis, including: (i) What are the functions of idioms in the communication of interpersonal meanings? (ii) How does the use of idioms contribute to the different aspects of interpersonal management?

Chapter 2, "Idioms Research: Different Approaches", attempts to provide a brief review of the major approaches: semantic approaches, syntactic approaches, psycholinguistic approaches and functional

approaches, and situates the work as a contribution to the functional study of English idioms. It is shown that much past work on English idioms, especially syntactic approaches and psycholinguistic approaches, mainly considers idioms from the perspective of the lexicon, not text, and many of the studies are based on intuition and non-authentic examples. The chapter argues that more research based on naturally-occurring data is needed in order for us to better understand the workings of English idioms.

Chapter 3, "Theoretical Framework", offers a brief summary of the major theoretical tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics, which have close relevance to the present study, followed by an overview of how the metafunctions may be related to the study of English idioms. Much is devoted in this chapter to the ideational and textual meanings of English idioms, since the rest of the thesis will focus on the interpersonal. It is shown that the semantic-functional approach to language is important to our analysis of the meanings and functions of idioms in text.

The next three chapters make up the main part of the discussion of English idioms in relation to interpersonal meanings. Chapter 4, "Idioms and Interaction: Enacting Role Relations", focuses on the interactive aspects of interpersonal management and tries to explore the ways in which the choice of idioms reflects how interactants position themselves and their fellow interactants as socio-cultural subjects. The argument is that idioms are selected as lexical items for communicative reasons and that they have crucial roles with respect to maintaining the interaction and negotiating relationships between the interactants. It is shown that idioms are closely bound to special functions or communicative situations, and some of them are inherently marked for interaction. The choice of idioms is affected by the relative status and power of the communicative partners; it also reflects the efforts of the speakers to negotiate meanings together in discourse.

Chapter 5, "Idioms as a Membershipping Device", further explores

English idioms in relation to the interactive aspects of interpersonal management. In this thesis, we interpret "participant relationships" in a broad sense and regard the use of idioms as a membershipping device, providing a resource for indicating degrees of "otherness" and "in-ness". It is argued that a speaker, in intentionally manipulating idioms in discourse, assumes knowledge on the part of the communicative partner of the idioms, and the punning or word-play memberships participants as "belonging" to a community with shared linguistic and cultural values, as well as providing interest and novelty to the text, which further increases solidarity.

Chapter 6, "Idioms and Appraisal: Encoding Attitudinal Meanings", turns to the personal aspects of interpersonal management and explores the ways in which idioms are used to express personal attitude and evaluation. It is argued that the use of idioms in discourse is not random and unmotivated. Instead, idiomatic expressions are always evaluative in the sense that they are not neutral alternatives to their literal counterparts but include some attitude or comment on the entities and phenomena they describe. Working within the Appraisal framework developed by Martin and his colleagues, the chapter analyzes how idioms are used to express different types of Attitude: Affect, Judgment and Appreciation, and to provide grading or scaling, either in terms of the interpersonal force attached to an utterance or in terms of the preciseness or sharpness of the focus. It is also demonstrated that evaluative idioms differ from other types of evaluative lexis in that idiomatic expressions, especially proverbs and idioms involving metaphors, often convey the evaluation of the speaker in an implicit or indirect way. The evaluative orientation of an idiomatic expression is often institutionalized. In using an idiom, the speaker is appealing to the shared evaluative orientation as authority, thus avoiding taking responsibility for the evaluation.

The final chapter, "Conclusions and Suggestions", summarizes the findings of this study and discusses some of the pedagogical

implications. Suggestions are also made about further areas of research.

This study addresses an area that is relatively neglected in the study of English idioms. The central argument of this thesis is that English idioms are a resource for making interpersonal meanings and that the use of such items contributes to both the interactive and the personal aspects of interpersonal management. Through the analysis of naturally-occurring data, the study also proves that the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework is well-suited for the study of the interpersonal meanings of idioms, an important component part of English lexis.

He, Wei

He Wei is an associate professor, Deputy Dean at the School of Foreign Languages, Science and Technology University Beijing. She received her MA in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics in 1996 from Shanxi University and her PhD in Systemic Functional Linguistics in 2003 from Sun Yat-sen University. Currently she is pursuing further studies in Systemic Functional Linguistics in the Centre for Language and Communication Research, Cardiff University, UK, sponsored by the Chinese Scholarship Council, working on her post-doctorate research in Beijing Normal University.

From 2000 onwards, He Wei has published 15 academic papers. She has also published thirty-six books on English writing, reading and vocabulary, as a chief editor or a contributor. She has translated four books on art with other colleagues. Her monograph on English tense within Systemic Functional Linguistics is going to be published soon.

He Wei's research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, applied linguistics and translation studies.

A Study of the Tense Relationships in Finite Hypotactic Clause Complexes: A Systemic Functional Approach

This thesis investigates the tense relationships in finite hypotactic clause complexes (henceforth Fhcc) mainly from the perspective of Systemic Functional Grammar (hereafter SFG). It attempts to offer an alternative account of the original point of view of tense within SFG and to expand it to the description of the tense relationships in Fhcc. The overall aim is to develop a coherent theoretical framework which is meant to deal with the tense phenomena not only in independent clauses but also in Fhcc.

The opening chapter situates the work as a contribution to the study of tense, formulates a set of aims and raises relevant questions for the research. Chapter 2 offers an overview of previous studies on tense from the perspectives of logic and linguistics. The first part of this chapter sketches theories on tense logic and presents a brief survey of tense models in linguistics that have been particularly influential to the · development of the notion of tense. The second part outlines different hypotheses that concern the tense phenomena in Fhcc — especially in clause complexes in projection. Chapters 3 and 4 are an attempt to provide a more coherent notion of tense. In these two chapters, we elaborate further on the original view of tense within SFG and bring some significant modifications to it. The purpose of Chapter 3 is to clarify the definition of tense. In this study, tense is defined as a grammatical resource for construing chains of the temporal relationships between pairs of times indicated in the clause. The purpose of Chapter 4 is to uplift tense from the group rank to the clause rank. Our central argument with reference to the grammatical rank issue of tense is that any specific tense — primary or secondary — is an operator and that it is located at the clause rank.

The remainder of the thesis goes further into the tense system which concerns the relationships between tenses in Fhcc. Chapter 5 explores temporal dependence in Fhcc. It is found that this phenomenon also involves two basic principles and that it can be explained by the reference time modifying rule and in some cases by the reference time perspective preserving rule but that the realization of the (first) secondary tense is different from that within a tense series. In Chapter 6 we investigate temporal independence in Fhcc and propose that it can be accounted for by the reference time shifting rule. The analysis of such Fhcc shows that (1) temporal independence may be restricted with the present time as its reference point, that (2) it may be triggered by temporal circumstantial elements or by temporal conjunctions, that (3) it may result from cultural context, and that (4) it may be restricted by the types of Fhcc. Chapter 7 discusses some implications of the account of the tense phenomena in Fhcc for the tense framework developed in this thesis more generally, and examines whether or not the framework is better suited to deal with tense than other tense models. The discussion of both temporal dependence and independence from the position of tense logic leads to the conclusion that tenses are operators on the one hand, and deictic on the other. In comparison with other tense models, the description of the tense phenomena in Fhcc from the perspective of SFG seems to achieve a greater generalization and a wider applicability. The last chapter presents a summary of the thesis as well as some suggestions for future research.

