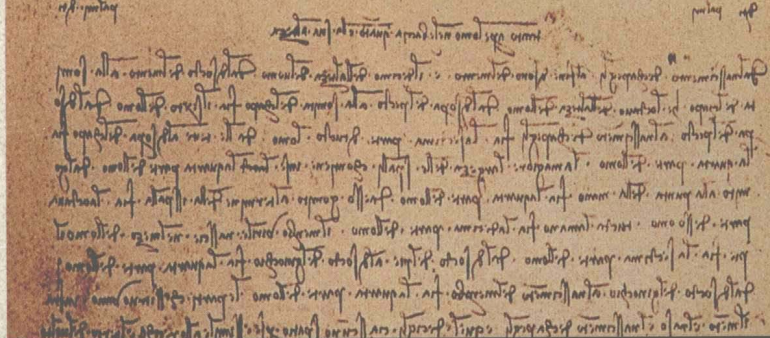




· 语言学论丛 ·



系统功能语法入门：加的夫模式

An Introduction to Systemic Functional Grammar: The Cardiff Model

黄国文 何伟 廖楚燕 ◎等著



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In Honour of Robin P. Fawcett

献给罗宾·福塞特

前言

这本《系统功能语法入门：加的夫模式》共由三部分组成：第一部分由六位学者撰写的介绍和评论“加的夫语法”(the Cardiff Grammar)的七篇文章组成；第二部分是罗宾·福塞特(Robin P. Fawcett)撰写的 *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics* 一书的汉语译文；第三部分是三个附录：附录 1 是福塞特一书的原文；附录 2 和附录 3 是早在 2002 年发表的两篇关于加的夫语法方面的文章。

第一部分的第 1 章“从系统功能语法到加的夫语法”由黄国文撰写，主要以他个人与韩礼德(M. A. K. Halliday)系统功能语法(语言学)的接触作为主线，通过个人的系统功能语言学研究经历谈论介绍系统功能语法的加的夫模式的必要性。作者认为，无论是福塞特的“加的夫语法”，还是马丁(James R. Martin)的“评价理论”(the Appraisal Theory)，都是韩礼德系统功能语言学中的组成部分；它们不是可以与韩礼德的理论相提并论的，两者之间不是并列关系，而是部分与整体的关系。

第 2 章“加的夫语法：系统功能语言学的一个组成部分”由黄国文撰写，主要介绍福塞特和他的同事的有关研究，并勾画加的夫语法在系统功能语言学中的位置。作者明确指出，加的夫语法深受韩礼德上世纪 60 年代末和 70 年代初提出的语言理论(尤其是关于词汇语法)的影响，是根据韩礼德那时的语言研究思想发展起来的，因此它是系统功能语言学的一个组成部分，它的主要创新点在于试图改进系统功能语言学理论中“词汇语法”部分的有关内容。如果按照韩礼德的比喻，把系统功能语言学看做一种“语言”的话，那么加的夫语法就是其中的一个“方言”。福塞特一方面是韩礼德语言学理论的积极支持者、拥护者、继承者和发展者，另一方面，他又直言不讳地陈述他在功能句法方面与韩礼德的分歧。但是，无论如何，这些分歧是系统功能语言学内部的分歧，因为他们的理论框架都是韩礼德的系统功能语言学。

第 3 章“关于加的夫语法的几个问题”由廖楚燕撰写，主要介绍加的夫语法的发展、性质及其核心理论，主要包括语义系统、句法类别、体现规则

和小句分析树形图。该章通过主要动词、“位置”概念、疑问句的分类等具体问题,探讨了它与悉尼语法(the Sydney Grammar)之间的联系与区别,最后以主位/述位层次的简化为例指出其仍存在可以改进的地方。

第4章“加的夫语法对悉尼语法的简化评述”由何伟和张敬源撰写,主要从及物性和语气结构分析的角度,通过对加的夫语法与悉尼语法在四个方面的比较,来说明加的夫语法在句法结构的描述上是悉尼语法的一个简化变体。该章讨论的简化主要体现在加的夫语法对“主要动词”成分重要性的突出和数量上的限制,“谓体”名称的更换和所含成分的细分,“主语”成分的检验标准对句法核心部分的运用,以及“补语”与“状语”成分测试标准的明确性和可操作性等方面。

