Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday

A Biography

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This note documents the life of Michael Halliday, father of Systemic Functional Linguistics. He is known professionally as M.A.K. Halliday, after his full name: Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday.

The material for this biography was collected from interviews with Halliday, several published biographies, memoirs of other people, and from scattered references in Halliday's own publications. Sometimes editorial discretion has been applied to resolve conflicts in these sources.

Chapter 1

Early Years

Family

Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday was born in Leeds, Yorkshire on 13 April 1925.[1] Leeds was (and still is) a prosperous town in the North of England, with a population around 450,000 at that point. The major industries were tailoring, publishing and brewing.

Michael was the only child of two teachers, who taught at the secondary level at Pudsey Grammar School (fairly well respected in those days, now called Grangefield School, Pudsey, half-way between Leeds and Bradford). His father, Wilfrid Joseph Halliday, taught English and Latin, his mother taught French.

Wilfrid was born in 1889.[2] During the First World War, in his Twenties, he entered the army, with the West Yorkshire Regiment. He worked his way up the ranks, from sergeant, to eventually became an officer. He saw service at the Front in France, but was wounded, and discharged on the basis of his wounds.

Back in England, he turned to teaching, at Pudsey Grammar School. English was his main love, which he taught both in terms of literature and language (as was usual in those days).[3]

Outside of school, his life work was Yorkshire Dialectology: he spent most of his adult life as a member of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, usually in some official role: Chairman, Secretary, or Publications Secretary. He was involved with the Society for over half a century. He also published various works related to Yorkshire Dialectology, including co-editing one of the major contributing works to the Linguistic Atlas of England.[4] Other works include anthologies of poems, and prose. His interest in dialects fed back into his teaching: he taught his students that dialect was not necessarily bad English[5] (a theme to be picked up again by his son in the 1950s and 60s). He also had an interest in Elizabethan Drama.[6]

Halliday's mother grew up in Bramley,[7] a village near Leeds. She attended the local school. The headmistress of the school at that time was a Ms. Firth, aunt to J.R. Firth, the famous linguist, later Halliday's mentor. J.R. Firth (then known as Rupert) was 5 years ahead of Halliday's mother, but they took the same train to school, and she remembered him drilling the younger students on History dates during the train-ride.[8] In school also, he helped his aunt teach the younger students. So, Halliday was not the first in his family to be taught by Firth.

Figure 1: Pudsey Grammar School (1911)[9]

After finishing school, she took a teaching position at Pudsey, teaching French. It was here that she met Wilfrid, and they later married.[10] However, in those days, once a woman got married, you had to leave the job, because you would be "taking it away from the men". So she left her full-time position, but kept up teaching by either taking supply teaching when she wanted, or getting involved in other ways, such as examining. She did a lot of oral examining in French. She kept this up for many years. Then, during the second world war, there was a shortage of teachers of University-level French. So, she was brought into Leeds University to teach there, for the duration of the war.[11]

Figure 2: The "14" Tram to Pudsey

According to one story, Halliday's grandfather owned a textile mill. Textile was one of the major trades in York, and from the 1820s, and gradually moved from a cottage industry (making cloth in the home) into mills, using by steam looms. Halliday's grandfather however was more interested in local politics, and he paid little attention

to his mill, and eventually it closed (or was sold).[1] Another story places the grandfather as a chemical plant owner.[2]

Michael makes one reference to his grandmother, who, he says, died in 1959 in her mid-nineties: “She belonged to the last generation, within my own culture, who spoke unselfconsciously in proverbs.”[12] He gives examples of how she might have spoken: “Harry's no good; he'll never crack corn. That business of his'll never thrive, believe me.”

Michael was born when his father was 36. In his early days, Michael was called “Mick”. Later in life, he switched to “Michael”.[13]

School Days

For his first few years, Michael lived in the family house at 5 Armley Grange Drive, Leeds,[14] which is in the Upper Armley part of West Leeds. He went to the local school, West Leeds Elementary School, starting at four years of age. When Michael was 7, the family moved to Whitby, in the far north of Yorkshire.[3] He attended the Abbey School in Whitby from 1932-1934, and then the Fyling Hall School (Robin Hood Bay, an area just south of Whitby), from 1934-1938.[15] Fyling Hall School was (and still is) an independent school, with an emphasis on drama, and rural skills. The school was co-educational, which was rare in those days for a private school.

Figure 3: Fyling Hall School during the 1930s[16]

[1] Possibly from Michael Walsh, recounting a conversation with Michael Halliday.

[2] Story from John Walsh.

[3] This is a guess, as all I really know is that Michael went to school in Whitby. It is possible he was up north with relatives or boarding.

Figure 4: A Student Play At Fyling School (mid 1930s)

Michael worked hard and won a scholarship to the famous Rugby School. A local paper showed a photo of Michael polishing his shoes, with the title “The youngest boy to win the scholarship to Rugby". [17]

Michael enrolled at Rugby when he was 13 (1938).[18] This was, and still is, one of the leading boarding schools in the UK, and is probably best known as the birthplace of the game of the same name. The school was also the setting of the Thomas Hughes semi-autobiographical masterpiece, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.[19] Halliday was a boarder there, returning to Leeds during vacation[20] (the family returned to the West Leeds house at some point). He stayed in Whitelaw House (where Arthur Ransome had earlier been a pupil).[21]

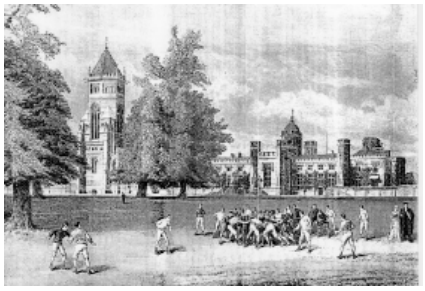

Figure 4: Rugby School in the 19th Century[22]

Coincidentally, one of Halliday’s school friends was a Morris Willy, whose father had been a friend of Halliday’s father during the war.[23]

The school had a strong emphasis on classical languages, which, at the time, was not totally to Michael’s liking:

> “That was at school where I was trapped in a system which, in a way, I still find unbelievable. It was so over-specialised that from the age of about fourteen I was doing nothing but classics, twenty seven hours a week out of thirty three, and the others were in English”. (Kress *et al.* 1992)

On the other hand, he quite enjoyed Modern Languages, although he had problems with how it was taught:

> “The English part I liked because it was literature and I enjoyed it very much, except when they started telling me something about language in literature. It just made no contact with what was actually there.” (Kress *et al.* 1992)

He was starting to see that there could be more to the study of literature:

> "Even before [being a language teacher], while at school, I had been trying to find out about language - because I was keen on literature and wanted to understand why its language was so effective, what was special about it." (Halliday 2002a, p2)

> "I could write the critical essays when I found out what attitudes you were supposed to have, but I always thought there must be something else - some other way of talking about literature. I felt that there was more to it than what I was hearing." (Kress *et al.* 1992)

> "I felt that literature was made of language so it ought to be possible to talk about that language. After all, my father was enough of a grammarian for me to know there were ways of talking about language. He was also a literary scholar although he didn't particularly combine the two in so far as I am aware. I certainly wasn't far enough into it to be able to be more explicit - I think it was more prompted by trying to be more explicit." (Kress *et al.* 1992)

Not satisfied with the language teaching at school, Halliday searched for alternative explanations:

> "I thought what my teachers said about [the language of English Literature] made no sense, and so I searched in the library, where I discovered a subject called 'linguistics', and a book about language by an American professor called Bloomfield, which of course I didn't much understand." (Halliday 2002b, p117)

The school in those days did not advance students by age, but by ability. Michael advanced rapidly through his courses. He started his Upper 6th (normally the last term of High School), at the age of 16, one year early.

Michael was not to finish this year however. At the end of 1941, the War Office sent a notice around to all the schools in the country asking for volunteers to be trained in languages for the Asian war theatre. Those students who volunteered, if accepted, were expected to leave school right away and receive basic language training before entering into military service.

The Rugby headmaster, P.H.B. Lyon,[24] made sure that all of Rugby's student's knew of the programme, and talked especially to those who he thought had a special interest in language, including Michael.[25]

Michael volunteered for the special program, partly because he had been pushed into the Classics stream, which he didn't want to do, preferring to study Modern Languages. The program offered him a chance to receive training in Modern Languages. He was accepted into the program, so, just before his 17th birthday, he left Rugby.

Chapter 2

The War Years

1 Training in Chinese at SOAS

The special training course for Asian languages took place at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, during 1942-3. The course was run by the British Armed Service, but the teachers were mainly staff at SOAS, and other language specialists called in especially. The military needed trained speakers of various languages, including Chinese, Japanese, Turkish and Persian -- languages needed for the war effort in the Asian theatre.

The idea for these courses had come initially from J.R. Firth himself, who was later a great influence on Halliday. He approached the War Office and said (according to Halliday):

> "We can teach these languages in two ways. We can teach the traditional language courses in which case you have got to allow reasonable time for this, say a year and a half, or we can teach a highly specialised course (on the basis of Firth's theory of restricted languages, as he called it, what became register) in which you could have a very intensive crash course in not more than six months, but they would learn only a very special purpose language, like Pilot's Japanese for example." (Halliday paraphrasing Firth in My Interview).

The War Office initially shelved the idea, but later took it up, and SOAS was one of the main centres for these courses. They set up language courses for Services personnel, and also for school-age students who would soon be of age to enlist. The Japanese department at SOAS taught both a short course with specialised languages, and a longer one (20 months) to train more competent speakers of Japanese. Firth himself, taught in these Japanese courses,[26] as did several of his staff, including R.H. Robins[27] and Eugenie Henderson.[28]

Those who volunteered for the course were called into London for an aptitude test:

> "The first thing I encountered was a language aptitude test designed by Firth. So when we went from school we were all called up to London for two or three days and we were given these tests and interviews. This test had two parts: one was a general language aptitude, to find out if you could code made up languages and it was very, very good. Then, there was part of it which was language specific. There were four languages in the program: Chinese, Japanese, Turkish and Persian. I remember one of the things you had to do was to recite from memory an increasingly long list of monosyllables on different tones.
>
> Now I had in fact wanted to do Chinese anyway and I came out alright on the ones which favoured Chinese[29] so I got my choice. But I presume that if somebody had put Chinese first and it turned out that they couldn't hear a falling tone from a rising tone, they'd have switched them into Persian or some other language." (Kress *et al. 1992)*

And why did he want to study Chinese? Halliday had from an early age wanted to go to China. He says:

> "Apparently for some reason - I have absolutely no idea why - I had always wanted to go to China, from the age of about four. Apparently I wrote a story when I was about four years old about a little boy who went to China. I hadn't studied Chinese at all. I really wanted to do Chinese to get out of classics; that was the main motive. I just hated classics at school and I wanted to get out." (Kress *et al.* 1992)

Michael was accepted into the longer (20 month) course. He received a State Bursary to fund his study in this course.[30] His courses were in the Department of Chinese. Professor Walter Simon was in charge of the department's services courses. At that point, he was a reader (he later received a chair). Halliday's first class was with Simon himself, which was shortly after his 17th birthday.[31]

Michael comments on these courses:

> "Looking back on this in later life, I realize how very well the courses were organized and implemented. It really was a very efficient language teaching exercise. It was of course privileged in the sense that here we were, a group of young men, with nothing else to do except be taught Chinese, or Japanese, or whichever we were assigned to. And that's the sort of thing that doesn't happen in life. So we were very privileged in that sense, and we were given this very intensive training for 20 months, and then scattered around the various theatres of war to do whatever duties were assigned to us." (Halliday and Hasan 2007, p15-16)

India

Michael finished the course in 1943, and afterwards, in 1944, he enrolled in the Army.[32] He was then 18. Taking advantage of his Chinese skills, they shipped him to India (by 'slow boat'), where he worked with Military Intelligence[33] (China and South East Asia were occupied by the Japanese, so India was the base for most China-related intelligence work). He was with the Chinese Intelligence Unit, who were doing, more precisely, counter-intelligence.[34] Most of the time it was working on Chinese with Chinese people, reading Chinese and talking quite a bit of it.[35] He was there for a year and a half.[36]

Back at SOAS

Back in England however, the belief was that the war in Asia would go on for several years. With the European war coming to an end, the War Office was beginning to focus resources on the war with Japan. As a result, an increase in the number of speakers of Japanese and Chinese was required. Because of a shortage of language teachers in England, several of those who had done well in the first course were called back from India to London to teach.[37] Halliday remembers that himself and three others were called back.[38] They flew into Britain on May 8th, 1945 -- VE Day.[39]

Five days later, he taught his first class in Chinese (13th May).[40] The class was a dictation, which he gave to a group of very high-powered airforce officers.[41]

So, by the time Halliday was 20, he was already a language teacher. As before, the courses were at SOAS, which was at that time scattered around London, due to the bombing.[42] He was working for the Services Unit for Language Training.[43]

The War Office was wrong about the war with Japan lasting many years. On August 6, 1945, The United States deployed nuclear weapons against the cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and Japan surrendered on August 15. The clean-up efforts however

still required trained speakers of both Japanese and Chinese, so the courses continued.