Throughout the thesis, we demonstrate that the attempt to offer an alternative account of the original view of tense within SFG is necessary and that a study of the tense relationships between clauses in Fhcc from meaning to form is feasible. It is shown that the framework proposed in the research is coherent and powerful in explaining various natural tenses.

Shang, Yuanyuan

Shang Yuanyuan is currently an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Shenzhen University, China. She received her MA degree in Applied Linguistics from Beijing Normal University in 1993, and her PhD in Functional Linguistics from Sun Yat-Sen University in 2003.

Shang Yuanyuan's research interest covers Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, and translation studies. She has published a number of papers and monographs in these areas.

Translation Shifts in Political Texts from English into Chinese: A Systemic Functional Approach to Translation as Language Use in Context

This thesis intends to describe and explain the phenomena of translation shifts from the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), by focusing on the translation of one type of political texts (i.e. political speeches) from English into Chinese. The overall objective of the research is to broaden the application of SFL as a tool for text description and analysis, including text in translation. The data used are a sample of four political speeches in English as the source texts (STs) and their target texts (TTs) translated in Chinese. Of the translated texts, there are two versions of translation for each ST.

Among the numerous studies of translation shifts to date, there have been two major approaches to translation shifts: one is the system-oriented approach focusing on the differences between languages; the other is the text-oriented approach concentrating on the variances between texts. The current research intends to bridge the gap between the system-oriented and text-oriented studies by combining the two approaches within the framework of language use in context proposed by SFL.

There are three main parts in this thesis. The first part is the theoretical account of translation shifts from the perspective of SFL. A tentative working model is proposed for describing and analyzing shifts of translation between STs and TTs. The model is based on SFL's theory about language use in context and serves as a frame of reference for inspecting the shifts of modes of meanings and their linguistic forms between STs and TTs, with regard to two dimensions of language organization, namely, stratification and metafunction. The second part is the description and analysis of the shifts in the translation of political texts from English into Chinese. In this part, not only the shifts between translations and their originals but also the variances between different versions of TTs are looked into. This two-way analysis focuses more on the features in TTs as a type of text to which the linguistic approach to translation has paid little attention. The purpose for such a cross comparison is to make relevant description and analysis more translation- or TT-oriented. The third part is the discussion on the motivations for the phenomena of shifts in the translation of political texts from English into Chinese. In this part, the SFL's conception of language use in context is referred to as the explanation for the occurrence of translation shifts as a kind of phenomena related to language use in a particular inter-lingual context. Following the discussion, a more holistic model is suggested.

Of the eight chapters, the first chapter introduces the general background of the research, covering issues such as the nature of the study, research methodology and research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the previous studies on translation shifts in the fields of linguistics and translation studies. The review concentrates on two types of studies, one that provides the theoretical guidelines or frameworks for describing and analyzing the phenomena of translation shifts, and the other that applies SFL's concepts about language use to explain and discuss translation shifts of various types. Chapter 3 proposes a tentative working model for the description and analysis of shifts of translation

between STs and TTs.

Chapter 4 describes and analyzes the shifts of the mode of meanings related to the ideational metafunction between STs and TTs. The description focuses on the shifts of the nuclear Transitivity, i.e. the shifts of participant and process types between STs and TTs as well as the lexicogrammatical realizations of such shifts in TTs. Chapter 5 describes the shifts of the mode of meanings related to the interpersonal metafunction between the parallel texts. The description in this part concentrates on the shifts of the system of Modality and its linguistic expressions between STs and TTs. Chapter 6 describes the shifts of the mode of meanings related to the textual metafunction between the STs and the TTs by looking into the system of Theme and thematic progression.

Following the above discussion, Chapter 7 discusses the motivations for the types of shifts in the translation of political speeches from English into Chinese. Chapter 8 draws a number of conclusions with regard to shifts in the translation of political speeches from English to Chinese. The conclusions are: firstly, there are types of translation shifts between ST(s) and TT(s) in both the layer of meaning potentials and the layer of linguistic expressions. For the layer of meaning or functional potentials, the shifts tend to be of three types: amplification, contraction and conversion. For the layer of linguistic expressions, there are structure shift, unit shift and class shift. Secondly, shifts of modes of meanings between ST(s) and TT(s) in the translation of political speeches carry varied values in light of the different purposes of individual translations. The differences in the purposes lead to different degrees of shifts of modes of meanings between the ST (s) and TT (s). Thirdly, the shifts in the translation of political texts are motivated by various factors including the different functions of ST (s) and TT (s) in the respective cultures, the systematic language differences between English and Chinese, the purposes for translation and the interpretations of ST (s) by different translators. Apart from these, the implications and applications

of this research are highlighted with regard to several aspects, namely, (1) broadening the application of SFL theory in the study of translation, (2) enhancing the consistency and effectiveness of linguistic approach to translation studies, and (3) providing analytical tools for contrastive language studies as well as translation criticism and translation training.

DAI, Fan

Dai Fan is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She received her BA and MA in English language and literature in 1984 and 1987 from the Department of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She received her PhD in Functional Linguistics in Sun Yat-sen University in 2004. She also holds an MA in human geography from State University of New York at Albany. She was a visiting scholar in the School of Education, the University of Leicester, UK between 1991 and 1992, in the School of Education, Brunel University, UK from 2002 and 2003. She has been teaching in the School of Foreign Language, Sun Yat-sen University since 1987, except for the years when she was on study trips abroad.

Her research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, stylistics, narratology and cross-culture studies. She publishes in a wide range of areas with a focus on stylistic analysis. She has also published a novel and several prose collections.

Speech and Thought Presentation in *The Joy Luck Club*: From the Perspective of Narratology and Stylistics

This thesis is a study of the speech and thought presentation in four mini-stories in Amy Tan's first-person novel *The Joy Luck Club*, from the perspectives of narratology and stylistics.

Speech and thought presentation has been the central concern in the study of narratology and stylistics, among other disciplines in the

last three decades or so. Narratologists are interested in the different modes of discourse presentation as an important tool for adjusting the narrative distance, with a focus on the relationship between the focalizer and the focalized, while stylisticians are concerned with the features and patterns of language manifested in them.

Speech and thought presentation invariably involves the point of view, another converging aspect of narratology and stylistics, of the narrator and that of the character(s) in a narrative. This narrative technique, which is essentially perceptual but also has ideological and psychological facets, is closely related to the role of the narrator and narrative voice, though the perceptual point of view can be the narrator's or the focalizer's while the focalizer is not necessarily the narrator.

Systemic Functional Linguistics has proven to be a very powerful theory for discourse analysis. This thesis employs the concepts of the three metafunctions, Appraisal theory, Periodicity, etc. within its framework as the theoretical inspiration for stylistic analysis, along with the relevant concepts such as focalizer, narrator, and narrative voice in narratology.