第5章“加的夫语法对悉尼语法的扩展阐释”由何伟和彭漪撰写,主要从功能句法和语义两个层次,通过对加的夫语法与悉尼语法这两种模式在四个方面异同的阐释,说明加的夫语法在句法结构的描述以及对形式层和语义层的区分上是对悉尼语法的一种扩展。该章讨论的扩展主要体现在加的夫语法对“主要动词延长成分”表达意义的充分关注和说明项的扩充识别,对词组单位界定标准的不同处理和对相关单位的不同概括,对助动词类型的基于意义的更为明确的区分,以及对语气系统网络的进一步语义化等四个方面。

第6章“加的夫语法中的‘位置’概念”由廖楚燕撰写,主要对加的夫语法中的“位置”概念进行探讨。在加的夫语法中,三种基本句法类别为单位、结构成分和形式项,但在单位与其成分之间又存在另一个重要的类别,这就是“位置”。“位置”概念是针对如何确定成分在单位中的位置问题提出来的,通过利用“位置”可以轻易说明单位中各成分的排列顺序和位置高低。该章以英语特殊疑问句中的介词词组为例,从“位置”概念出发,对介词宾语出现提升现象及其原因进行了探讨和解释,从而说明“位置”概念在语言描述及生成中的重要性。

第7章“从加的夫语法到系统功能语言学”由王红阳撰写,主要讨论加的夫语法与系统功能语言学之间的关系。第1章“从系统功能语法到加的夫语法”的作者主要是通过个人的语言学研究 and 与语言学家的接触,对加的夫语法进行了基本的介绍和大致评论,而第7章则是从整个学科发展的角度把加的夫语法放进系统功能语言学的大框架中进行审视,同时讨论了它们之间的内在关系。该章从“语法”与“语言学”的差异入手,并概述了韩礼德创建的语言学理论发展所经过的四个阶段,表明韩礼德的语言理论是

从一个句法理论发展成现在的普通语言学理论。这一章是第一部分的最后一章,也可以看做对第1章的回应。这一部分七篇文章的编排在一定程度上体现了我们对系统功能语言学研究的“实践、认识、再实践、再认识”的基本过程。

上面七篇文章主要是从个人的生活体验或个人学术认知角度来介绍、解读和评论“加的夫语法”的。对同一个问题,不同的学者可能有不同的看法和阐释。作者对加的夫语法的有些看法与福塞特所持的观点也不完全一样。此外,第1章和第2章的文笔比较个性化,写作风格不太正式。选择这种文体风格应该是有意义的,它与福塞特的 *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics* 的写作风格有相似之处。第3章至第7章是作为学术论文来撰写的,主要是围绕着“介绍和评论”加的夫语法这个主题来进行和展开的。这些文章是作者学习系统功能语言学(当然包括加的夫语法)的初步体会,肯定还存在改进之处,欢迎同行批评指正。

第二部分是福塞特撰写的 *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics* 书稿的汉译文(由黄国文、何伟、廖楚燕编译)。这一部分的各章的编号与原书稿一样,一共有十四章以及相关的“几点说明”、“附录”和“参考文献”。为了便于初学者理解有关论点,在翻译中有些地方采取了编译方法。此外,个别地方还作了删减。

本书第三部分是三个附录。附录1 *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics* 是福塞特撰写的原文,此文稿一直在修改中,也以“油印本”的不同形式在系统功能语言学界中流传,但从没有正式出版过。据悉,作者正在根据这个版本进一步修订,将在英国出版。

附录2“‘加的夫语法’简介”是黄国文和冯捷蕴7年前合写的一篇文章,附录3“加的夫语法在中国”是冯捷蕴7年前撰写的一篇文章,分别收录在黄国文主编的《语言·语言功能·语言教学》(广州:中山大学出版社,2002;第187—205页和第206—218页)一书中。虽然这两篇文章写得比较早,也比较简单,但它们是学者早期介绍和评价加的夫语法的见证,对读者了解加的夫语法应该还是有帮助的,因此作为附录供读者参考。在此感谢冯捷蕴博士对我们工作的支持。