During these days of teaching Chinese to English servicemen, Halliday started to see the need for a more linguistically informed way of teaching language:

> "The notion that I began to build up at that time about the structure and the organization of language was very much problem-based: it was driven by the need to solve particular problems in teaching the language and to explain features of the language to the learners. And that could mean everything from, say, the Chinese tone system, the nature of Chinese writing and therefore of writing systems in general, to the relations between grammar and vocabulary (one became aware that the old notion of the textbook of having a grammar in one place and the vocabulary in another really wasn't much use – you had to see the whole thing as a single continuum), and the basic concept of grammatical units – there was no sense of a clause in those days; there was a simple sentence and a complex sentence, but there was no sense that there was some really critical unit where all the work was done of turning meaning into form. It just didn't exist. So this was where I started asking questions." (Halliday and Hasan 2007, 16-17)

Undergraduate Studies

While teaching, he was able to continue his own study of Chinese at the University. He enrolled as an external student in the Arts Faculty (he could not enrol internally while in the service). The Chinese department organised their classes so that the Services language courses were in the morning, and the department lectures were in the afternoon, so that those in Halliday's position could attend lectures.[44] Halliday's supervisor (contact person for his external degree) was Eve Edwards, Professor of the Chinese Department.

The external degree was usually done over three years, assessed entirely through two sets of exams, one at the end of the first year, the other at the end of the third year. One did not have to attend courses, but just demonstrate (through passing the exams) that you had prepared yourself. [45]

For the first exams, you had to take four subjects, of which two had to be Classical languages. Halliday, sick of Latin and Greek, chose classical Chinese and classical Japanese, and he says he loved them both. His other courses were in Modern Chinese language and literature.[46]

Walter Simon (1893–1981) was born in Berlin and spent the first half of his life in Germany. At university he first specialised in Romance and Classical philology, before becoming a librarian. After completing his doctorate he turned to Sinology and began a parallel career as an academic.

His linguistic skills were exceptional. When asked in the 1930s which languages he could read he replied 'almost all European languages as well as Chinese and Japanese'. Walter Simon's research included ancient and archaic as well as modern Chinese, Tibetan philology and Manchu studies. Simon's twin careers as an academic and librarian flourished during the 1920s and early 1930s.

He began studying Chinese in 1920, became a teacher of East Asian linguistics at the University of Berlin in 1926 and Professor there in 1932. As a librarian he was sent on study visits to Britain in 1929 and to China in 1932–33 on an exchange with the National Library in Peking, where one of his tasks was cataloguing Manchu books.

The rise to power of the Nazis soon forced him out of Germany. As a Jewish scholar he was forbidden to teach at university from 1934. His students protested courageously against this injustice, but to no avail. The following year he was also dismissed from his library post. Early in 1936 he left his homeland for England. He was offered a lecturing position at the School of Oriental Studies (later the School of Oriental and African Studies), University of London. As Reader in Chinese he made a considerable contribution to the war effort by developing a major Chinese language training program for the armed forces and government. In 1947 he was appointed to a new Chair of Chinese at the University of London, where he remained until retirement in 1960. In this position he is credited as being one of the founders of modern Chinese studies in the United Kingdom, replacing the more traditional approach through classical texts which had prevailed well into the twentieth century. He also led his Department at an exciting time of major expansion for Asian Studies after World War II.

(from https://www.nla.gov.au/pub/nlanews/2000/december00/waltersimon.html)

Walter Simon, who was a Reader in the Chinese department at that time, was one of his teachers. Halliday says of him:

> "Walter Simon taught me what linguistic scholarship meant: to focus on language as an object of study, to take text seriously, and to combine honesty with imagination in the construction of a theory." (Halliday 1985, p3-4).

To give some idea of the classes, I include the following comment by Halliday:

> "The Department had its own recording equipment on which students could register their own performance and compare it with the recorded model. There were archives of spoken language on disk and even on cylinder, including dialect survey material in a number of different languages. But there was no technology for

> capturing authentic speech, natural conversation in the interactive situations of daily life, nor for managing an extensive body of text" (Halliday 2002a, p7)

Even though Halliday and Firth were both working within SOAS, and on service language training, Halliday and Firth did not meet at this point, although Halliday says he had certainly heard of Firth, who had a good reputation. He says he may have dropped in on one of his lectures, but he has no memory of it.[47]

The three other language teachers who were called back from India with Halliday were John Chinnery, Cyril Burch and Harry Simon. They taught the service Chinese courses along with Halliday. The other three stayed on at SOAS for some years, becoming lecturers in Chinese. They all eventually became professors in the subject. John Chinnery was head of the Chinese department in Edinburgh, Cyril Burch was Professor at Berkeley, and Harry Simon, at University of Melbourne.[48] Incidentally, Harry Simon was the son of Walter Simon, and had followed in his father's footsteps.

Cyril Birch: born in Lancashire, England in 1925. He studied Chinese in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where he received his Ph.D. in Chinese Literature in 1954. He taught Chinese at his Alma Mater from 1948 to 1960. He joined the Department of Oriental Languages at the University of California at Berkeley in 1960, and was later appointed Professor of Chinese and Comparative Literature and Chairman of the department. Upon his retirement in 1991 he was appointed Emeritus Professor by the University of California at Berkeley. (from http://www.lib.ntu.edu.tw/dbs/dbs/translate/A_Birch.htm)

China

In 1947, Halliday finished his military service, and also completed his first year exams. His experience of learning and teaching language had sparked his interest in the study of language, and he decided to travel to China:

> "Everyone whose education had been interrupted by the war was given a grant for continuing it, which was intended to finance you through University. But I went and applied to the Ministry of Education, and said I have been trained in Chinese and I would like to continue my studies, can I have my grant as a lump sum so that I can buy a ticket to China? They thought it a bit funny, but they agreed." (Halliday, My Interview).

The grant was, according to Halliday, around £400, which was worth a lot in those days, but then travel was way more expensive also. He says that the Ministry saved money, as if he had elected to stay on at University, they would have paid much more than that.

1.1 To China by Flying Boat

Halliday travelled to China using the Flying Boat service. During the war, BOAC (which became British Airways), set up a network of routes connecting England with Asia. These flying boats were called the "Sunderland Flying Boat Service". They left from Poole Harbour, near Bournemouth. It took 8 days to reach China. The plane flew 6 or seven hours each day, putting down for the night, where the passengers were put up

in the best hotel around. Halliday's route took him from Poole Harbour, stopped in Augusta harbour (Sicily), then to Cairo, Egypt, landing in the middle of the Nile. Next, they stopped at Bahrain in the Persian Gulf, then Calcutta, then Bangkok, and then to Hong Kong. He then went by more conventional means to Shanghai.

1.2 Peking University

From Shanghai, he travelled to Peking. Professor Simon had given him a letter of introduction to the president of Peking University, Hu Shih, whom Simon happened to know. Hu Shih was a very famous man, having been a leading intellectual in the May 4th Movement, a popular movement from roughly 1919 to 1923 which was against the exploitation of China by Europe and Japan. Both the Nationalist and Communist movements have roots in this movement. Academically, Hu Shih advocated the study of vernacular texts rather than classical texts, much in keeping with later directions in Britain.

Hu Shih (1891-1962) Chinese philosopher and essayist, leading liberal intellectual in the May Fourth Movement (1917-23). He studied under John Dewey at Columbia Univ., becoming a lifelong advocate of pragmatic evolutionary change. While professor of philosophy at Beijing Univ., he wrote for the iconoclastic journal New Youth (see Chen Duxiu). His most important contribution was promotion of vernacular literature to replace writing in the classical style. Hu Shih was also a leading critic and analyst of traditional Chinese culture and thought. He was ambassador to the United States (1938-42), chancellor of Beijing Univ. (1946-48), and after 1958 president of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. (The Columbia Encyclopaedia, Sixth Edition. Copyright © 2003 Columbia University Press.)

Halliday turned up at the university, and presented the letter, which explained that he wanted to enrol in classes, and recommended him as an excellent student. He was interviewed by Hu Shih, and allowed to enrol and attend classes there.[49]

Halliday expected to earn his living by teaching English in a high school there, but Hu Shih said "Oh great, you start teaching next week in our English department".[50] So Halliday gained further experience in language teaching, this time to University students, and teaching English. Halliday comments:

> "I'd never taught any English before; but they were very desperate for speakers of English because, of course, English had been totally banned under the Japanese and most of their students were pretty well beginners." (Kress *et al.* 1992)

As for his Chinese studies, Halliday's main aim was to further his progress in his external B.A. He had already completed his first year exams in London, but still had his third year exams to pass. Halliday went to everything that he could find - literature, classical Chinese and all.[51]

In 1948, after a year in China, he flew down to Nanking where the British Council was operating, and he took the exams:

> "It was exactly the same examination papers as the internal. It was in Modern Chinese - a combination of language and literature, including History of Chinese Literature from the year 1500 BC to the present day - that was in one paper. And there was one question that you knew you were going to get about a particular modern author, and you knew you were going to get one question which was 'Write about the author of your choice'. I'd in fact been to see my author, who was living and working in Shanghai at the time, and spent a couple of days with him; so I was very well prepared for that." (Kress *et al.* 1992)

When the results came back, Halliday had been awarded First Class Honours. [52]

1.3 The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives

After completing his undergraduate studies, Halliday stayed in China, working as a volunteer in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (CIC) for several months.[53] The CIC was a western-supported movement which had been started by a New Zealander, Rewi Alley, in 1937:

> "At that time, the Japanese invaders had already captured most of China's industrial cities and looked to occupy all of China in the near future. Rewi's plan was to establish small producer cooperatives throughout China that could contribute substantially to the war effort at the same time as they advanced the ideals of cooperation that Rewi and many others espoused as the hope for China's economic future. ... With Madame Soong Ching Ling (Sun Yatsen's widow) as its leader and Rewi as field secretary, the movement took off, and within two years there were over 3,000 cooperatives scattered through sixteen provinces with more than 300,000 members. It collected money all over the world from people sympathetic to China's struggle against Japanese imperialism."[54]

MERGE: http://www.china.org.cn/ChinaToday/Today/ChinaToday/ct99/99-10/ct99-10e-6.html

> "Rewi Alley, son of a socialist from New Zealand, had come to China earlier than other Westerners. He arrived in Shanghai in 1927 and worked as a supervisor in a fire brigade and then as a chief factory supervisor in the industrial bureau of Shanghai's public concession. Alley also participated in the Marxism study group organized by Smedley. His work gave him a chance to witness the exploitation and maltreatment of child labourers in reeling mills. In April 1938, after Shanghai fell into the hands of the Japanese army, Alley, the Snows, and Chinese friends formed an association for the promotion of industrial cooperatives in Shanghai called "Gonghe," or, the Working Together Movement. Alley hoped Gonghe would improve labour conditions and improve war effort support.
>
> Gonghe developed quickly throughout China. Shoe-making and food, woollen blanket, towel, and absorbent cotton production cooperatives were established. In

> 1939, Rewi Alley established Gonghe in Yan'an; the organization involved both the CPC and the KMT and helped the two groups cooperate during the war."