An important finding of this study is that on the narratological level, June the first-person narrator adopts different modes of speech and thought under her perceptual point of view so that the interaction between them produces polyphonic effects in the narrative to reflect the opinions of different characters; on the stylistic level, the evaluative expressions employed in the mixed speech and thought presentation corresponds well with the different points of view of different characters. That is, the facets of point of view conveyed through the speech and thought presentation in the data is closely related to evaluation, which is an important aspect of study in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Another finding of the current research is related to the role mental process plays through various modes of thought in revealing the development of June's spiritual journey to her Chinese heritage. The functional stylistic investigation shows that a number of lexical items

such as "believe", "hope", "convince", etc. share the characteristics of mental, verbal and behavioral processes. Therefore, such semantic borderline nature allows the first-person narrator to enter the inner world of other characters whose evaluation on June can be included without violating the convention of writing. Furthermore, when such mental process verbs such as "disappoint" and "forgive" are nominalised, they can develop larger semantic potential by serving as a link to two people's thought, thus expanding the first-person narrator's potential in depicting the inner world of a character other than that of the narrator herself. In other words, such multi-status thought mode takes up a multi-function role and brings in richer meaning to the narrative.

Another significant finding of the research is that semantic cues are important for understanding the extended scope of projection relationship where projection can operate over extended stretches of a text in ways that go beyond the clause complex as it is usually defined. In other words, semantics often overrides boundaries of the orthographic clauses. When studied in the Systemic Functional framework in regard to the nature of mental process verbs, it can be explained semantically why free indirect speech/thought carries dual voice effect, while previous research has been largely focused on the form instead of the content of the verb.

Still another contribution functional stylistic analysis makes to the study is that the emphasis on the context of the text, which is crucial in explaining the reliability/credibility of the first-person narrator when her intrusion into other character's mind becomes increasingly arbitrary.

The narratological-stylistic approach this thesis adopts contributes to the few existing studies in that it is an effective theoretical tool for narrative analysis, while functional stylistic investigation contributes further in revealing and explaining the various functions of speech/thought presentation.

He, Hengxing

He Hengxing is a professor at the School of Foreign Studies, South China Normal University, China. He received his MA in English Language and Literature in 1992 from the Department of Foreign Languages (now the School of Foreign Studies), South China Normal University, and his PhD in Functional Linguistics in 2004 from the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. He is currently a guest professor at the Functional Linguistics Institute, Sun Yat-sen University and Head of Modern Linguistics Section at the School of Foreign Studies, South China Normal University.

He Hexing has published a number of papers in such journals as *Modern Foreign Languages, Foreign Languages and Translation, Foreign Languages, Foreign Language Research.* He also created in 2005 an MAK Halliday Website at http://sfs.scnu.edu.cn/hehx/MAKH/index.htm or http://sfs.scnu.edu.cn/hehx/. His research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, applied linguistics, pragmatics, and translation studies.

An Alternative Perspective on Pseudo-clefts: Sphere Shifts in English

This PhD thesis studies the construction *"What I want is this"* in English language, a structure termed "pseudo-cleft (sentence/ construction)" or "wh-cleft (sentence/construction)" in formal grammars, or "thematic equative", "theme identification", "object-as-role-in-event construction", or "referent as role in event construction" in Systemic Functional Grammars. But it is termed "Sphere Shift Identifying Clause (Construction)", or "Sphere Shift" in the present study for reasons which will be given in this thesis. This construction is studied for a number of reasons, including problems with its previous studies and the continued attention linguists have paid to it.

The general purpose of this study is to propose an alternative Systemic Functional analysis of this construction, based on genuine texts, including data from the British National Corpus. This study is descriptive and qualitative. It has three major objectives: (i) to evaluate previous studies of this construction, (ii) to describe and explain this construction from the Systemic Functional perspective, and (iii) to identify the discourse functions of this construction. The four research questions are: (i) Why is it necessary to undertake a further exploration of this construction? (ii) What is the nature of this construction? (iii) What would an alternative analysis of this construction be like? (iv) What are the discourse functions of this construction?

Chapter 1 introduces the reasons for the choice of the construction to be studied, the purpose and scope of the research, the data and methodology employed, and the structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the previous studies in both formal grammars and Systemic Functional grammars. Chapter 3 shows that linguists vary in their understanding of the relationship between the Sphere Shift and the question-answer pair, that Question-in-Disguise Theory and other theories in relation to Sphere Shifts are principally the product of discourse analysis on the one hand, and analysis scope and focus on the other, that the construal of the Sphere Shift remains a puzzle. This chapter also argues that some of the previous grammatical descriptions of Sphere Shifts are problematic, including the relationship between Identified and Value, the function of the nominalization, the abstraction of Token and Value, the predication of Identified, the composition of Theme, the information structure, and the animateness of the focus, for which this study proposes an alternative analysis or description.

Chapter 4 reveals that formal grammars and Systemic Functional Grammar alike deal with Sphere Shifts both in the loose sense and in the strict sense, that linguists disagree as to the types of Sphere Shifts, that many areas of Sphere Shifts in regards to the relationship between form and meaning warrant further investigation, and that each of the

previous terms has drawbacks of one kind or another, which leads to the proposal for the alternative term "Sphere Shift" in the present study.

Chapter 5 offers a construal of experience through the meaning of Sphere Shifts. A brief discussion of possible and existing approaches to the construal of Sphere Shifts, the "agnate clause" assumption, the trinocular approach and the model of stratification reveals the inadequate realizations of what there is in discourse in the previous studies and hence the need for an alternative construal of Sphere Shifts. In the present study, the "agnate text" assumption, an alternative model of stratification and another configuration of the trinocular approach are proposed, and the semantic, (lexico)grammatical and pragmatic meanings of Sphere Shifts are analyzed and illustrated. Consequently, a Sphere Shift is interpreted as a construction which results from the semantic, (lexico)grammatical and pragmatic sphere shifts of one kind or another within its "agnate text" to focus on something, or as the product of FTGF (i.e. focus opting, text-restructuring, grammar locating and function-enacting) packaging. In addition, the terms "Shifter" and "Shiftee" are also introduced, types of "Shifter-Shiftee" relationship discussed, and the use of the term 'Sphere Shift' explained.

Chapter 6 is the proposal of Metaphorical-Congruent Analysis. This is a functional analysis mainly based on Halliday's works, in which a Sphere Shift is simultaneously interpreted in terms of both metaphorical and congruent structures. The purpose of Metaphorical-Congruent Analysis is to overcome the major drawback of "one sentence analyzed as two" in most existing studies. It brings some advantages that previous analytical models do not have. In addition, this chapter also discusses the peripheral features of Sphere Shifts, whose processes and participants are revealed by Metaphorical-Congruent Analysis to be in disguise in a number of facets.