为了便于读者阅读和对比,本书书末附有“术语对照表”和“人名对照表”(由廖楚燕编制)。

福塞特教授得知本书的编辑和出版,非常高兴,特意为本书写了序言。我们对他的支持表示感谢。

本书的总体框架是我设计的,我们分工合作,何伟博士和我负责最后的审定,最终由我总其大成。如有不当之处,自当负主要责任。

罗宾·福塞特教授 1937 年出生,今年是他 70 岁大寿;因此,我们将此书献给他,以表示我们对他的尊敬和热爱。

黄国文

2007 年 12 月 28 日

Foreword

1 The purpose of this Foreword

I am deeply grateful to Professor Huang Guowen, the Chair of the Chinese Association of Functional Linguistics, and his colleagues Dr He Wei and Liao Chuyan for their initiative in producing this, the first book to be published in Chinese about the Cardiff Grammar. I am particularly appreciative of the high level of scholarship and translation skills that they have put into translating Appendix One of Part Three of this volume from the original English (the Second Edition) into this Chinese edition.

This Foreword is addressed to experienced linguists. So any readers who are just beginning their study of language might do well to skip directly to Chapter 1 of the Chinese translation of *Invitation to Systemic Functional Linguistics (ISFL)* in Part Two (or, alternatively, the original English version in Appendix 1), and to return later to this Foreword and the rest of the book. Both versions of *ISFL* (apart from certain sections of Chapter 1) are addressed to both beginners in linguistics and experienced linguists (who might include the teachers of the beginners)—as I explain at the start of Chapter 1 of *ISFL*.

You may be interested to know that a translation of this book into Spanish (Fawcett 2008b) is being published at the same time as this Chinese edition. And, since a Third Edition in English is also being published in early 2008 (Fawcett 2008a), versions of this book are being published simultaneously in three of the world's great international languages: Chinese, English and Spanish. (I should explain that the new English edition is a very considerable expansion of the present book, so that reading the versions of *ISFL* presented here should not be regarded as a replacement for it—and especially not for Fawcett 2008d.)

Professor Huang has asked me to say something in this Foreword about (i) the 'dialect' relationship between the version of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to which this book introduces you and SFL as a whole, (ii) my personal relationship with Michael Halliday, the

‘founding father’ of SFL, and (iii) relations between the Cardiff Grammar and Chinese scholars. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to fulfill all three requests, because the way in which scholars ‘enact’ their linguistics (i.e. their beliefs about language) through (i) the way in which they present their ideas and (ii) their relationships with other scholars—especially with those who hold different views—are as important in shaping developments in linguistics as the ideas themselves.

At this point I would like to say a little about the style of discourse in which I shall be writing about the similarities and differences between the Sydney Grammar—which is essentially the creation of Michael Halliday—and the Cardiff Grammar. The Western tradition of academic discourse can be very destructive at times. At its worst, a supposed ‘discussion’ of some topic may consist essentially of a series of attacks and counter-attacks—often attacks that are, to use the standard Latin term, ‘ad hominem’ (i.e. ‘directed at the man’) for, let us say, thinking in an ‘incorrect’ manner, rather than the construction of a rational case against holding some view. In such discourse, a discussion is more like a duel with rapiers than a joint attempt to build something—which is surely a better model of how science should be.

On the whole, systemic functional linguists do not engage in this adversarial type of discourse. Most of us would like to think that we are on the way to developing rather more constructive ways of interacting. The style of discourse that my colleagues and I have sought to cultivate over the last few years is a style that is respectful of the position taken by other scholars, while at the same time being truthful when one believes that one sees a weakness in the proposal of another scholar; a style of discourse that does not criticize without giving reasons that are presented in a careful and courteous manner; a style that is equally courteous to the most celebrated linguist and to the humblest student—and equally able to speak truthfully to either; a style which, if one is critical of another scholar’s proposal, seeks to bring out the common ground that one shares with him or her, and then to offer, for the other and one’s fellow scholars to consider, an alternative proposal that might be regarded as more satisfactory. In sum, it is a style of discourse that seeks to build on the positive work of others rather than to demolish it and to propose instead one’s own completely new model. And there is no reason that I can see why such a style of discourse should not be compatible with rigorous scientific methods of research.