Halliday says of his time with the CIC:

> "It meant going up to a very remote part of northwest China where there were these little village cooperatives that were a kind of industrial base during the second world war. These were about the only industrial production centres, because all the cities of course had been occupied by the Japanese. They were pretty well defunct by that time, killed off by inflation and civil war and so forth; but about three hundred and fifty of them were still going. They wanted publicity written for them in English in order to collect money in Australia, Britain and New Zealand." (Kress *et al* 1992)

Halliday's job was writing publicity. He travelled around with a young Chinese accountant who helped the cooperatives keep their books. Halliday did this for about six months.[55]

After the war, when Halliday was involved, the CIC was changing emphasis, working to modernise Chinese industry on the one hand, and to provide jobs for Chinese displaced by the war on the other.[56] By this time, Rewi had left the CIC (he was dismissed by Chiang Kaishek's corrupt government in 1942[57]), so Halliday didn't meet him. Much of the western support of the CIC was to fight the Japanese, and thus, after the war was over, funding also dissipated. In 1952, the CIC folded (it reopened in the 1980s however).

1.4 Postgraduate Work in Peking and Canton

Meanwhile, back in Britain, Halliday's undergraduate supervisor Eve Edwards, being unable to contact him, applied for a post-graduate scholarship for him.[58] This was granted.

Halliday received this news while touring villages for the CIC. Halliday was at first uncertain as to whether he should take up the scholarship, or continue his work for the CIC. Eventually he decided that the scholarship represented an opportunity for finding out more about language, and so decided to take it up.[59]

To take up the offer, Halliday had to return to Peking. The problem was that he was in a small northern village, miles from any city. China had been ravaged by the war, and the nationalists and the communists were fighting for the country. Eventually he managed to get a bus, and it took him five days to get to Lanzhou (a major Chinese city), from where he found an aeroplane, which got him into Peking just before the communists occupied the airport. Otherwise, he says, he would never have got back in.[60]

The scholarship was a Scarborough Scholarship for Advanced Study and Research.[61] In Halliday's case, it was tenable for the first two years in China, with subsequent work to be done at the University of London.[62]

Halliday enrolled once again at Peking University. This was rather late in the academic year, around mid-November.[63] He started his postgraduate studies with Luo Changpei (sometimes spelt as Luo Zhuanpei), studying Chinese phonology, lexicography and comparative historical linguistics.[64] Halliday says that Luo Changpei gave him a diachronic perspective on language.[65]

However, Halliday's interests were starting to turn more to synchronic linguistics, especially the area of grammatical variation in modern Chinese dialects.[66] Luo

Changpei thus recommended Halliday to Professor Wang Li, Professor of Linguistics at Lingnan University, Canton.[67]

Wang Li was at this point conducting a survey of modern Chinese dialects in Canton. Halliday worked with him on this survey.[68] He recalls being trained by Wang Li as a dialect field-worker, in 1949-50:

> "[At that time], there were still no tape recorders. We had to transcribe responses directly into IPA script, which was excellent training for my later investigation of child language. Professor Wang was able to acquire a primitive version of the same thing - a wire recorder, but it was not much use, because the wire was always breaking and would end up as a ball of wire wool fit only for scouring a wok." (Halliday 2002a, p7).

Wang Li "had himself been trained in Europe, first of all as a phonetician; he was also very much influenced by Jespersen".[69] He was at the same time a grammarian, a phonologist, a phonetician and a dialectician.[70] Halliday says that Wang Li taught him "a whole range of things", including the tradition of Chinese linguistics. That was his first linguistic training.[71] Under instruction from Wang Li, Halliday worked on Chinese Dialects with informants, recording their language, and studying both the phonology and the grammar, using the underlying theory which Wang Li was developing. Halliday has at various times names Wang Li as one of the major influences on him as a linguist.

In his free time, Halliday studied also European linguistics:

> "At the same time, Halliday was able to pursue his growing interest in grammar and sociolinguistics. He read widely, becoming familiar with the current Russian debates on language as well as with the sociologically oriented approaches of the Prague School." (Hasan & Martin 1989, p1).

Halliday says that he tried to combine his Chinese teachings with Soviet Marxists linguistics (but not very successfully).[72] For this task, he needed to relate the Chinese language to Chinese history and culture. (Soviet linguistics at the time meant the work of N. Y. Marr and his associates). At this time, Halliday also became familiar with the work of Firth, reading papers of his that Wang Li had.

During his time in Lingnan University, Halliday was teaching Chinese students English. He also taught Russian there: the Communists were interested in reading Marxist texts from Russia, and since Halliday had some grasp of the language, he taught a class. So, he found himself teaching Russian in the morning to the Maoists, and English in the afternoon.[73]

Rob Spence, who lived with Halliday's family while completing his thesis in the late 1970s, said that Michael's mother (who was living with them at the time) told him that Michael's first wife was a woman in Military Intelligence. Military Intelligence later told Michael that she was killed in action, as a move to separate the two. In any case, newspaper records show that seems that Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday married Trenchu Wong on 27th August, 1947, in Shanghai (another paper names her as Chunhsin Wong). These may be two parts of the same story, or separate stories. In any case, I have seen no other mention of this first marriage, so it may not have lasted long for whatever reason.

Chapter 3

Cambridge

1 Rejected from UCL

In 1950, after 3 years in China, Halliday returned to Britain, then aged 25. He went to London University to take up his scholarship, intending to enrol in the Department of Linguistics under Firth. His intention was to write his thesis on grammatical variation in the dialectal data he had collected in Canton,[74] dialects from the Pearl River Delta. However, upon arriving, the administration handed him some forms to sign, including a question: "Are you a member of the communist party". He answered "Yes", and was told he could not be accepted at the university (this was at the same time that McCarthyism was on the rise in the States).

Halliday explains:

> "The problem with SOAS was that it was almost like a branch of the Foreign Office, in the sense that that was where all the diplomats were trained, so it was very sensitive politically". (Halliday, My Interview).

Enrolling at Cambridge

On the other hand:

> "Cambridge refused to ask questions of a political nature. When the government tried to push them into checking on the politics of staff and students, they said 'No, we are a university, we don't do that'. Being Cambridge, they could get away with that." (Halliday, My Interview)

So, much to his regret, Halliday applied instead to Cambridge, where he was accepted. His scholarship was not connected to a particular institution, so this could be done. The scholarship was fairly generous, worth over £400 a year, which was a lot in those days. His enrolment started in September 1950.

Further problems plagued Halliday. The Chinese department at Cambridge refused to supervise a thesis on modern Chinese, saying they had no expertise in the subject. He had to revise his thesis topic to study 14th Century colloquial Mandarin, based on a text called "The Secret History of the Mongols".[75]

Note the pattern here – in high school, Halliday was forced to study Classics rather than his own interest, Modern Languages. Again, in Cambridge, he was forced back to studying Classics, which had so frustrated him at school.

Figure 1: Views of Pembroke College:
(a) “Old Court” and (b) the Christopher Wren Chapel

He enrolled in Pembroke College.[76] Cambridge is divided into a number of ‘colleges’, each of which is the ‘spiritual home’ of its students and staff while they are in the university. Students do not necessarily live in their college (and except for first year undergraduate, few do, due to limitations of space). The college is however where the students ate (if they eat on campus), had friends, attended chapel, used their libraries, etc.

Pembroke College was a natural choice for Halliday, as it was then distinguished in Oriental Studies. In addition, Basil Willey, an old friend of his father’s from the First World War, was at that time Professor of English at Cambridge, and he was in Pembroke.

Halliday remembers that the Pembroke dining hall food at that time was so bad that he usually ate off-campus. Also, as he came in as a post-graduate, he made his friends more in his subject area rather than through the college. So his attachment to Pembroke was somewhat loose.[77]

As said above, the topic of his thesis was the language of “The Secret History of the Mongols”, which was a 14th Century text in Mandarin Chinese. At that time, this text was the only long connected text in early colloquial Mandarin.[78] During the 14th Century, the Mongols ruled China. The language of the Civil Service was Mongolian, which the Chinese thus needed to learn. “The Secret History of the Mongols” was thus prepared as a training text, with versions available in both Mongolian and Mandarin.[79] The Mongols chose a colloquial text rather than a literary text, as it was the colloquial spoken language that they wished the Chinese trained in.

The Secret History was about the life and career of Genghis Khan, but also gave extensive detail regarding the daily life, social structures, and tribal customs of the people of Central Asia.[80]

Halliday was appointed a supervisor, Gustav Haloun, who was head of the Chinese Department at the time. He was a Czech, a Philologist of the old school,[81] who Halliday describes as “a lovely man”.

John Rupert (J.R.) Firth was born in 1890 in Skipton, Airedale (Yorkshire). His father was a journalist on the local paper, the Craven Herald. Both his parents died when he was young, so he went to live with his aunt, in Bramley, now part of Leeds (Halliday and Firth were thus fellow Yorkshiremen, and at that time, fellow townsmen). His aunt was the headmistress of Bramley School.

Firth worked firstly in the Department of Phonetics, within University College, London, under Daniel Jones, the famous phonetician (Henderson 2002, p60). In 1944, he was appointed to the first chair of General Linguistics in Britain, within SOAS at the University of London. During the 2nd World War, Firth proposed to the War Office the introduction of a Language Training Unit to train speakers of Asian languages, to aide the war effort. This proposal was instigated in universities around Britain, and particularly in SOAS. Firth himself taught intensive courses in Japanese to military personnel. In 1946, Firth was awarded the Order of the British Empire for his contribution to the war effort.

During his time in SOAS, he established a theoretical school that became know as the "London School of Linguistics". Many of the general linguistic departments which opened up in Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s were headed by his trainees.

Firth retired from SOAS in 1956, but spent 1957 as Visiting Professor at Edinburgh University's newly opened School of Applied Linguistics (under Ian Catford). He lived for a while in Edinburgh in retirement. In 1958, he retired south to XXX, and died there, December 4, 1960. With Firth's passing, the London School was without a head. The next generation of the school were coming into their own, and linguists such as Halliday, R. Robins, Bob Dixon and John Sinclair started to be called "Neo-Firthians". (From Encyclopaedia Britannica entry on Firth, J.R., and My Interview)

CHECK: The following book mentions Gustav Haloun on p208-9: Source: ***MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service***, Stephen Dorril, The Free Press, New York, 2000, pp. 864-907. ISBN 0-7432-0379-8.

Supervision by Firth

Halliday felt that if he was going to be doing this topic which was not his first choice, he really wanted proper guidance on the linguistic side. He had heard enough about Firth (strangely enough from his reading in China, under Wang Li), that he knew he was the supervisor he wanted. Halliday negotiated with Haloun to be allowed to go up to London to study with Firth, who had agreed to take him on for casual supervision.[82]

Unfortunately, Haloun died after Halliday's first year there, in December 1951.[83] At that time, there were no linguists or grammarians at Cambridge, so Edwin (Ted) G. Pulleyblank, then a historian, was appointed to take over Halliday's official supervision.[84] Pulleyblank was a Canadian, only 3 years older than Halliday. He had only just taken his Ph.D. from University of London in 1951, and started in Cambridge Summer of 1953.

Since this was just a formal arrangement (Pulleyblank could not advise Halliday on language issues), Pulleyblank was happy for Halliday to use Firth as supervisor. Halliday regularised the situation by applying to the Board at Cambridge asking if he

could apply to SOAS for linguistic supervision. His application was granted. Halliday also went to see Firth at that time, and asked if he would accept to be his supervisor. Firth also agreed. Firth thus became his official supervisor, although the degree was still in Cambridge.

Halliday commenced a period of frequent travel between Cambridge and London, buying a season ticket on the train. Halliday spent substantial amounts of his time in London, studying with Firth. Firth passed some of the supervision on to his younger colleagues, especially R.H. Robins. Halliday had tutorial sessions with Robins, and Robins set essays for Halliday to write.[85] He also attended lectures by Firth and Robins, and also courses in Phonology given by Eugenie Henderson and by Eileen Whitely, also on Firth's staff.[86]

Robins, Henderson and Whitely all worked in a Firthian framework, although covering different parts of the model. W.S. Allen was also in Firth's department, but Halliday says he didn't attend lectures of his, but probably a seminar or two. However, Allen's written work was later to be a big influence on Halliday's ideas.