Chapter 7 proposes a taxonomy of the discourse functions of Sphere Shifts, the result of the analysis of previous studies and genuine texts. This taxonomy is composed of "Prospective", "Progressive",

"Retrospective" and "Ret rospective-Prospective", each of which has their components of discourse functions. In addition to those recognized in previous studies, such new discourse functions as "event-pre-announcing", "condition-adding" and "elaborating" are introduced and illustrated. Finally, Chapter 8 gives a summary of the main arguments of the present study, draws conclusions and makes suggestions for further research.

The major conclusion of this thesis is that there exist some inadequacies in the previous studies, and that from an alternative perspective, or in terms of the semantic, (lexico)grammatical and pragmatic features, pseudo-clefts are better interpreted as Sphere Shifts.

Wang, Peng

Wang Peng is a lecturer at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She received her BA in 1997, her MA in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics in 2000 from South China University of Technology, and her PhD in Functional Linguistics from Sun Yat-sen University in 2004. She went to University of Liverpool as a visiting scholar in 2003.

Wang Peng has worked for several years in the field of English language education as a teacher and researcher. She has published in the field of cross-culture communication, applied linguistics, Systemic Functional theory and translation. Her recent work focuses on Systemic Functional Linguistics and translation studies.

Harry Potter and Its Chinese Translation:
An Examination of Modality System in Systemic
Functional Approach

Systemic Functional Linguistics provides a powerful tool to translation studies. These two areas share a key concern about language — how "meaning" is realized in the wording of text, and how

"meaning" is constructed in one language and conveyed to another. Based on the important link between translation studies and Systemic Functional theory, an empirical corpus-based research is carried out, investigating how the Speaker's sex and age influence the use of modality in the English novels *Harry Potter (I–III)* and their corresponding Chinese translation. The motivation for this topic lies in five factors: a) the inadequate treatment of translation studies on modality; b) the fact that there are a large number of modal expressions in *Harry Potter (I–III)*; c) the importance of the Speaker's sex and age to language use; d) the internal relationship between modality and the Speaker; and e) the call for new scientific methods to translation studies.

Our theoretical framework is Halliday's modality system, in which there are four parameters: type, orientation, polarity and value. Since it is difficult to judge and quantify the degree of value, this variable is not included in our study. As to modality expressions, it is generally accepted that *can* and *could* express modality in English, though they are usually preceded with different names, e.g. modal operators or modal auxiliaries. Therefore, to narrow down the research area, we focus on the investigation of *can* and *could* of modality system in the Source Text and their corresponding translation in the Target Text. On the other hand, the Speaker is defined, in our research, as the one whose opinions or attitudes are expressed in modality. This variable is identified adopting Leech and Short's classification for speech/thought presentation.

Hence our research topic is further refined. We aim to see whether there is equivalence in the English Source Text and its Chinese translation of *Harry Potter (I–III)*, in terms of the effect of Speaker's sex and age on three factors — type of modality, orientation of modality and polarity of modality — of the modal operators *can* and *could*.

The corpus for our study consists of *Harry Potter (I–III)* and their corresponding Chinese translation published by People's Literature Press. British National Corpus is set as the reference corpus, which is

used to make comparison and draw inferences from.

The above corpuses are analyzed by WordSmith Tools (3.0) and SPSS (11.0). WordSmith Tools is an integrated program for looking at how words behave in texts. After raw data are identified from WordSmith, SPSS is used to make both descriptive and inferential statistical analysis.

Our empirical study leads to four main findings: a) Type distribution of *can* and *could* are not in total agreement with Halliday's argumentation in both Source Text and Target Text; b) The Speaker's sex and age do not influence type of modality of both *can* and *could* in Source Text. In Target Text, both the Speaker's sex and age have positive correlations with modality type expressed by *could*; the Speaker's age influences the number of modality translated from *can*; and age is positively correlated with type expressed by *can*. c) The Speaker's sex and age do not influence modality orientation of both *can* and *could* in Source Text. In Target Text, both the Speaker's sex and age have positive correlations with orientation expressed by *could*, whereas in terms of *can*, only the factor of age is positively correlated. d) The Speaker's sex and age do not influence the polarity of modality expressed by *can* and *could* in either the Source Text and or the Target Text.

Besides, in identifying and classifying the corresponding Chinese translation of *can* and *could*, some interesting phenomena are found. Firstly, in the Source Text of *Harry Potter (I–III)*, it is found that *can* and *could* can only express three types of modality: probability, obligation and inclination. In the corresponding Chinese translation, however, they may be translated into Chinese expressions signaling usuality. Secondly, modal operators, modal adverbs, Predicator, final particles in the clause and other expressions are used to signal modality in Chinese. Thirdly, Chinese modal operators, Predicators and final particles in the clause do not indicate usuality, which is mainly expressed by Chinese modal adverbs. Finally, after comparison and

evaluation, we consider that *can* and *could* are properly translated since there exists a functional equivalence between the Source Text and the Target Text, though there are differences between the grammatical features of the modality system in the Source Text and those of the Target Text.

This research has some implications to translation studies, Systemic Functional theory, contrastive linguistics and cross-cultural studies. Furthermore, this study is a significant empirical attempt to apply the modality systems in Systemic Functional Linguistics to translation studies and may well lead to further studies in this direction.

Li, Fagen

Li Fagen is a professor and deputy dean at the School of Foreign Languages, Jiangxi Normal University. He received his PhD degree in Functional Linguistics in Sun Yat-sen University in 2005. His research interests include Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, and translation studies. He has published over 30 papers in Chinese journals, three books, one work of translation and he has edited 7 books.

Li Fagen is a member of the board of directors of China Association of Functional Linguistics and a guest professor at the Functional Linguistics Institute, Sun Yat-sen University.

Interpersonal Meanings and Equivalence in Translation: A Functional Linguistics Analysis of "Shu Dao Nan" and its English Versions

This PhD thesis investigates the expression of interpersonal meanings in poetry and how the interpersonal meanings are translated into English, with special reference to equivalence. Its focus is on the linguistic realizations of interpersonal meanings in both the source text

and the target texts, with a socio-semantic theoretical orientation. It employs Halliday's Functional Linguistics as its theoretical framework, along with inspirations from theories concerning equivalence in translation studies. The data for analysis is the Chinese poem "Shu Dao Nan" by Li Bai, a famous poet in the Tang Dynasty, and its five English versions.

The introductory chapter situates this study as a contribution to the exploration of equivalence in translation and states the aims and objectives for the research. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of studies on the interpersonal meanings of language and discusses the applications of Functional Linguistics to translation studies, with a special focus on translating interpersonal meanings. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are devoted to the translation of three semantic regions of interpersonal meanings respectively. Chapter 3 analyzes mood and its realizations in the source text and target texts in terms of four speech functions. Chapter 4 focuses on the translation of modality, by using Halliday's classification of modality categories. Parameters of modality, modality types, the orientation and value of modality, and polarity are considered. Chapter 5 explores the translation of evaluative meanings. In light of Martin and Rose's Appraisal system and Hunston & Sinclair's local evaluation grammar, analysis of the source text and target texts illustrates that literal translation is the most efficient way to warrant equivalence in terms of evaluative meanings. Chapter 6 locates the translation of interpersonal meanings in the socio-cultural context and argues that translating is by nature research on cultural interaction. The chapter examines how equivalence concerning interpersonal meanings can be achieved in the context of situation and the context of culture. Through these chapters, equivalence is discussed by reference to translating units, and it is demonstrated that translating different aspects of interpersonal meanings calls for different translating units. The closing chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and highlights methods and strategies for translating the interpersonal

meanings in the Tang poem into English.