I am not sufficiently familiar with Chinese styles of discourse to comment on how far the style in which I shall be trying to write here—and in which I hope I have written in *ISFL*—is fully acceptable in terms of Chinese culture. But I hope it will not offend any reader's susceptibilities—and that if it does you will be prepared to forgive a poor, undereducated foreigner! In any case, the style of discourse that I shall be using will be less offensive than the academic in-fighting that have characterized some American-based schools of linguistics during the last century.

2 The common ground between all versions of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Let me begin, then, by making the unequivocal statement that, in my view, the greatest living linguist—and indeed the greatest linguist of the last century—is Michael Halliday. Just as he acknowledges his intellectual debt to the great Chinese linguist Wang Li and to J. R. Firth (the leading figure of the London School of Linguistics), so too I acknowledge my enormous debt to him—and to others, of course (as an early footnote in both versions of *ISFL* makes clear).

In a seminal series of publications in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Halliday developed the outline of a broader and more explicitly functional view of language than had been available to linguists before that time. He invited us to view a human language (such as Chinese or English or Japanese) as consisting essentially of a **system network of choices between meanings**—such that a description of a language would not only describe its 'grammar' at the level of **form** (its **syntax** and **morphology**), but would also encompass fully integrated descriptions of its **lexis** and its **intonation**—and so also the system networks of choices between meanings that correspond to each of these sub-components of the level of form. That set of proposals (which I describe more fully in Fawcett 2000 and 2008a), was the birth of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

All current versions of SFL have their origins in Halliday's writings of the 1970s. As readers who are familiar with the literature of SFL will know, there have been different proposals by various systemic scholars at various times—and sometimes different proposals by the same scholar at different times (including Halliday himself). This is all part of the healthy scientific exploration of the enormously complex yet enormously

important phenomenon, that is, human language. You will find, for example, an interestingly different approach to describing text in (i) Martin 1991 and (ii) Martin and White 2005 from that in Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar (IFG)*, and equally interesting differences between the models of genre, register and other such components of a model of language and its use in the work of Sydney-based linguists such as Ruqaiya Hasan, Jim Martin and Christian Matthiessen.

However, all the Sydney-based scholars appear, from their publications, to accept (i) the main assumptions made about lexicogrammar in *IFG* and (ii) Halliday's overall socio-cultural perspective on language. As a result, the differences between (i) the versions of SFL of these scholars and (ii) the equivalent lexicogrammar and overall model of language and its use that has been developed by my colleagues and myself (largely at Cardiff) are rather greater than the differences between the Sydney linguists.

The next three sections will identify and comment on these differences between the Cardiff Grammar and the Sydney Grammar, and the fourth will summarize the current relationship between these two groups of researchers in SFL.

3 The Cardiff Grammar is essentially a cognitive-interactive model of language

Perhaps the major difference between the two models is that, while the approach of Halliday and his colleagues has always foregrounded the **social** and **cultural** aspects of language, the Cardiff approach emphasizes the **cognitive** and **interactive** nature of language and its use. But we have not ignored the social and cultural aspects of language; for example, the computer implementation of the Cardiff Grammar models, in meticulous detail, the effect of choices in **register** (variation in probabilities in the system networks that vary according to the context of situation) on choices in the system networks of the **lexicogrammar**. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the main emphasis of work in the Cardiff Model is to cite the full title of my 1980 book (which is, I must admit with apologies, one of the longest titles in Linguistics!) It is *Cognitive Linguistics and Social Interaction: Towards an Integrated Model of a Systemic Functional Grammar and the Other Components of an Interacting Mind*.

I ask you to note the term ‘interacting’. ‘Cognitive’ approaches to language have become fashionable in Linguistics in the last decade or so, but a model of language that is merely ‘cognitive’ is an inadequate model. An adequate model must also be ‘interactive’, in the sense that it must model ‘a communicating mind’.

Thanks to generous research support and the inputs of the dozen or so gifted colleagues with whom I have worked over the last thirty years, the word ‘towards’ in the subtitle of my 1980 book has been made a reality in the computer model of language and its use that we developed in the COMMUNAL Project. This project is described in Fawcett, Tucker and Lin 1993 (and many other works). For the most up-to-date picture of an overall model of language and its use—and also for a proposal for a model that is capable of integrating the **socio-cultural** and the **cognitive-interactive** wings of work in SFL, see Fawcett 2008c.