Halliday had the opportunity to hear visiting lecturers. He had the opportunity to attend a three lecture course by Louis Hjelmslev, and afterwards was introduced to him briefly.[87]

Eugenie Henderson specialised in ...

Eileen Whitely ...

R.H. Robins ...

W.S. Allen ...

Under Firth's supervision, the approach to his thesis was to analyse the grammar of the Secret History along Firthian lines:

> "My problem then, as it seemed to me, was how to develop system/structure theory so that it became a way of talking about the language of the *Secret History.* Now the text was a corpus - for Firth it was a text and that was fine. That meant it had its own history and had to be contextualised and recontextualised and so forth. It was also closed, in the sense that you couldn't go out and get anymore. This was 14th century Mandarin and that was it. There wasn't any more. So you treated it as it was. I was not yet, of course, aware enough to be able to ask questions about what it meant to consider it just as a text as distinct from considering it as a instance of some underlying system. But I tried to work out the notions of system and structure on the basis of what I read and what I got from Firth in phonology." (Kress Interview)

So, Halliday set himself the task of tackling the grammatical level of the Firthian model. W.S. Allen also was interested in this area, although Halliday had little contact with him during his thesis. Allen's publication on the subject, System & Structure in the Abaza verbal complex (Allen 1956), appears only in 1956, so was not an influence on Halliday's thesis.

Eugenie Henderson was born on 2 October 1914. After leaving school she went to University College, London to read English, where she later studied phonetics under Daniel Jones. Although she specialised in phonetics and phonology, she also made an invaluable contribution to the field of general linguistics, and advanced the study of many South East Asian languages, notably Karen, Khasi, Thai and Chin. Her career at the School of Oriental and African Studies started in 1944, following a short spell working for the Ministry of Economic Welfare during the Second World

War. She taught under Professor Firth, initially teaching Japanese to armed services personnel. She researched the subject of prosodic phonology, a theory advocated by Firth, and published several significant works in this field. She stayed on at SOAS after the end of the War, lecturing in the languages of South East Asia, and became Head of SOAS in 1960. During the six years of her appointment, she furthered the development of the department by introducing the study options of combining language courses with social anthropology or history. In 1966 she was appointed Head of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, during which time she undertook much of her work on prosodic phonology. She became an honorary fellow of the School in 1985 and a Fellow of the British Academy in the following year. She died on 27 July 1989

(from http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2?coll_id=182&inst_id=19)

Applying for Jobs

In 1952, Firth's department advertised a teaching post in Chinese Linguistics. Halliday applied, but didn't get it. Halliday says that it was for purely political reasons that he didn't get that.[88] Firth was politically very right wing, as was SOAS as a whole at that time. After the interview, Halliday and Firth discussed their relative politics, summarised by Halliday as follows:

> "It was after this interview in fact that Firth said: 'Of course you'd label me a bourgeois linguist'. And I said: 'I think you're a Marxist', and he laughed at me. It seemed to me that, in fact, the ways in which Firth was looking at language, putting it in its social context, were in no way in conflict with what seemed to me to be a political approach. So that it seemed to me that in taking what I did from Firth, I was not separating the linguistic from the political. It seemed to me rather that most of his thinking was such that I could see it perfectly compatible with, indeed a rather necessary step towards what I understand as a Marxist linguistics." (Kress Interview)

In late 1953, the Chinese Department in Cambridge advertised an assistant lecturer's post, which Halliday applied for, and he was accepted for the post.[89] The workload was quite heavy (12-14 teaching hours a week), and as a consequence, his freedom to travel to London was restricted. For the rest of his candidature, he had less contact with Firth, so his work started deviating more from Firth's. Halliday believes that if he had been given the job in Firth's department, his thesis would have conformed more closely to Firthian lines.

Submission

Halliday's submission deadline was mid-1954, but he applied for an extension, on the basis of his teaching workload, and the extension was granted, until 31st December 1954. He says that he actually submitted one hour before the office closed on this day, New Year's Eve. [REF]

Halliday was aware that his theory had diverged somewhat from Firthian lines, mainly due to his low level of contact during the last year of writing (because of the teaching). However, Firth was happy to acknowledge that the thesis had been produced under his guidance, and allowed Halliday to dedicate the thesis to him.[90]

The Oral Defence was held in February or March 1955, after which he was awarded his Ph.D.[91]

Firth encouraged Halliday to publish the thesis in the Philological Society publications series, edited by W.S. Allen. Allen, aware that the theory diverged somewhat from Firthian lines, queried Halliday if in fact he had consulted Firth about the dedication, whether Firth minded having his name attached to it. Halliday assured him that Firth had given approval for the dedication.[92]

Halliday comments:

> "[Allen] saw that the thesis did depart in certain ways which he rightly realised that Firth wouldn't have agreed with. So I think all he wanted was to make sure that Firth didn't mind having his name attached to it. But [Firth] wasn't the sort of person that insisted that his students be a replica of himself. But he did want them to understand what he was about." (My Interview)

Towards a Marxist View of Language

When Halliday returned to Britain, he was initially very active in the local Communist Party (in Cambridge). His prime concern was to establish a Britain-China Friendship Association.[93] However, his political activities soon came to clash with his studies, and he had to make a choice. He comments:

> "I had to decide which I was better at, and I thought: 'Well, I don't know. Probably there are more people who can do the political spade-work'. But there's a more important point than that. What worried me at the time was the search for a Marxist linguistics.
>
> There was a lot of things going on at the time. There was the Menist school; there was the Pravda bust-up in 1950; there were current developments in English Marxism and things of this kind. Later on came the New Left, of course. But it seemed to me that any attempts to think politically about language and develop a Marxist linguistics were far too crude. They involved almost closing your eyes to what you actually knew about language in order to say things. My feeling was we should not. Of course the cost of doing this is that you may have to cease to be a Marxist, at least in a sense in which anyone would recognise you as one, in order to go away for fifty years and to really do some work and do some thinking. But you're not really abandoning the political perspective. You're simply saying that in order to think politically about something as complicated as language, you've got to take a lot longer. You've got to do a lot of work. And you've got to run the risk of forgetting that what you are doing is political. Because if you force that too much to the forefront your work will always remain at the surface; it will always be something for which you expect to have an immediate application in terms of struggle. You can't do that in the long run. You're going to pay the price that you may achieve something that's going to be useful for two weeks or two years and then it'll be forgotten."
>
> "I always wanted to see what I was going towards as, in the long run, a Marxist linguistics - towards working on language in the political context. But I felt that, in order to do that, you really had to back off and go far more deeply into the nature of language."

Soon after returning from China, Halliday chanced to meet Jeffrey Ellis, a linguist interested in Slavic languages, and general linguistics. Ellis had gone to SOAS to seek help with some problems he was having with Chinese grammar, and they put him onto

Halliday. Through these discussions, they started working together. In Halliday's words:

> "Jeffrey Ellis was my first track mate in exploring the (to me) unknown terrain of linguistics. Many years ago we wrote an article together, on temporal categories in the Chinese verb, which would have been my first academic publication. But the journal editor who had accepted it died suddenly, and it was rejected by his successor and so never appeared." (Halliday 1985, p4).

This paper was written in 1951, early in Halliday's time at Cambridge.[94]

They also started talking politics. Halliday was already in the Communist Party of Great Britain then, as was Ellis. Ellis told Halliday that the party had a Linguistics Group, who met regularly, explored a Marxist view on language, discussing issues of Soviet linguistics, etc. Halliday started going to these meetings. Others in the group included (apart from Ellis): Dennis Berg, Trevor Hill, Jean Ure, Peter Wexler, and Robert Davies.[95] The group were:

> "...trying to understand and build up a theory of language which would be giving value to languages and language varieties which at that time were not valued either politically or academically: so, non-standard dialects, spoken as opposed to written language, unwritten languages, colonial languages, some of which were struggling to become national languages, and languages of the lower social classes – all the varieties of language whose value had not formed the basis of linguistic theory. We were trying to bring these in, working for example on the emergence of national languages in ex-colonies. That's where the theory of register became important." (Hernández 2000, p234).

The groups itself was just a group of people, from anywhere, who met in someone's house, anywhere they could get together.[96] The core of the group were linguists, but other party members who might have been philosophers, historians, etc. would sometimes come along. [97]

Halliday says that it was discussions within this group which laid the foundations of Register theory. The group long debated the best term to refer to functional varieties of language, and the group eventually settled on the term 'register', borrowed from T.B.W Reid, a professor of Romance Philology at Oxford. Halliday attributes the drive behind the development of the concept of register to Jean Ure.[98] Jeffrey Ellis and Jean Ure later wrote key papers in the subject, as did Halliday himself.[99]

Commented [M1]: I cant find any evidence of this

Through Ellis, Halliday got to know Denis Berg, who he says "worked on 'conceptual-function grammar' when no one else would hear of it".[100] EXPLORE: Halliday told me he studied Conceptual-Functional Grammar in the 50s. ASK

Halliday says he learnt much about socio-linguistics from Trevor Hill.[101] FILL

Peter Wexler (who passed away in 2002), was of similar age to Halliday, and also went through Cambridge, possibly overlapping with him. Peter was a card-carrying communist until in 1956, with the Soviet invasion of Hungary, he tore up his card (as did many others). When in 1965 he went to the Cornell University in the States to take up a teaching position, he was asked: question 'Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?' He answered yes, and was promptly sent back to Britain (although he did eventually get back to Cornell with a highly restricted visa).[102]

Halliday said he gave up his CP membership soon after the invasion of Hungary, not because of the invasion per se, but rather because of the party's failure to condemn or even to properly discuss condemning Russia's invasion of Hungary.[103]

Linguistics Association of Great Britain

Later in the 50s, Ellis had a position at Hull, and he started a group called the “Hull Linguistic Circle”. Initially, the idea was to bring together those professors at Hull with an interest in linguistics, scattered over several departments. Gradually, they started inviting people from other universities.[104] They started meeting regularly (twice yearly), at Hull University. Halliday described these as “intensive weekend discussions”.[105] Some of the attendees were members of the Linguistics Group of the CP, but there was no formal connection between the groups.[106] Halliday attended the meetings, as did Dennis Berg and Peter Wexler.

Firth attended one meeting as a guest, and strongly suggested that the circle should become a national institution.[107] In 1959, the group was formalised, initially as the Language Association (GB), with Jeffrey Ellis as the first president.[108] This first meeting took place at University College, London, in 1959.[109] At first, there were two weekend meetings per year, both during term time; by 1963, one was in the Easter break and the other was in November. At first the meetings were tied geographically to Hull, under Jeff Ellis's presidency (1959-62), but from 1962 Neville E. Collinge, an early attendee at the Hull Circle, became president, and one meeting per year was held elsewhere and after 1964 the principle of choosing a different university for each meeting was established.

The original orientation of the LAGB was quite socio-functional, but increasingly transformationalists joined in, and at some point, the TGers took over and changed the direction of the association in the Sixties.[110]

Cambridge - Post Ph.D.

After completing his Ph.D. in 1955, Halliday continued at Cambridge in his assistant lectureship, teaching Chinese language. However, at this point, he was starting to turn more to linguistics, as his research and publications show. One of Halliday's first 'linguistic' publication was the 1957 paper: 'Some Aspects of Systematic Description and Comparison in Grammatical Analysis'. This paper was clearly strongly influenced by Firth.[111]

Cambridge Language Research Unit

Apart from teaching Chinese, Halliday was working with the *Cambridge Language Research Unit* (CLRU), who were then focusing on mechanical translation. The CLRU:

> “was not part of the University at all and housed an extraordinary collection of eccentrics. It survived, in a way that would now seem almost miraculous, on the instincts and energy of Margaret Masterman its Director (MMB), and the grants she extracted from the UK and US governments and later the EEC Commission.” (Wilks 1995)

Halliday worked mainly with Margaret Masterman, the unit Director, and Arthur Frederick Parker Rhodes, a researcher there.