The present study is significant for a number of reasons, and the three important ones are: (1) While few studies in literature to date focus on the translation of interpersonal meanings, the present study construes an analytical model for translating interpersonal meanings in the Tang poem into English and offers principles, methods and strategies for translating interpersonal meanings. (2) This thesis gives another example of the applicability and feasibility of Halliday's Functional Linguistics in analyzing and translating interpersonal meanings. The focus on the Tang poem by this case study serves as an addition to the growing literature on Functional Linguistics and on modality and evaluation. (3) The study highlights the idea of context in translation studies, which sheds new light on the understanding of translation units.

Wang, Jin

Wang Jin is a lecturer at the School of Foreign Languages, Shenzhen University, China. She received her BA in English Language and Literature in 2000 from Sun Yat-sen University. She was awarded her PhD degree in Functional Linguistics in the same university in 2005. Her PhD thesis investigates code-switching, a typical sociolinguistic topic, from a Systemic Functional perspective, with a focus on Chinese/English code-switching instances in present-day China.

Wang Jin's research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, and the sociology of language.

Chinese/English Code-switching in Chinese Newspapers: A Systemic Functional Approach

This thesis investigates the Chinese/English code-switching, an outcome of the Chinese/English language contact in the present-day

China, by drawing on code-switching examples in several Chinese newspapers published in the City of Guangzhou. While code-switching is a typical sociolinguistic research topic, the thesis is one of the initial attempts to utilize Systemic Functional Linguistics as the theoretical framework.

This study begins by discussing the conceptions of bilingualism and code-switching. Chapter 1 points out that code-switching and bilingualism is language use rather than language competence and that the focus is on the practice of code-switching and the constructivist relations between it and its social context. The chapter also provides a profile of the Chinese/English language "learned contact" in China, in which the practice of Chinese/English code-switching is situated. Finally three research questions are raised: (i) What are the features of the Chinese/English code-switching in the selected newspapers? (ii) What functions do the code-switches play in the newspapers? (iii) In what way is the practice of code-switching conditioned by the immediate and wider contexts in which it is embedded, and how does it construe these contexts in the meantime?

Chapters 2 and 3 are concerned with theoretical foundations. In Chapter 2, a critical review of the previous studies on code-switching arrests three gaps. The first one is that the "variation studies" of code-switching such as those by Shannon Poplack have long been categorized as studies on the structural and syntactic dimensions and therefore their important implications are usually neglected by scholars who are interested in the social motivations of functions of code-switching. The second is that, for the analysis of functions of code-switching, an analytical framework which not only captures the multifunctionality of code-switching but also offers coherent theoretical support is called for. The third is that there are few studies, if any, relating the practice of code-switching to the wider social and cultural context. Chapter 3 then introduces Systemic Functional Linguistics as providing three important perspectives to fill in these three gaps,

namely, the perspectives of registerial variation, metafunctional diversification, and the wider cultural context.

Chapter 4 to Chapter 7 are detailed analyses of the code-switching instances in the data. In order to tackle the first research question, a description of the formal features of the code-switching instances is offered in Chapter 4. Considering the fact that the data highlight inter-clausal and insertional code-switching, Chapter 4 examines the data from a registerial variation perspective. It is found that code-switching does not occur randomly or homogeneously in different newspaper sections. Rather, several newspaper registers (i.e. hard news, IT & automobile, business, entertainment, fashion, and advertising) are found, and they have different code-switching patterns.

To answer the second research question, Chapter 5 continues to analyze the semantics of code-switching by focusing on its functions. In doing so, the analysis is based on the principle of metafunctional diversification, which not only permits multifunctional descriptions of code-switching but also offers coherent theoretical support. The analysis illustrates that the code-switches are employed to serve the three metafunctions: in the experiential metafunction, on individual and particular switched items; in the interpersonal metafunction, on the Chinese/English code-switching pattern and its social values; in the textual metafunction, on the contrast between the two languages involved and the locations of the switches in the texts. Two types of code-switching (i.e. metaphorical and non-metaphorical) are distinguished. Metaphorical switches tend to be represented by adjectives, involve connotative semiotics, and encode interpersonal meanings; non-metaphorical switches, usually in the form of nouns, tend to be responsible for experiential meanings. This pattern is closely related to the Chinese/English contact situation as a learned contact type, which implies that different language contact types can involve different code-switching patterns.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 constitute two kinds of attempts to answer

the third research question with different focal points on the social context. Concentrating on situation types as the immediate contextual environment for registers, Chapter 6 examines the relation of code-switching to the variables of situation types (i.e. field, tenor, and mode). The analysis demonstrates how the distribution of code-switching across different registers (including frequencies, the types of the code-switches, and the highlighted functions of the switches) can be seen as linguistic response to the values of the aforementioned contextual variables.

Chapter 7 deals with the wider context, which is the context of culture. It complements Chapter 6 by illustrating that some meaning making practices treated as social norms or common sense in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are far from neutral coding of the reality; rather, they are dialectically linked to certain ideologies of the culture concerned. Chapter 7 relies on discourse as an intermediate construct and intertextuality as an important principle to explore the dialectics between the practice of code-switching and the context of culture. The use of code-switching to encode evaluative meanings involves the axiological better-West discourse, and code-switching in general activates the bilingual elite discourse. These discourses are then made use of as meaning making resources and introduced as voices by the practice of Chinese/English code-switching into instantiated texts to get realized. Code-switching in texts, on the other hand, relying on the power of English as a global language and in the name of globalization, helps to naturalize the axiological discourses into ideologies of this specific culture.

Chapter 8 provides an overall conclusion and argues that the practice of code-switching in the Chinese newspapers published in Guangzhou cannot be simply reduced as non-standard use of language or examples of language pollution; on the contrary, code-switching is not practiced randomly, and such practice is socially and functionally motivated. Both the forms and functions of code-switching are

conditioned b y, as well as construes the situation types of newspaper registers and the specific culture. Furthermore, the theoretical categories in Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. system, metafunctions, registerial variation, realization and construing, and instantiation and potentiality) are proven to be valid and relevant in analyzing bilingual data.

Si, Xianzhu

Si Xianzhu is a professor and dean at the School of Foreign Languages, Jiangxi University of Finance and Economics, China. He received his BA in English Language and Literature in 1984 from Anhui University. He studied Applied Linguistics in Dalian Ocean-going College (now Dalian Maritime University) from 1986 to 1988 and received his postgraduate diploma. His MA degree in English Language and Literature was granted by Anhui University. Supported by a grant from the China Scholarship Council, he joined the Translation Studies program in Aston University, Britain as a visiting scholar from 2002 to 2003. He received his PhD degree in Functional Linguistics at the School of Foreign Languages in Sun Yat-sen University in 2006.