We shall turn next to another major difference between the Sydney Grammar and the Cardiff Grammar—one that concerns the nature of the system networks and which therefore, in both versions of the theory, lies at the heart of the model of language.

4 The basic reason for the different focus of work on lexicogrammar in the Cardiff and Sydney Grammars

In the late 1950s and 1960s Halliday had made quite extensive descriptions of both Chinese and English in terms of system networks of choices between features, and at that time he presented them as being choices between features at the level of ‘form’—rather than choices at the level of ‘meaning’.

The result was that, when in the early 1970s Halliday made his revolutionary proposal that language should be modelled as ‘choice between meanings’, many systemic functional linguists interpreted this as implying the need for a programme of research in which we would re-interpret the existing system networks as choices between meanings rather than choices between forms, so that they would become explicitly semantic.

Indeed, this was a programme that Halliday himself had initiated in relation to the grammar of ‘transitivity’, through the introduction of the concept of a Process and its Participants in Halliday 1967—1968, so ‘semanticizing’ his previous form-based system networks for this area of

the grammar. Most of those who were active in SFL at the time (including myself) assumed that this process of ‘semanticizing’ the rest of the system networks would be one of the major tasks for SFL in the 1970s. (See Chapter 4 of Fawcett 2000 for a more detailed account of this period in the history of SFL.)

And at many points in his writings of the 1970s Halliday appears to be encouraging such work, by assuming that the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME and the like are, in principle, at the level of meaning. It was Halliday himself, then, who set in motion the process of making the standard SFL system networks semantic that has been at the heart of the work on the Cardiff Grammar for the last thirty years.

The description of the functional syntax of the English clause that you are holding in your hands is therefore part of a lifetime’s work in carrying out the programme of research that seems to me (and to many others) to follow logically from Halliday’s proposals of the early 1970s. The structures that will be described here are therefore the clause syntax that is appropriate to a model of language in which the system networks are semantic.

Interestingly, however, Halliday himself did not spend the rest of the 1970s working on converting his other system networks into system networks of choices between semantic features (as he had for ‘transitivity’). In the period that immediately followed his revolutionary set of proposals concerning the lexicogrammar (in the mid and late 1970s) he went straight on to explore a very different set of ideas—ideas to which he attached greater priority. It was in this period that this remarkable creative scholar introduced yet another set of revolutionary ideas, including: (i) a new, functionally-oriented model of child language development; (ii) the bold socio-cultural concept of ‘language as social semiotic’; (iii) a picture of the development of the language of science (which has since grown into a socio-cultural theory of the stages of development of human language)—and (iv) a further fundamental concept which we shall come back to in a moment. Moreover, at the same time that he was generating this second set of new ideas he was preparing for publication his long-awaited description of English, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. This finally appeared in 1985 (with two further editions in 1994 and 2004).

Let us now turn to the other major concept that Halliday was

working on in the 1970s. I have said that the heart of these proposals was the concept of 'language as choice between meanings', and I have explained the sense in which many of us understood those proposals (including Halliday himself in places, as I show in Fawcett 2000). In some of his writings in this period, however, he was exploring an alternative interpretation of the concept—stimulated by the existence of a set of phenomena that he groups together as different types of 'grammatical metaphor'. In this possible alternative model of language there would be no need to revise the familiar system networks of the 1960s and 1970s, because there would be a second level of system networks that would be located above the original networks for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME, etc. (i. e. the ones which correspond to the structural descriptions given in Halliday 1985).

As with all great explorers of new concepts who allow their explorations to be published, Halliday's writings are not always completely clear, and it is only with hindsight that we can see clearly that he was in fact exploring this new interpretation of 'language as choice between meanings' in many of his writings in this period. Yet in other writings at this time (and later) he was expressing—or at least allowing for—the view that the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME are 'semantic' (e. g. as in Halliday 1985). It is, of course, good science to be able to consider—and to explore—two alternative hypotheses at the same time, if both hold out the promise of providing valuable insights.