[Halliday says there is a French work outlining this project in detail]

In 1956, Halliday was working on a project involving 'NUDE', directed by Masterman:

> "NUDE was a semi-formal language (from 'naked ideas') based on ideas first set out by R.H. Richens, a biologist interested in plant classification. It had about eighty primitive items, Anglo-Saxon monosyllables for the most part (like FOLK, STUFF, MAN, THING), along with brackets and connectives. The idea was to use NUDE formulae to describe the meaning of sentences in a way that was formal, removed from English or any other natural language, but which could be used by a program to, say, translate from one language to another by means of an intermediate language, or interlingua, such as NUDE. Although eccentric, NUDE came to look strikingly like the languages for semantic coding derived much later by linguists for meaning representation (e.g. Jackendoff, 1990)." (Wilks 1995)

WJ Hutchins describes the work in NUDE as follows:

> "It started from the basic distinction between lexical items (stems) and grammatical 'operators' (e.g. endings or function words). Lexical items were to be transferred via a crude interlingual dictionary of 'naked ideas' (Nude), semantic elements structured as a thesaurus. The operators were also to be analysed into interlingual functional categories, e.g. 'used to indicate past time', 'used to indicate inanimate objects'. (Hutchins 1986)

Hutchins attributes "some of this research" to Halliday citing Halliday's 1956 publication on Mechanical Translation.

Given that this project involved working with hierarchical organisation of semantic categories, it occurred to me that Halliday might have been influenced by this project in the development of system networks. However, when I put this to him, his reply was:

> "The idea of system network as I remember working on it, was essentially taking seriously the paradigmatic project that was implicit in the Firthian (and also Helmslevian) interpretation of post-Saussurian linguistics. I say post-Saussure because Firth himself, while acknowledging Saussure, also didn't go with a lot of Saussure's ideas, but he was seen in Europe at that time in a true sense as following up Saussure.
>
> What Firth took very seriously, unlike other groups previously, was the paradigmatic component in the project, so his system-structure theory (he didn't use that term, but that is what it was) gave as much priority to system as to structure description. So I was taking *that* seriously in the contexts of a lot of interests of my own. NUDE was in fact one, but it was one that I was never able to persuade anyone else on. I used to say that what you are doing here potentially is modelling the system, and that's what you need to work with in Machine Translation. But I never convinced anyone of that. They were all high up on structure. Frederick's lattice model [the taxonomy used in NUDE] was a model of structure, not of system, so I don't think much of my system thinking came out of that at all, it came out of my attempt to develop further Firth, first of all in writing a Chinese grammar, and also particularly W.S. Allen's Abaza Verbal Complex, a brilliant paper." (Halliday, My Interview)

Parker Rhodes and Halliday seemed to have had substantial interaction, influencing each other. Yorick Wilks, later famous in Linguistics and Natural Language processing, describes Parker Rhodes as follows:

> "Arthur Frederick Parker Rhodes (AFPR from now on: his colleagues and he all referred to each other by initials at the period I am writing about) was a paradoxical man: never in very good health, he nevertheless dressed as a countryman in Cambridge and walked his collie Shep miles to work every day and back. One says work, but life at the Cambridge Language Research Unit (CLRU) was not like other occupations: as a research student one did not know everything that went on, but we were all pretty sure that, when grant money was short, AFPR was not paid because he was considered to have private means. Later, one learned that, as Communist Party members earlier in their lives, AFPR and Damaris, his wife, had been under constant pressure to hand over their money to the Party, but somehow they never had." (Wilks 1995)

Wilks notes Halliday's influence on Parker Rhodes:

> "Michael Halliday, then a lecturer in Chinese at the University and later the major British linguist, introduced AFPR to that language and the notions of formal linguistic syntax, particularly its central notion, present in virtually all syntactic theories, of the way linear items cohere to form longer ones, based on an underlying principle of the substitutability of shorter items for each other, so that some class of larger, including, items remains unchanged with respect to some property, such as "well-formedness". (Wilks 1995)

The cooperation between Halliday and Parker Rhodes continued into the Sixties: in the early Sixties, Parker Rhodes developed a method for syntactic parsing based on Michael Halliday's grammatical theories. Yorick Wilks was given the task of programming it, which he attempted on a Hollerith punch card machine in about 1962-3. Yorick Wilks comments:

> "[AFPR's] method was to map Halliday's syntactic constituents for a sentence, and their inclusion relations, onto some elementary Boolean lattice and then to attempt to determine the correct parsing by lattice operations. In fact, the punch card machine was a clumsy but perfect engine for the purpose because the computation involved none of the elaborate binary codings common at that time: the physical overlap of punched holes from card to card determined the set intersection relations and the results could have been read by eye." (Wilks 1995)

Richard Richens' ideas formed the centre of NUDE. Halliday describes him as follows:

> "One of the members of the Cambridge Language Research Unit, a founder member, was Richard Richens – Dick Richens. Now, Richens was a plant geneticist. He was a brilliant linguist in the sense that he could read around 26 languages. Quite fluently, but he couldn't speak any of them, but he just controlled the written languages, just fine. So he was, along with Margaret, Frederick and myself, a founding member of that unit." (Halliday, My Interview).

MERGE: Kress Interview: " I had another interest in it which is that I felt that machine translation had an important political role to play. There were lots of cultures around the world where people were beginning to be educated in a mother tongue and if you could possibly have a machine to translate a lot of text books at least it would help the process."

Teaching Chinese to Fellow Academics

Apart from teaching students, Halliday started a class to teach university staff Chinese, which included Arthur Frederick Parker Rhodes

> “I taught Chinese voluntarily to a group of Cambridge academics for quite a long time. They were mixed from different fields: geneticists, Frederick Parker Rhodes was a mathematician and botanist, one was a philosopher, and so on. There was a group of, initially, around 12. The class of course got smaller, people just don’t have the time to spend studying when they are full time academics. Unfortunately they don’t have the time it takes to learn another language from scratch very often, but some got quite a long way, and of all of them, Frederick was the one who really took command of it. An I think if you get 1 out of 12 in that situation, its not too bad.” (Halliday, My Interview)

Chapter 4

Edinburgh University

An invitation to Edinburgh

Up to the 50s, there were few Linguistics departments in Britain. Prior to 1957, Edinburgh University did not have a Department of General Linguistics, although they did have a Department of English Language (under Angus McIntosh), and a Department of Phonetics (under David Abercrombie).

During the 1950, there was a growing perception of the need for a separate discipline of Linguistics, to deal with language patterns above phonetics. In response to this need, in 1958, Edinburgh University renamed McIntosh's department as 'the Department of English Language and General Linguistics'.

(As an aside, Angus McIntosh was rumoured to be partially responsible for the writing of Tolkien's Lord of the Rings: "he is said to have thrashed JRR Tolkien at squash, confining him to his rooms with an ankle injury. Thus marooned, Tolkien started sketching out ideas for The Hobbit and The Lord of the Rings".[112])

To teach the new courses in Linguistics, McIntosh approached Halliday, offering him a post as Lecturer in General Linguistics, a new post created that year.[113] Halliday accepted the post. In Cambridge, he was only assistant lecturer, and that in teaching Chinese. The new post was a full lectureship, and gave him scope to teach linguistics for the first time. He never taught a language again.

So, in September 1958, Halliday moved up to Edinburgh and began teaching. He taught undergraduate courses in introductory linguistics and stylistics, and taught English Grammar in the School of Applied Linguistics.[114] In his second year, the department started its own Postgraduate Diploma in General Linguistics, and Halliday was largely responsible for this.[115] In 1960, Halliday was promoted to Reader (a position between senior lecturer and professor).

SEE p122 in Linguistics in Britain: Good summary of what he tried to teach.

Edinburgh at that time (as it still is) was a stimulating environment for language research. Other teachers in Edinburgh at the time included David Abercrombie (Chair of the Phonetics department), Peter Strevens (Professor of English Language), Ian Catford (sometimes called J.C. Catford, Head of the School of Applied Linguistics), Beth Ingram (a psychologist in the School of Applied Linguistics), and Ronald Mackin.[116]

Halliday greatly admired the teaching skills of Abercrombie, saying later that Abercrombie "showed me how to teach linguistics. He provided a model of how it should be done".[117] CHECK WORDING

Halliday also supervised several Ph.D. students at this time. For instance, he supervised John Sinclair[118] (later director of the CoBuild corpus), and Rodney Huddleston (later a famous linguist in his own right).[119] They both became teaching staff in the department eventually. Jeff Ellis was also in the department.

Figure: Halliday in the 1960s

Working with Schools

It was while Halliday was in Edinburgh that his involvement with what was to become Educational Linguistics began. Edinburgh University ...

> "... was a Scottish university in which a much higher proportion of the students went out into school teaching than was typically the case at that time in England, where there was a much sharper distinction between teacher education and university studies. So our department, headed by Angus McIntosh, frequently had visits from former students who had gone out into school teaching, and Angus would invite them back to talk about their experiences: what they felt they had gained from their English degree, and what they hadn't gained, what they felt they needed when they got up to teach in front of the class which they simply hadn't had in their courses. So we learned an awful lot in a very short time (at least I did!) from finding out what the teacher needed to know." (Halliday and Hasan 2007, pXXX).

The group of Linguists at Edinburgh started to work together with teachers in Scottish schools with the idea of seeing how ideas from linguistics could help in language education in schools. This work involved not only McIntosh and Halliday, but also Ian Catford (head of the School of Applied Linguistics), Ken Albrow (from the Department of Phonetics), John Sinclair (just starting a Ph.D. in Halliday's department) and Peter Stone.

A number of schools around Edinburgh were interested, and thus each of the group met up with several groups of teachers in different schools. Typically, these meetings would take place every two weeks, on a Saturday morning, the teachers giving up their own time for the this.

Then one of the schools in Glasgow, Jordanhill College, asked to participate. Halliday volunteered to take this group, he says because he felt an affinity for Glasgow because, being a big industrial city, it reminded him of Leeds. He worked with Bill Currie and one or two other language educators at the school. Halliday says:

> "It was a very bright group there. They brought together on Saturday mornings a group of Glasgow teachers, and we worked together on issues like linguistics and language education (although at that time the term 'language education' didn't exist, so it was either linguistics and English teaching, or more generally linguistics and language teaching). This gave me my first real contact with teachers, so that I was a learner in the sense of actually finding out what went on in the classroom, or what kind of demands they felt they needed to make on linguists and on linguistics."

To a large degree, what these groups were trying to uncover was, which parts of the linguistic training given to teachers within the University were actually useful in the classroom: what worked and what didn't work.

The importance of these meetings cannot be understated: Halliday spent most of the rest of his academic career trying to develop a linguistics that would be useful within language education. The transformation of his theoretical "Scale and Category Grammar" into his "Systemic Functional Grammar" was largely driven by the need to provide a grammar which was of use in the classroom.

English as a Second Language

Just before Halliday started at Edinburgh, a School of Applied Linguistics was established:

> "The British Council had, ever since the war, together with the Foreign Office, been much concerned with the quality and organisation of the teaching of English as a second language in overseas countries. It had become gradually apparent to them that there was a level of knowledge and expertise in the development of teaching programmes and materials and in the preparation of English teachers for which no adequate training programmes existed in British universities. Clearly, a component in this knowledge and expertise was linguistic. Linguistics was known to be well-established in Edinburgh at the post-graduate level. Consequently, approaches were made by the British Council and the Foreign Office to the Principal of the University to explore the possibility of the University providing facilities for advanced training and research into the teaching of English as a second language. … It was decided to use the name: 'School of Applied Linguistics', with the subtitle 'Research and Training in the Teaching of English as a Second Language'. (Pit Corder quoted in Davies 2007, p116)

The school was established in 1956, with Ian Catford[120] as Director. Courses started in 1957, the school offering only postgraduate courses, the 'Diploma in Applied Linguistics'. The British Council sent their own staff for training, but also awarded generous scholarships to promising candidates around the world.