Si Xianzhu publishes extensively in China (including Hong Kong) and has written a number of monographs and edited a number of textbooks. His research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, translation studies, comparative studies between Chinese and English.

A Text-based Translation Quality Assessment Model:
A Functional Linguistics Approach

Translation Studies, as an integrated discipline, covers descriptive translation studies, theoretical translation studies, and applied translation studies. The current research is translation criticism, which

belongs to applied translation studies. As is generally agreed, translation assessment constitutes the core of translation criticism. Therefore, translation assessment is an important part of translation studies.

The current research aims to study the translation quality assessment model, which is the core issue of applied translation studies. Based on the review of the status quo and the literature, particularly the analysis of House's translation quality assessment model, a text-based translation quality assessment model is proposed in the light of Systemic Functional Linguistics. It looks into issues such as the nature of translation, the quality of translation, the dialectic correlation among form, function, context within the verbal behavioral framework, and the text-oriented study of language.

To validate the model, the current study uses the Chinese-to-English translations as its data: an informative type of text (a popular writing for science and technology), an expressive text (a piece of literary work), and several texts of operative type, which represent the three types of text categorized by Bühler's theory of typology of text or translation typology proposed by Reiss. The said translation model is applied to these data for the dual purposes of evaluation of the translations and the verification of the model proper. The final part of the thesis is devoted to the revision of the model based on the defects encountered in the application; thus an alternative model is established. It proves to be systematic, comprehensive, operative, and less subjective in application.

Our proposed model, which is based on the model by House, is a step forward in the study of this field, as it has overcome, to some extent, some of the weaknesses in House's model. In the meantime, the cause analysis for the earlier model reveals that its weakness lies in its one-sided view of the nature of translation. Thus a new definition of translation is proposed to make it more powerful. As a result, by the exposition of the correlation inherent in translation, typology of text,

translation strategy, and translation criterion, the thesis has come to the conclusion that there does exist a common translation criterion applicable to translation and translation evaluation of all kinds of texts.

Wang, Yong

Wang Yong is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Central China Normal University, China. He received his MA in English Language and Literature from Central China Normal University in 1999, and his PhD in Systemic Functional Linguistics from Sun Yat-sen University in 2006. He is a member of China Functional Linguistics Association.

Wang Yong has published 12 papers in China. He has also published a number of book chapters, which appeared in *English Pedagogy, Study Strategies and Skills for English Majors, and Text, Function, and Cognition.* His research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, contrastive syntax between Chinese and English.

A Functional Study
of the Evaluative Enhanced Theme Construction
in English

This study is a comprehensive, multidimensional treatment of the Evaluative Enhanced Theme Construction (EETC) in English within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The study is intended to be semantically- and functionally-oriented in that we are more interested in bringing to light how the form of the construction is associated with its semantics and functions in actual use. That is, we are more concerned with the issues of how it is actually used and how it is functionally motivated.

Generally, this is a qualitative study of the EETC and the

description and analysis are based on observation of corpus examples. We start from examining the various linguistic features of the actual occurrences of the EETC, counting the frequencies of the different types of EETC with respect to different parameters. Such corpus observations are followed by interpretations and explanations from the SFL perspective and are further exemplified by actual examples so that they could be held as being of more general relevance. At the same time, we employ another generally adopted functional approach, the trinocular approach of *at its own level, from below, and from above*, which is believed to be helpful in showing how language is coded as a stratified system (e.g., how the meaning and the function at one level find expression at another).

By adopting the SFL framework and the two general functional approaches, we have a number of findings, which are believed to be contributory to the study of the EETC:

(1) We characterize the structure (in functional terms) of the EETC as: it-Hinge-Evaluator-Evaluated, which, in that order, constitutes the basic pattern of the EETC. These functional elements are then shown to be realized by various classes as indicated by our corpus. Such description allows for varied realization patterns without losing sight of the functional configuration of the construction and without having to force the functional feet into the designated structural shoes.

(2) Our metafunctional analysis of the EETC indicates that though the different strands of meaning are interwoven into one another, the EETC is primarily an interpersonally_and textually_oriented construction. Interpersonally, the Evaluation is realized through a separate primary clause so that the evaluative meaning becomes the point of the whole clause as a communicative event. Textually, the evaluative meaning is brought into thematic prominence and is further enhanced and foregrounded through the syntactic device of the Thematic build—up.

(3) Semantically, we propose our categorization of the evaluative

meaning into two major modes (i.e., modality and attitude) and the evaluated items into entities of two different orders (i.e., second- and third-order entities). It is found that in the EETC, modality evaluation is exclusively directed to third-order entities and attitude evaluation is primarily directed to second-order entities.

(4) The preference of the EETC over its non-enhanced counterpart is functionally motivated. The motivational factors include: grammatical factors, the end-weight principle, information packaging, Theme packaging, objectivity, and cohesion. Although none of the functional properties in isolation is unique to the EETC, the combination, co-working, and trading-off between them render the EETC a necessary and appropriate choice in actual use.

(5) As a locus of evaluative meaning, the EETC typically has a backward or forward chunking function by virtue of the logico-semantic relation of evaluationbasis between the EETC and its preceding or subsequent co-text. When the EETC occurs paragraph-initially or finally, such chunking functions typically co-occur with those of the hyper-Theme or hyper-New.

On the basis of these observations, we are in a position to conclude that the syntactic features of the EETC are relatable to the different meanings and functions that are characteristically expressed and served by the construction. Therefore, the seemingly non-canonical construction is actually not an exception to the general SFL presumptions. That is, the structure of language can be ultimately explained by reference to how language is used, for the reason that the language form is closely related to the demands that we make on it and the functions it serves.

Deng, Renhua

Deng Renhua graduated from Sanming Teachers College in 1991 and received his BA degree in English teaching in 1993. He received his MA degree in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics in South China

University of Technology in 2000, and has been teaching in the same university since his graduation. His PhD degree in Functional Linguistics was awarded by Sun Yat-sen University in 2006.

Deng Renhua's research interests are Systemic Functional Grammar, stylistics and discourse analysis. He has published a number of papers in these areas.

The Existential Enhanced Theme Construction in English: An Alternative Systemic Functional Perspective

This thesis studies the existential enhanced Theme (EET) construction (a.k.a. the existential clause, the existential sentence, or the existential construction) within the Systemic Functional framework. The main objective is to examine the construction from the perspective of the Cardiff model of Systemic Functional Grammar (the Cardiff Grammar) and to propose an alternative functional analysis of this construction in terms of its syntactic and semantic configuration.

It is pointed out that there are at least four types of EET constructions in English. These four types of constructions share the same feature in the thematic strand of meaning: there is the "thematic build-up" in the clause-initial position, followed by the (existential enhanced) theme enhanced by it. In the experiential strand of meaning, the participant role (PR) common in the four constructions is Carrier, and it is the second PR in each, Location, Attribute, Direction or Possessed, that distinguishes one from another. Hence, they are termed as the locational, attributive, directional, and possessive EET constructions respectively. The syntactic and semantic configuration of the four types of EET constructions has been analyzed in line with the Cardiff Grammar.