In Halliday's more recent writings, however—and especially those co-authored with Christian Matthiessen—Halliday has increasingly clearly expressed his preference for the second of the two interpretations of his 1970s proposals. This is a position which coincides with his having left the original form-based system networks as they were (except the one for the 'transitivity', which he had already 'semanticized', as noted above). Yet at the same time he does not completely abandon his revolutionary position of the early 1970s, in that he still describes the grammar of *IFG* as having been 'pushed fairly far in the direction of the semantics' (Halliday 1994: xix).

At the time of writing this Foreword (December 2007), this 'two levels of meaning' proposal should be regarded as an important and interesting hypothesis about the nature of language—but as one which has so far only been described in outline form (e. g. as in Halliday and

Matthiessen 1999). In other words, it has not yet been formulated sufficiently precisely to be subject to testing, e. g. by wide use in text analysis and/or being implemented in a computer model. Major questions of theory and of the operation of descriptions of languages based on this approach remain unaddressed in Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, or indeed elsewhere.

In contrast, work at Cardiff has demonstrated that many of the phenomena that this ‘two levels of meaning’ proposal was developed to accommodate (i. e. several types of ‘grammatical metaphor’) can in fact be handled neatly without adding this additional level of system networks, if the original system networks are revised so that they become fully semantic system networks—as is done in the version of Systemic Functional Grammar developed in the Cardiff Grammar (the clause syntax of which is described here).

At the time of writing, then, this appears to be a major theoretical difference between the two versions of the theory. In Fawcett 2008c, however, I outline an overall model of language and its use in which the two approaches can be reconciled. This is achieved within a framework that avoids the enormous additional complexity of having a further level of system networks to the overall model.

I should admit, however, that this synthesizing model adds a new type of component—an algorithm that guides the choices in the system networks. But since this addition to the model is required in any case it does not in fact add to the overall complexity of the model. (The need for it becomes evident in a view of language and its use that includes an explicitly cognitive-interactive perspective.) See Fawcett 2000 for (i) a full description of the implications of the way in which the current *IFG* model works, and (ii) the theoretical issues that are raised by introducing a second level of ‘choices between meanings’. And see Fawcett 2008c for a discussion of the alternative architectures for language and its use that have been proposed in SFL, and also for the new proposal.

5 The influence of advances in Descriptive Linguistics on developments in the Cardiff Grammar

One reason why the Cardiff Model of language is as it is today is the influence on our work of the tremendous advances in Descriptive Linguistics of the last half century. My early descriptions of English in

the 1970s diverged only in relatively minor ways from Halliday's description at the time. (Indeed, they were originally offered as contributions to that model.) However, eight major advances in Descriptive Linguistics over the last forty years (as outlined in Chapter 1 of Fawcett 2008a) have contributed to a continual process of development in the model over that last thirty years, and so in time to the emergence of the significantly different 'dialect' of SFL from the Sydney Grammar.

These advances include, among others, (i) the increased emphasis on cognitive-interactive aspects of language (as foregrounded in the last section); (ii) the use of corpus linguistics; (iii) the computer modelling of the generation and understanding of language texts; (iv) the emphasis on probabilities in modelling language; (v) the extensive testing of Systemic Functional Grammars through text analysis, and (vi) work in other theoretical approaches. Many of these factors have been recognized and used in the Sydney Grammar (see Matthiessen 2007 for an account of this), but they have not, interestingly, led to the significant changes in theory and description that they have in the Cardiff Grammar. (For example, the role of probabilities on features in system networks—and of mechanisms for changing these probabilities—has been developed more fully in the Cardiff Grammar.)

6 The current relationship between the Cardiff Grammar and the Sydney Grammar

It was Halliday himself who suggested, in a comment on a plenary paper that I presented at the 1995 International Systemic Functional Congress in Beijing, that we should think of the variations within SFL as being like the different dialects of a language. As we have seen, the Cardiff 'dialect' of SFL is a direct descendent of Halliday's ideas of the 1970s—just as are the Sydney dialect and its sub-dialects. (The role of many of the footnotes in the present Chinese and English editions of *ISFL* is precisely to explain these differences and the reasons for them; but note that there is a much set of explanations in Fawcett 2008a.)

Often, when linguists differ over the nature of language, they cease to be friends. It is important, therefore, to make it clear that those who work in SFL recognize that, while we may differ on some matters (as described in previous sections), we continue to share broadly the same basic assumptions about (i) the nature of language, (ii) the goals of