Teaching staff hired by Catford included Ronald Mackin, David Abercrombie, Lindsay Criper, and Beth Ingram (who worked on psychology of language).[121]

Catford also invited Firth to teach during the first year (1957) as a "Visiting Professor". Firth had just retired from SOAS in London. Halliday, who was still in Cambridge at that time, remembers coming up to visit Firth, and heard some of his lectures. In particular, he remembers a brilliant lecture on the Merchant of Venice, a linguistic analysis of the character of Shylock. [122]

Halliday's own position in Edinburgh started the academic year after Firth's visiting year. Halliday took over some of Firth's classes (even though Halliday was not in the School of Applied Linguistics – Edinburgh has always been flexible in this regard).

When Halliday started teaching courses in the E.S.L. area, he looked for resources to help him. He went to Beth Ingram for help:

> "And I said to her: 'Can you give me a bibliography on the psychology of second language learning?' And she handed me a blank piece of paper." (Kress et al 19xx)

Halliday taught classes in the School for several years. One of the students of these classes, Leopoldo Wigdorsky Vogelsang, a student in 1960-61, described a typical class as consisting of around 20 students from a range of countries including Argentina, Chile, Ghana, India, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, Yugoslavia, U.S.A, and 6 or so British Students (possibly British Council staff).[123] This class included Braj Kachru from India, who later became famous through his work on "World Englishes", the study of colonial variants of English which were becoming national languages. Rodney Huddleston was also in the class, although enrolled for a Ph.D. in the Department of English and General Linguistics.

The class also contained a student from Pakistan, Ruqaiya Hasan, who was later to become his wife. According to Wigdorsky, there was no indication whatsoever that anything akin to a romance was going to develop between Halliday and Hasan.

Hasan was born in India. She took her B.A. in English Literature, Education, and History at Allahabad University in Northern India.[124] In 1954, she migrated to Pakistan, where she completed her M.A. in English Literature at the University of Punjab, 1958. Two years later, she was offered a British Council scholarship for the postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh.

Apart from teaching, Halliday also supervised the work of several of the Diploma students. For instance, he took over the supervision of Braj Kachru from Firth.

Ruqaiya Hasan was born in India. She attended Allahabad University for her B.A. in English Literature, Education, and History In 1954, she migrated to Pakistan, where she completed her M.A. in English Literature at the University of Punjab, 1958. Two years later, she migrated to Britain. She enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the University of Edinburgh Linguistics Department, and Halliday was one of her teachers there. . (from Halliday & Hasan 1989 "About the Authors")

Intonation

From Kress Interview

> "I first started intervening myself when David Abercrombie said to me, 'Will you teach on my summer school, the British Council Summer School for the Phonetics of English for Foreign Students' This was in 1959. And I said: 'Certainly. What do you want me to teach?' He said 'Well, you know Chinese. Teach intonation'. I knew nothing about English intonation, so I started studying it, trying to describe English

in such a way that the description was useful to those who were going to be working on language in the classroom, in an educational context."

This lead to:

- Halliday, M A K 1967 *Intonation and Grammar in British English.* The Hague: Mouton;
- Halliday, M A K 1970 *A Course in Spoken English: intonation.* London: Oxford University Press.

Categories of the Theory of Syntax

During his time in Edinburgh, Halliday started setting out formally his ideas of grammatical structure. Much of the previous work in the Firthian tradition had been applied to phonology, and Halliday's own work had been in applying Firth's model to the grammar.

First draft of paper presented at a conference.

Influenced by W.S. Allen's paper.

Halliday says that his idea for a systemic approach...

> "... came out of my attempt to develop further Firth, first of all in writing a Chinese grammar, and also particularly W.S. Allen's Abaza Verbal Complex, a brilliant paper. Firth of course never developed the grammar project himself. And when it got taken over from phonology into grammar, I found it necessary to transform it very much. For several reasons, but partially, it was simply that the analogies hold up to a point, but grammar is not like phonology." (Halliday, My Interview)

Halliday completed his draft of "Categories" late in 1960, and was keen to discuss it with Firth, as, according to Webster (Webster 2002, p 18), because the paper's theoretical approach diverged from that of Firth. However, this was not to be, as shown in a footnote to the eventually published paper:

> "Professor Firth died on 4 December 1960. I had just completed this paper and was planning to show it to him on the following day. Although he had not seen it and was in no way directly responsible for any of the opinions formulated here, the influence of his teaching and of his great scholarship will, I hope, be clearly apparent." (Halliday 1961/2002a, footnote 4, p 73).

With Firth's passing, the London School was without a head. The next generation of the school were coming into their own, and linguists such as Halliday, R.H. Robins, Bob Dixon and John Sinclair started to be called "Neo-Firthians".

MERGE:

Halliday gave a series of 4 lectures as part of the Summer Vacation Course for Teachers of French, at the University of Bresaçon, August 1960 (From Patterns of Language).

Georgetown Round Table: "Syntax & the Consumer"

During 1962, Halliday started working on "Syntax and the consumer", a response to the growing tide of Chomskyanism, and in particular, the attitude that the only valid linguistic work was psycholinguistic. In the Summer of 1963, Halliday travelled to the States to present this paper at the Georgetown University *Round Table Meeting on*

Linguistics and Language Teaching. Halliday argued that the value of a theory can only be measured in relation to the problems it attempts to answer. He argued that while Chomskyan grammar at that time focused on "what the native speaker knows of his language", Scale & Category grammar was focused on "what he does with it". Applications of interest were first and second language learning, educational research and sociological and anthropological research.

The paper was met with a somewhat negative reaction by the Chomskyans, and Halliday rarely again attempted to address the difference between the theories, choosing instead to develop his own approach, rather than spending time trying to persuade those who were going down a different path. {CHECK JAPANESE INTERVIEW HERE} Halliday even says that he "was taken to task for suggesting that there might be more than one way of modelling and describing a language."[125]

CHECK ALSO: KRESS INTERVIEW "I have always thought of language, the language system, as essentially probabilistic. You have no idea how that has been characterised as absolutely absurd, and publicly ridiculed by Chomsky in that famous lecture in 1964". WHICH LECTURE WAS THIS, and was it a direct attach on Halliday? Was it a response to Halliday at Georgetown?

The meeting was not a total loss, as Halliday made some valuable connections. One important connection was meeting up with Sydney Lamb. Halliday comments on this meeting:

> "I came to know Sydney Lamb; at our first talk, in a Georgetown bar masquerading as a pub, where we drank the beer from his home state, it became obvious that our ideas were compatible, and we have maintained the intertranslatability of systemic and stratificational theory ever since. He reawakened my interest in the computer as a research tool in linguistics, which had been aroused when I had worked with Margaret Masterman and Frederick Parker-Rhodes in the Cambridge Language Research Unit in the late fifties. Sydney Lamb was the first to show that it is possible to make grammar explicit and computable without discarding the achievements of descriptive linguistics and the understanding of language that grew out of them." (Halliday 1985, p4-5)
>
> Halliday and Lamb continued to collaborate for several years after this.[126]

MERGE: Turner/Collins Interview: "About the mid-1960;s, when I wrote papers like 'Some notes on "deep" grammar' and 'Syntax and the consumer', I really did try to make contact with the mainstream. And the reaction was just: "Keep out!" I think if I'd been in the United States, I would have got out. I think it was only the luxury of not being in America that made it possible to survive, because so many good people in America were driven out: they just left the field. The work which should have been done, for example, on native American languages was dropped for a whole decade or more. It was quite discouraging; but, as I say, the Atlantic was between us, so it wasn't quite that bad." p138

The "Laundry Card Grammars"

Halliday spent much of his last months in Edinburgh writing his first scale and category grammars. In those days, shirts returned from Edinburgh laundries contained a cardboard insert, which were ideal for this task. He has referred to these early grammars as 'Laundry Card Grammars'.[127]

Leaving Edinburgh

Halliday finished in Edinburgh at the end of the academic year of 2002-2003. In the new year, things changed with McIntosh's Department of English Language and General Linguistics being split into two. McIntosh remained as Head of English Language, while John Lyons became head of the new Department of General Linguistics.

Three of the teachers in the old department went into Lyon's new department: Jeff Ellis (the old friend of Halliday), and Rodney Huddleston, and John Sinclair, who had been doctoral students of Halliday. However, all three left after the first year, to take up posts elsewhere.(Huddleston followed Halliday to London to work on a research project).

The School of Applied Linguistics also changed in 1964, becoming a department, and Pitt Corder replaced Ian Catford as head.

Chapter 5

University College London

2 Director of the Communication Research Centre

In 1953, Hugh Smith and Randolph Quirk had instituted a centre for interdisciplinary language research, called the Communications Research Centre (CRC), within the University College London (UCL).

In 1963, Quirk offered Halliday the position of Director of the centre, which he accepted. The primary role of the CRC was research (see below), although courses were taught there as well, some taught by Halliday himself. J. C. Wells, the famous British linguist, was one of the students:

> "In 1963 Michael Halliday set up a linguistics department at UCL. Like Dick Hudson and Neil Smith, I attended his course on the grammar of English, and found much to admire in his approach, particularly in the way he was able to integrate intonation into the description of clause structure." (Wells 2002).

?? BUT THIS IS department in 1963 – is he wrong.

Chair of Department of General Linguistics

In 1965, a new Department of General Linguistics was set up at UCL, with Halliday appointed as its founding Chair.[128] His was responsible for building up the department and program. He was now 'Professor' Halliday.

Halliday maintained his position as directory of the CRC, which was incorporated into his new department. According to Halliday (Intro to 'Language in Use'), the CRC was "the base for the Department's outside research and other activities".

Research projects

2.1 The Nuffield Project

Halliday was brought to the CRC with the specific task of continuing the work begun in Scotland: developing work in language education together with teachers, this time in the London area.

The research carried out at the CRC focussed on English linguistics and in the teaching of English as a mother tongue. Halliday directed two projects there:

- the Nuffield/Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching (1964-1970)[129], where he was the director from its inception until it ended at the end of 1970. This project produced 'Breakthrough to Literacy' and 'Language in Use';

The Nuffield project involved "teachers and linguists coming together to work on the problem of the more effective teaching of the mother tongue in schools". (Intro to 'Language in Use') It was part of "a period of thinking, talking and reading in all kinds of subjects, followed by two rounds of trials in a variety of schools (extending over the

age range 11-18), in Colleges of' Further Education, and in Colleges of Education. Halliday comments:

> "Peter Doughty was in it from the beginning, and has taken the major responsibility for the direction of the work at secondary level. John Pearce and Geoffrey Thornton have been his colleagues since the project entered its development stage under the Schools Council (1967). These three are the authors of the present volume, They were assisted during the preparation and trial of the materials by Kathleen Wood, who was simultaneously working on materials for the 'middle school' age range; and by Stephen Lushington, who also took special responsibility for an important and rather unexpected development, the use of the materials in Approved Schools."

2.2 The OSTI Programme in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English

The CRC was also the host of another project called the "OSTI Programme in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English". Halliday was the director of the project, but he left the running of the project to Rodney Huddleston. Huddleston had been a doctoral student under Halliday at the University of Edinburgh.

Others on the project included Eugene Winter (linguists) and Alec Henrici (a programmer). This project was important because it involved an extensive development of Systemic Functional Grammar. Hudson developed a fairly elaborate grammar of English clauses, (see Hudson 1971), which CHECK used explicit system networks and realisation rules.

Huddleston was a proponent of Systemic Grammar in his early days, but gradually moved away from it. His 19xx book used system networks, but with a transformational basis (systems closer to the root of the network established an unmarked structure, while marked choices in sub-systems applied transformations to this base structure. Huddleston also made the earliest proposals to clause complexing within SFL.

However, a series of articles by Huddleston in the late 1980s were very critical of SFL, particularly in regards to Halliday's own approach to clause complexing.

From Halliday & Hasan 2007:

> "We had one other project going on which was not directly related specifically to education, but was related in the sense that it was designed to develop the grammar as a resource for text analysis and this was the program into the linguistic properties of scientific English. Rodney Huddleston was in charge of that team, which included himself, Dick Hudson, Eugene Winter, and a computer programmer (because we then started getting the computer into the picture in order to test our grammars and so on), Alec Henrici. They produced a long text, *Sentence & Clause in Scientific English*, which was the result of their analysis of a very large body of data in 9 different "cells", kinds of scientific English, 3 levels by 3 scientific subjects."