The present research explores the thematic options in the construction. It reveals that besides Simple Carrier, other participant

roles such as Agent-Carrier, Affected-Carrier, Location, Attribute, Possessed, even the Process together with its dependent roles (Location, Direction or Affected-Carrier) can also serve as EET. Therefore, Fawcett's network of EET has been expanded considerably to accommodate these options.

The study also probes into the semantics of the verbs in the EET construction. In the light of Halliday's seminal idea of treating lexis as "most delicate grammar" and on the basis of previous classifications of those verbs, it is proposed that the verbs in the construction basically realize the meanings of "existence", "occurrence", "locomotion", and "possession", and increasingly finer distinctions of meanings can be differentiated in each of these meanings. When no more delicate meanings can be identified, the most delicate meaning will be realized by a verb. Eventually, the verbs that realize the four types of meanings are organized into a large system network that models these meanings.

The EET construction has also been discussed from the discoursal perspective and its contribution to discourse development has been examined. It is illustrated that besides the repair function of correction, the EET construction basically serves three broad functions: the initiation function, the continuation function and th e concluding function. The EET construction can contribute to the initiation of the discourse by introducing a topic, setting the scene for the upcoming event, and marking the ritual genre of the discourse as well as introducing a topic at the same time. Within the continuation function, nine sub-components have been identified. They are the topic-developing function, the topic-shift signaling function, the instance-highlighting function, the emphatic confirmation function, the listing function, the reminding function, the suggesting function, the countervailing function, and the evaluative function. No sub-components are recognized in the concluding function. These discourse functions are succinctly captured in a taxonomy.

The present research examines the EET construction in a comprehensive and multi-dimensional way, in order to achieve a much

fuller understanding of the construction. It also has implications to Systemic Function Grammar at large.

Qi, Xi

Qi Xi received her BA degree in English Language and Literature from the English Department at Sichuan Institute of Foreign Languages, Chongqing, China. She received her MA in English Language and Literature in Sun Yat-sen University in 2000, and her PhD in Functional Linguistics from the same university in 2006.

Qi Xi's research interests include discourse analysis and functional syntax, and she has published in both areas.

English Causative Constructions: A Systemic Functional Approach

Causative situations exist widely in different cultures, while languages with their respective grammatical systems express these situations in different ways. This thesis is an exploratory study on causative constructions in English from a Systemic Functional perspective, illustrated with examples from BNC2 (British National Corpus 2).

Under the Systemic Functional framework, English causative constructions are defined as configurations of structural elements which form the clausal realizations of the causative meaning. The obligatory structural elements of the constructions are proposed as the Causer, the Affected and the Effect, based on the semantic characteristics of the constructions. According to different clausal realizations of the Process and the Effect, these constructions are divided into two types, the analytic and the synthetic. With respect to the underlying functional-semantic paradigms identified with the distinction between the transitive and the ergative clause, an alternative classification of English causative constructions (i.e. Agent-centered and Medium-centered

causative constructions) is proposed, which covers broader clausal realizations of the causative meaning.

Detailed exploration of English causative constructions of the two paradigms is conducted respectively. Firstly, different types of verbs that construe the Process are identified; secondly, analytic/synthetic Medium-centered causative constructions and analytic/synthetic Agent-centered causative constructions, with more subtypes, are distinguished; thirdly, the three obligatory functional-semantic elements are specified in different causative constructions as varied configurations of structural elements, which depict different causative situations. The lexicogrammatical realizations of such elements, the interaction between the lexical meaning of the verb, the constructional meaning and the functional-syntactic patterns of the constructions are also analyzed.

The thesis also carries out further discussions on: (1) the different nucleus presented by English causative constructions of two paradigms and the related variations; (2) the issue of direct and indirect causation. A tentative system network of English causative constructions is drawn to show the realization of meaning by choice through the systems.

The present study attempts to reveal the lexicogrammatical resources in the English clause for the expression of causation. The research demonstrates that, with the two paradigms established in the present study, the expression of causation can be more systematically examined, and more causative constructions are therefore explored. The study also has pedagogical implications for English learners whose mother-tongue is Chinese.

About the Authors and Editors

【内容简介】

这里是本论文集的编者和作者的基本情况。有必要特别一提的是三位国际著名的功能语言学家的情况: (1)Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday(1925—),男,英国剑桥大学语言学博士,澳大利亚悉尼大学终身教授,系统功能语言学(Systemic Functional Linguistics)创始人; (2)Robin P. Fawcett (1937—),男,英国伦敦大学语言学博士,英国加的夫大学语言与传播中心教授,"加的夫语法"(the Cardiff Grammar)的创始人;主要研究方向为普通语言学、系统功能语言学、计算语言学、语言生成和语言理解; (3)James R. Martin (1950—),男,英国的艾塞克斯大学语言学博士,澳大利亚悉尼大学语言学系教授,"评价理论"(the Appraisal Theory)的创始人;主要研究方向为系统功能语言学理论、语篇语义学、体裁、批评话语分析。

下面人名的排列按拼音顺序。

CHANG, Chenguang

Chang Chenguang is a professor of English at the School of Foreign Languages. Sun Yat-sen University. He began his university studies in 1982 in the Foreign Languages Department, Sun Yat-sen University. He has been teaching in the same university since he got his MA in 1989. He attended the intensive course "The Teaching and Testing of English" in UCLES, Cambridge University in 1994, and went on to the University of Wales, Swansea as a visiting scholar and worked on a dictionary project there until September 1995. From August 2001 to June 2002, he was sponsored by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia to work as a visiting scholar in Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington. He received his PhD in Functional

Linguistics at Sun Yat-sen University in 2003. Currently, he is Deputy Director of The Functional Linguistics Institute, Sun Yat-sen University and Secretary-General of China Association of Functional Linguistics.

Chang Chenguang's research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, lexis and lexicography. One of his publications in these areas, *A New Dictionary of English Phrasal Verbs,* won the China National Book Award in 2000.

DAI, Fan

Dai Fan is an associate professor at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She received her BA and MA in English language and literature in 1984 and 1987 from the Department of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University. She received her PhD in functional linguistics in Sun Yat-sen University in 2004. She also holds an MA in human geography from State University of New York at Albany. She was a visiting scholar in the School of Education, the University of Leicester, UK between 1991 and 1992, in the School of Education, Brunel University, UK from 2002 and 2003. She has been teaching in the School of Foreign Language, Sun Yat-sen University since 1987, except for the years when she was on study trips abroad.

Her research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, stylistics, narratology and cross-culture studies. She publishes in a wide range of areas with a focus on stylistic analysis. She has also published a novel and several prose collections.