From Swales:

> "In the middle 1960s the British Government's Office of Scientific and Technical Information funded a research project into the linguistic properties of scientific English. The project was carried out between 1964 and 1967 at University College London. It was undertaken by three linguists and a computer programmer, and all

three of the linguists involved, Rodney Huddleston, Richard Hudson and Eugene Winter, would go on to be important figures in their chosen linguistic fields, Huddleston and Hudson as syntacticians, Winter as a pioneering discourse analyst."

"The final 1968 report was entitled Sentence and Clause in Scientific English but was only produced in a few mimeographed copies. There used to be one copy in the archives of the British Council library at its London headquarters, but where it is now, or whether it has survived the vicissitudes of the British Council library policy, I do not know. (There may be a copy lodged at the UK National Lending Library for Science and Technology (or its successor) under the rubric of O.S.T.I Report No. 5030.)"

Another project: the OSTI Programme in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English.[130] Here he worked with, among others, A. Henrici, who produced one of the earliest accounts of a system network, and how it could be use to generate sentences (see: Henrici (1965)), and Dick Hudson, who developed a detailed grammar of English (see Hudson 1971).

MERGE: KRESS: Then in the late sixties I came back again with the project on the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English that Rodney Huddleston and Dick Hudson, Eugene Winter and Alec Henrici[131] were working on. Henrici was the programmer and at that time we used the machine to do one or two things in systemic theory. For example he had a program for generating paradigms from a network. So you could test out a network that way. And he could even run little realisations through it. But again there were tremendous limits in the technology. At that time I started being interested in generalising and parsing programs. I wanted to test the theory and of course, I was responding to external pressure. At that time in the sixties unless you could show that your theory was totally formalisable it was of no interest and I was responding to these pressures. This was why I was interested in Henrici actually generalising clauses by the computer.

Huddleston (email correspondense) confirms that he was the Team Leader, directing Hudson, Henrici, and Winter. Halliday was Director of the project, at least on paper, and that the project was lodged in the CRC. Halliday was his doctoral supervisor in Edinburgh. The project proposal was initiated by Halliday, and written by Halliday.

The preface to the report of the research project 'The Linguistic Properties of Scientific English' contains the following acknowledgement:

"We would like to acknowledge our deep indebtedness to Professor M.A.K. Halliday, the Director - and initiator - of the project. The systemic model which provides the classificatory framework for much of the description is due primarily to him, and we have also benefited from discussions with him and from his unpublished lecture material on English grammar. Nevertheless, the authors alone, of course, are responsible for the views expressed in the report; the table of contents indicates who has the main responsibility for the various sections of the report, though a good deal of the earlier work on which they are based was done jointly."

Huddleston comments:

> "Discussions with Halliday were concerned with development of the theoretical model and its application to English in general rather than to scientific English in particular, and mostly involved myself and/or Hudson rather than the research team as a whole. The previously unpublished papers by myself, Hudson and Henrici in Halliday & Martin's 1981 'Readings in Systemic Linguistics' were written during the project and benefited from such discussions."

The rise of Chomskyan Linguistics

During these days, Chomskyan linguistics was rising to the fore:

> "Chomsky's work quickly became a new establishment, and in many ways a rather brutal establishment actually. At University College, London one great problem was whether it was fair on students to give them anything except establishment transformation theory because they wouldn't get a job. Now it was not as bad in England as it was in the United States, where the whole thing was polarised much more. But I certainly found it difficult in the sense that there was a lot of excitement generated in the early sixties, in relation to applications of linguistics in the School of Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh, and one or two other centres. Then this tidal wave of Chomskyan linguistics washed over the United States and then England and other places. It became a very rigid establishment using all the tactics that one expects: those of ridiculing the opposition, setting up a straw man in order to knock them down and so on. "Why didn't I sort of fall in with it?" Because I found it in every way quite unacceptable. I thought that intellectually it was unacceptable.
>
> The way the goals of linguistics were defined at the time, the notions embodied in all the slogans that were around, 'competence' and 'performance' and things of this kind, I just found quite unacceptable. Intellectually I thought they were simply misguided and in practical terms I thought they were no use. So that I thought that if one is really interested in developing a linguistics that has social and educational and other relevance that wasn't going to help. We just had to keep going and hope that it would wash over and we should be able to get people listening again to the kind of linguistics I thought was relevant." (Kress Interview)

The LAGB also was changing from an initial group where the old CPGB was the core, to one where Chomskyans were in control. Times were difficult for the old guard.

Huddleston (email correspondence) says that:

> "for a period within the time of the [OSTI] project, some of the staff of the Dept of General Linguistics (including, for example, Bob Dixon and myself) met regularly with Halliday to discuss Chomsky's `Aspect of the Theory of Syntax'."

USA 1966

In the Autumn of 1966, Halliday travelled to the US to work with Sydney Lamb at Yale. Ruqaiya was working nearby at Berkeley, and soon after came to Yale and also worked on a project under Lamb.

Halliday and Hasan got married at about this point, in Oakland, California.[132]

WAS THIS THE SAME TRIP AS THAT FOR Linguistic Society of America's Summer Linguistic Institutes, 1966 (UCLA).

Bernstein & the Sociological Unit

While in Edinburgh, Halliday had read some of the early writings of Basil Bernstein, on issues relating to education failure in the classroom. Halliday, impressed by this work, invited Bernstein to give a talk (in 1961).[133] Thus began their academic cooperation, and also their personal friendship.

In 1962, Bernstein established the Sociological Research Unit at the University of London Institute of Education, exploring sociological factors in education failure, with a focus on language. In 1965, Halliday's department was running a seminar series, and, given the relatedness of the research of both groups (and also the physical closeness of the departments), Bernstein and members of his group were frequent attendees of the seminar series.[134] This strengthened the relationship, In 1967, Ruqaiya Hasan, now married to Halliday, became a researcher within Bernstein's group, analysing a corpus of children's writings. The interaction between Halliday's and Bernstein's groups were thus strong.

To some extent, the group were using Halliday's grammar with Bernstein's social theory. Apart from Ruqaiya, the group included Geoffrey Turner (whose work on socio-semantic networks is a strong influence within Systemic Linguistics), and Bernie Mohan (now in Canada).

SEE HERNANDEZ ON THIS VERY GOOD p237-9

After the Nuffield project, and a stint in the States, Ruqaiya Hasan began working took work on a project run by Basil Bernstein, head of the . The Unit's offices were close to Halliday's department, so contact was high. This was around 1967-68.

In the later Sixties, Halliday was also starting to work with Basil Bernstein, Head of the Sociological Research Unit (part of the University of London Institute of Education), and also with James Britton, also at University of London Institute of Education.[135]

Hasan worked with Bernstein around 67-68. Halliday did not work with him but our departments were very nearby and we (i.e. Halliday's department at UCL where I was a research fellow) had a seminar series which basil and his linguist researchers used to attend (this would be 65-66). this is where our friendship started and it kept on growing

Bernstein, Basil (from http://k1.ioe.ac.uk/library/archives/bb.html)

Biographical history: Basil Bernstein (1924-2000) was educated at Christ's College, Finchley, London. After War Service in the RAF, he went on to study Sociology at the London School of Economics, graduating in 1951. Meanwhile he also undertook social work, being a resident Settlement worker at the Bernard Baron Settlement, Berner Street, Stepney, London from 1947-1949 where he undertook family case work, youth club work, community organisation and participated in 'delinquent camps'. He went on to train as a teacher at Westminster Training College (1953-1954) and then taught a range of subjects at the City Day College, Golden Lane (1954-1960), becoming a Research Assistant at the University College London (1960-1963) and obtaining a PhD from the University of London in 1963. From 1962 to 1967 Bernstein was a Reader in the Sociology of Education at the University of London Institute of Education, being Head of the Sociological Research Unit from 1962 and Professor in the Sociology of Education from 1967. From 1979 he was the Karl Mannheim Professor in the Sociology of Education at the Institute and from 1984 was Senior Pro-Director and Pro-Director Research. After his retirement in 1991 Bernstein became an

Emeritus Professor. He held honorary degrees from several different universities. Bernstein was influential in the field of socio-linguistics. His published works, in particular the five volumes of the series on Class, Codes and Control, have become classics in the field.

MERGE

Bernstein? and the Sociological Unit? When was this?

Bernstein was invited to Edinburgh in 1961 to give a talk, and their cooperation followed from that. Hasan worked in the unit. Did Halliday?

By Bernstein, Halliday was reminded that "linguistics cannot be other than an ideologically committed form of social action". (From Halliday 1985, p5). Refer back to the time in the 50s.

2.3 ??

MERGE: During this time, he taught twice in the Linguistic Society of America's Summer Linguistic Institutes, firstly in 1964 (Indiana) and secondly in 1966 (UCLA).[136]

MERGE: Ruqaiya finished her Ph.D. at Edinburgh in 1964, then worked in Leeds for a year, but was down in London in 1965 to start work as a Research Fellow on the Nuffield Program in Linguistics and English Teaching, at UCL (Halliday was the director of the program).

Ruqaiya and Michael were married in 1966, in Oakland, California. 3 years layer, on 29th October 1969[137], their son, Neil, was born.[138] Ruqaiya was working for Bernstein at the time.

Ruqaiya stayed in the hospital with Neil for 8 days, and then they returned to their London flat. (Nigel Transcript) (later MAKH say "We lived on the ground floor" later "block of flats where we lived"). Later: "On certain days we were directly below one of the flight paths into London
Airport". "We were well down river" – suggests Greenwich. They had a nanny called "Anna". Mentions of the "heath" which would be Blackheath"
Halliday says:
"The usual route was through the village, across the heath and into the park. The 'village' was now a suburban shopping centre: very noisy, with the traffic that hammered unendingly through its narrow streets, and usually crowded. The shops were small and friendly. There was a railway station at the bottom of the hill, though the trains were out of sight except from special vantage points. Red double-decker buses
passed by every few minutes."

In March 1970, when Neil was 5 months old, they journeyed to see Ruqaiya's parents. Was this in Pakistan? Was by plane. (Nigel Transcript)

Some suggestion that they were near Greenwich Park. Michael travelled by train and passed through Caring Cross.

Michael finished working for UCL sometime mid-1970.

Michael used to practise the Tabla (Indian finger drums) a little time each day. (Nigel Transcript)

"Nigel's uncle had come to visit, and was smoking a pipe." – but Halliday said he had no brothers or sisters? So, Ruquaiya's brother?

2.4 INSETS For Chapter 5

Ruqaiya Hasan: Ruqaiya was born in India. She attended Allahabad University for her B.A. in English Literature, Education, and History.[139] In 1954, she migrated to Pakistan, where she completed her M.A. in English Literature at the University of Punjab, 1958. Two years later, she migrated to Britain. She enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the University of Edinburgh Linguistics Department, and Halliday was one of her teachers there.

Jim Martin from **www.arts.usyd.edu.au/departs/ rihss/keythinkers.html**

"I became interested in Michael Halliday's work as an undergraduate student in Canada; what inspired me most was his social perspective on the ways in which language makes the meanings we use to live. Over time I came to appreciate more deeply the range of interdisciplinary applications enabled by these ideas and how they materialise his concept of linguistics as an ideologically committed form of social action."