FANG, Yan

Fang Yan is a professor of English and Linguistics in the Department of Foreign Languages, Tsinghua University. She began her university studies in 1958 in English Specialty of Western Languages and Literature Department, Peking University and graduated in July, 1963. During 1982–1984, she studied in the Linguistics Department of

Sydney University, Australia, for the degree of Master of Applied Linguistics and was conferred an MA on Feburary 6, 1984 by Sydney University. Before she moved to the Foreign Languages Department, Tsinghua University in 1972, she had taught English in the Western Languages and Literature Department, Peking University (1963–1972). Between 1998 and 1999, she worked for a year in the Modern Foreign Languages Department, Baylor University, U.S.A.

Fang Yan is a Deputy-Chair of International Systemic Functional Linguistics Executive Committee, and a Vice-Chairperson of China Association of Functional Linguistics. She is a member of the Advisory Board of *Functions of Language*, a magazine published by John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.

Fang Yan co-organized a number of Systemic Functional events, including the 1995 Summer Institute of Systemic Functional Linguistics held in Tsinghua University, the 22nd International Systemic Functional Linguistics Congress held in Peking University in 1995, the 1997 Discourse Analysis Conference held in Macao University sponsored by Macao University and Tsinghua University.

Fang Yan has published more than 30 papers and co-authors a monograph and a textbook.

Her research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Chinese Culture and Society, American Culture and Society.

FAWCETT, Robin P.

Robin Fawcett is Research Professor in Linguistics and Director of the Computational Linguistics Unit, Cardiff University, UK. He is a frequent speaker and lecturer at overseas conferences and universities, having to date lectured in 21 different overseas countries (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Corsica, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, India, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Nigeria, Portugal, Singapore and USA), supported by the British

Academy, the British Council, the American Association for Artificial Intelligence, host universities and linguistics associations, etc. Robin Fawcett is currently an adviser to the Functional Linguistics Institute of Sun Yat-sen University, P.R. China.

In 1974 he founded the annual series of International Systemic Functional Congresses, and he was Chair of the organizing committee 1975–88. He was also the Founding Editor of *Network*, a newsletter for systemic linguists, and he is on the Editorial Board of the journal *Functions of Language*. He has edited book series for Pinter, Cassell Academic and Continuum, and he currently edits for Equinox.

The main focus of his research is the development of a version of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) for the twenty-first century — i.e. as the major component of an explicit, cognitive-interactive model of a communicating mind.

Robin Fawcett publishes many books and papers, details of which can be found in the following webpage: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/encap/staff/fawcett.html

HALLIDAY, M.A.K.

M.A.K. Halliday is Emeritus Professor of Linguistics at the University of Sydney. He is currently adviser to the Halliday Centre for Intelligent Applications of Language Studies of City University of Hong Kong, and an adviser to the Functional Linguistics Institute of Sun Yat-sen University, P.R. China. As a significant contribution to language studies, M.A.K. Halliday has developed a theoretical approach known as "Systemic ʾunctional Linguistics", incorporating a comprehensive model of grammar which has been applied to English and numerous other languages including Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese and Thai. His emphasis has always been on theory as a resource for solving problems (he calls it an "appliable" theory), so that his work has been of interest to a wide audience of those concerned with language, such as educators, computer scientists and practitioners in

various professional fields. Below is a brief biography of M.A.K. Halliday.

1925 born in Leeds, England

1947 enrolled in Peking University

1948 external BA (Hons.) London University (Modern Chinese)

1949 research student under Wang Li at Lingnan University, Guangzhou, China, doing dialect field work

1955 PhD studies at Cambridge under J.R. Firth; title of dissertation: "The Language of the Chinese Secret History of the Mongols"

1963 — 1970 University College London, Director of the Communication Research Centre

1976 — 1987 University of Sydney, Founding Professor of Linguistics

1979 Fellow, Australian Academy of the Humanities

1989 Corresponding Member of the British Academy

1981 David H. Russell Award for distinguished Research in the Teaching of English, National Council of Teachers of English (USA)

1986 Lee Kuan Yew Distinguished Visitor, National University of Singapore

2002 Inaugural recipient of the AILA Gold Medal Award for exemplary scholarship in the field of applied linguistics

2003 Distinguished Visiting Professor, Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong

HUANG, Guowen

HUANG Guowen is a professor of English and linguistics at the School of Foreign Languages, Sun Yat-sen University, P.R. China. He received his MA in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics in 1986 from Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Languages (now Guangdong University of Foreign Studies). He went to Britain in 1988 to pursue further studies in linguistics and applied linguistics. He received his first PhD in Applied Linguistics (University of Edinburgh) in 1992. Then he went to

the University of Newcastle upon Tyne to work on a bilingualism project, where he was employed as a Research Associate until early 1994. He received his second PhD in Systemic Functional Linguistics in 1996 (University of Wales, Cardiff). He was a Fulbright scholar during 2004–2005 at Stanford University in the USA.

Currently he is Director of the Functional Linguistics Institute, Sun Yat-sen University, and he is Chair of China Association of Functional Linguistics.

He publishes extensively both in China and abroad. His papers appear in journals such as *Language Sciences, Social Semiotics, World Englishes, Interface — Journal of Applied Linguistics*. He has published a number of book chapters, which appeared in *Language in a Changing Europe* (Multilingual Matters, 1995), *Meaning and Form: Studies for Michael Halliday* (Ablex, 1996), *Studia Linguistica Sinica.* (City University of Hong Kong, 1998), *Grammar and Discourse* (University of Macau, 2001) and *Continuing Discourse on Language* (Equinox, 2005). He wrote a number of monographs and edited a number of books/collections, including *Meaning and Form: Systemic Functional Interpretations — Studies for Michael Halliday* (with M. Berry *et al.*). He has edited book series ("Contemporary Linguistics", "Translation Studies") for Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.

He has served as an editorial/advisory committee member for 15 journals, including *Social Semiotics* (Carfax), *Journal of Applied Linguistics* (Equinox) and *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* (Equinox).

His research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, applied linguistics and translation studies.

MARTIN, James R.

James R. Martin is Professor of Linguistics (Personal Chair) at the University of Sydney. His research interests include systemic theory, Functional Grammar, discourse semantics, register, genre, multimodality

and critical discourse analysis, focussing on English and Tagalog — with special reference to the transdisciplinary fields of educational linguistics and social semiotics. James Martin was elected a fellow the Australian Academy of the Humanities in 1998, and awarded a Centenary Medal for his services to Linguistics and Philology in 2003.

James Martin is currently an adviser to the Functional Linguistics Institute of Sun Yat-sen University, P.R. China.

James Martin publishes many books and papers, details of which can be found in the following webpage:

http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/departs/linguistics/?page=staff&id=jmartin&publications=more#publications

WANG, Jin

Wang Jin is a lecturer at the School of Foreign Languages, Shenzhen University, P.R. China. She received her BA in English Language and Literature in 2000 from Sun Yat-sen University. She was awarded her PhD degree in Functional Linguistics in the same university in 2005. Her PhD thesis investigates code-switching, a typical sociolinguistic topic, from a Systemic Functional perspective, with a focus on Chinese/English code-switching instances in present-day China.

Wang Jin's research interests include Systemic Functional Linguistics, discourse analysis, and the sociology of language.