J R Martin is Professor in 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. Publications include English Text *(Benjamins, 1992);* Writing Science *(with M A K Halliday) (Falmer, 1993);* Working with Functional Grammar *(with C Matthiessen & C Painter) (Arnold, 1997);* Genre and Institutions *(Edited with F Christie) (Cassell, 1997);* Reading Science *(Edited with R Veel) (Routledge, 1998);* Working with Discourse *(with David Rose) (Continuum 2002). He is currently editing papers for Benjamins on functional language typology (with Alice Caffarel & Christian Matthiessen) and history discourse (with Ruth Wodak) and a special edition of* Text *on evaluation (with Mary Macken-Horarik). Professor Martin was elected a fellow the Australian Academy of the Humanities in 1999.*

From Email 22/8/03:

I went to Glendon College in 1967, a college of York University, small, bilingual, focusing on liberal arts. We all did French and English in first year. Gregory taught us his scale and category grammar and context theory. He had just hired Waldemar Gutwinski, a student of Gleason's, who taught us cohesion (his speciality); In years 2, 3 and 4, Gregory taught us neo-Firthian linguistics and Gutwinski taught us American linguistics (TG and stratificational grammar). I did all the linguistics courses available, including sociolinguistics, history of English etc. In 1971, I got a scholarship to go to the University of Toronto for my MA (an intensive 1 year coursework program). I studied with Gleason there, and basically got coursework training in TG (relational grammar, generative semantics, and standard theory from Jack Chambers and Bob Binnick) and stratificational grammar (from Peter Reich on Lamb style stratificational grammar and Gleason on himself). In Peter Reich's psycholinguistics course, Sherry Rochester came to give a lecture on schizophrenic discourse and I went up after and introduced myself, saying cohesion can help. She then hired me to do summer work and part-time work at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry.

From Gleason I learned about Bloomfieldian structuralism and to value it. He trained me in metatheory (which he was amazing at: he loved comparing strat, TG, tagmemics, SFL - and had a 3 volume book on strat and TG her never published but which we used); He also trained me in discourse structure (not just cohesion, but the

idea that there was discourse structure beyond grammatical structure). I also came to appreciate the importance of working on other languages (in seminars with his missionary PhD students who worked in the Amazon, and other exotic locales on languages that seemed to me at the time amazingly different from English). My later work on discourse semantics tries to elaborate Gleason's vision, but using SFL principles rather than strat ones.

My dream from Glendon was however to study with Halliday, and I got another scholarship to go to Essex and catch up with him there. I met him at a LACUS meting (the first) in 1974 in Michigan I think... just to say hi... then met weekly with him in Essex.. This was 74/75. When he left, partly because Australia seemed so far away, and partly for personal reasons, I went back to Toronto for a year and worked with Gleason and with Rochester again. I then came to Sydney in January 1977 to get back in touch with Michael once he appeared to have settled down (he'd moved every year for years since Canada rejected him and I originally in fact had been planning to study with him at UBC, where my best friend was also studying - but the Canadian immigration put paid to that). My first year in Australia I went to the LSA Summer Institute in Hawaii for 12 weeks... 6 weeks intensive Tagalog (which had been our field methods language in my MA in Toronto) and then 6 weeks of courses... including Philipi linguistics and also natural phonology with Stampe which was a good thing since Michael made me teach it the next year.

MERGE His Ph.D. was done at Essex, supervised by Michael... even though I only spent one year there, then a year in Toronto then a year in Sydney...it was on..... was the title... worked on reference and conjunction, developed ideas on stratification re discourse semantics...brief glimpse in

The development of register. R O Freedle & J Fine [Eds.] Developmental Issues in Discourse. Norwood, N J: Ablex (Advances in Discourse Processes 10) 1983. 1-40. Stratification stuff appears as 'Meaning of features...' paper..."

Richard ("Dick") Hudson Born 1939.[140] Educated at Loughborough Grammar School (a leading independent school). He did his BA at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and his Ph.D. at SOAS, London. He has worked at UCL since being awarded his Ph.D. in 1963. His first jobs were on research projects directed by Michael Halliday, initially on the OSTI Programme in the Linguistic Properties of Scientific English (1964-67), where he developed a detailed Systemic grammar of English (the first detailed Systemic grammar). When this project expired, he moved onto another Halliday-directed project, the Nuffield/Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching, where he taught grammar to 20 schoolteachers per class over 3 years (1967-1970). When this project finished, Halliday gave Hudson a permanent lecturing post, replacing Bob Dixon in Halliday's UCL department.

As Halliday at this point left the UK, Hudson had little contact with Halliday after this. Hudson's experiences writing a detailed grammar was leading him away from the standard SFG formalism. In 1976, he published a work on Daughter Dependency Grammar (Hudson 1976), which started to mix dependency ideas into an otherwise

Systemic formalism (plus some other changes), and then in the 1980s, he left behind completely the Systemic formalism, developing a new formalism, Word Grammar (e.g., Hudson 1984).

Basil Bernstein

Sydney Lamb:

> "I came to know Sydney Lamb; at our first talk, in a Georgetown bar masquerading as a pub, where we drank the beer from his home state, it became obvious that our ideas were compatible, and we have maintained the intertranslatability of systemic and stratificational theory ever since. He reawakened my interest in the computer as a research tool in linguistics, which had been aroused when I had worked with Margaret Masterman and Frederick Parker-Rhodes in the Cambridge Language Research Unit in the late fifties. Sydney Lamb was the first to show that it is possible to make grammar explicit and computable without discarding the achievements of descriptive linguistics and the understanding of language that grew out of them." (Halliday 1985, p4-5)

Michael Gregory was born in Liverpool. Educated at Balliol College. He was a keen sportsman, playing (not professionally) for Everton Football Club (one of the two Liverpool clubs), and cricket for the Lancashire League.[141] There is reputedly somewhere downtown in Liverpool a painting for which Michael Gregory modelled as a youth; in a church somewhere.[142] He worked at the University of Leeds in at least 1963 (from intro to Gregory and Carroll). In 19xx, he was appointed Professor of English at Glendon College, Toronto, in which position he has trained up various generations of Systemicists in Canada, including Glen Stillar, etc. (first generation, Benson, Cummings and Greaves, who were taken on as teaching staff, and made to teach Systemic oriented courses, which amounted to their training). 1964 work with Spencer (Spencer and Gregory 1964) was an early defining work in the area of register (then called style).

Jeff Ellis: In 1950, he was in Nottingham, and had already received his doctorate. His specialty was Slavic languages. He was a researcher. Later, he got a lectureship with the German Department in Hull.

3 The Roaming time: 1971-1975

Halliday stayed as Head of department until the end of 1970.[4] In 1971, the Department of General Linguistics was merged with UCL's Department of Phonetics to form a new Department of Phonetics & Linguistics. So, Halliday was in fact the first and last Professor of the Department of General Linguistics at UCL.

By 1970, the ongoing battle between Chomskians and European Functionalists in British Universities was taking its toll on Halliday. He was tired of the constant fighting which distracted from a serious study of language.

3.1 University of British Columbia

Halliday was offered a Chair at the University of British Columbia, in Canada. Feeling this post would be more relaxed, he accepted the post, and offered his resignation at UCL. However, he soon found that the Canadian Government had heard of his communist party connection, and they denied him residency rights. Halliday was allowed to visit Canada, but only on the condition that he was personally escorted by Richard Handscombe in Toronto.

One story has it that it was Martin Joos who informed the Canadian Government as to Halliday's political views. Joos had overlapped with Halliday in Edinburgh,[5] so they knew each other to this extent. In 1971, Joos was the Director of the Centre for Linguistic Studies, at the University of Toronto.[6]

If Halliday had been permitted to take the job in Vancouver, he probably would *not* have taken the post in Sydney, and the history of Systemics would have been a very different one, at least in the geographic sense.[7]

Halliday then asked if he could withdraw his resignation at UCL, but they had already started plans to merge his department with the Department of Phonology, and did not want to revert back.

Halliday was thus without a position. During the next five years, Halliday took visiting scholar faculty positions in a number of places, mainly in the States, but also in Africa and England.

During much of this time, he was working towards a notion of the social semiotic.[8] (he credits the term "social semiotic" to Greimas). He says there was so much pressure from the American structuralists to focus on syntax, structure that he backed away from structure, concentrating "much more on the social aspects of language".

KRESS INTERVIEW: ", I don't think so. I mean, yes, okay, I was witch-hunted out of a couple of jobs for political reasons. And the British Council refused to send me any where at all during that time, however much people asked. "

[4] Halliday & Hasan (1979): the biography of Halliday states "until the end of 1970".

[5] From Asher, 2002, p35. [PERSONAL HISTORIES]

[6] From Personal Histories, p70. Not sure whose biography.

[7] Jim Benson (Personal Communication).

[8] Hernandez (2000) p237.

3.2 Brown University, United States

In 1970, Halliday took a visiting professor position at Brown University, in Providence, Rhode Island.[9] Ruqaiya and Neil, now aged 18 months, came with him. They flew out from London September 14, 1970 (Nigel Transcript 4). "At the air terminal, we were late, and the bus left without us. They had seen us hurrying for it, but refused to hold it, and our friends had to drive us all the way to the airport." (Nigel Trans 5) – was this for an airport bus?

"For the first few days we stayed in a hotel, and life went on in one room. Our baggage had missed the plane anyway, and as the airport where we had landed was subsequently closed by fog, it took a day or two to catch us up. So we were not excessively cramped; we had only what we had carried with us."

Eating in restaurants.

By 16th sept, they had found an apartment, unfurnished, and had to furnish it. 3rd floor apartment. 23st Sept, they moved in.

Neil upset by loss of Anna, his nanny. Talked about her often over the next months.

"The first week after Nigel's second birthday we went away, to stay with friends in southern California."

3.3 Nairobi (1972)

At the beginning of 1972 (18th January), they left Providence, Michael was to take up a Visiting Professorship at the University of Nairobi, in Kenya. [10]

On the way, they stopped over in London for 10 days. Michael's parents came to stay for a day or two.

On the 1st of February, they headed off for Kenya. For the first few days, they stayed in a hotel.

Ruqaiya chose to work only part time, as it was hard to find a qualified person to look after Neil. She gave seminars in stylistics at the university.

In there second week there, they rented a car to get around. During their stay, they did a number of excursions, for instance to the Animal Orphanage (several times), at the entrance to the Nairobi National Park, Lake Naivasha (by train), Dar-es-Salaam for a few days (in Tanzania, by plane), where they went to the beach,

They took a day off to take an excursion to Lake Naivasha. They went by train, a beautiful journey through the hills; had lunch on the train; arrived in a thunderstorm, and were met by friends with their car. They went for a boat trip on the lake, caught some fish; and returned at dusk.

CHECK FROM 18 April

2 ; 5 ; 24 22 April: Next day we went by train to Mombassa. We stayed in a little house on the beach. Nearby was a new hotel, which we went to for lunch soon after our arrival.

May - in Mombassa again.

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[9] From his CV in Halliday 2002b.

[10] Nigel transcripts

2 ; 7 ; 10 8 June: We were in Cairo, on our way back to England, we had stopped off in Addis Ababa on the way, and been to see the Emperor's famous lions.

2 ; 7 ; 11 9 June: In Cairo, we were packing up for the next stage of the journey. Nigel recalled the moment at Nairobi airport, when I had gone off to see to the air freight and he had cried.

2 ; 7 ; 13 11 June: Nigel recalled the journey from Heathrow to Swanage. "First what were we in … the station that was called … where we were waiting for our tràin to come?" The sentence was hesitant; it had come out wrong (it meant 'What was the station called where we were waiting for our train to come in?'). "That was called Woking. Woking station," I said. "Wòking. And half of the train was going away … and it was going backwards … and half of the train was staying there. That was at Bòurnemouth". He was still attending to I and you. "Will . you . mend . the . track?" he said to me. A few days earlier the same request would have been "Sha

MERGE
Bio in Explorations says Halliday had Visiting Professorship at
University of Nairobi.

Hasan email:

Mick: Also at I assume your Essex and Nairobri visits overlapped with Michael's year there?

RH: YES THEY DID; ... AT NAIROBI I GAVE SEMINARS SERIES ON STYLISTICS (I CHOSE TO BE PART TIME; IT WAS NOT EASY TO FIND A QUALIFIED PERSON TO LOOK AFTER NEIL).

NIGEL TRANSCRIPTS 7tt

Nigel 2 – 2½

2 ; 0 ; 3-8 1-6 November
- I think year 2, month 0 days 3 to 8.

What year is this? They are in Providence, Rhode Island
(East Coast)ç

"The first week after Nigel's second birthday we went away, to stay with friends in southern California."

- Nigel thus born around 28th October
Back home in Providence,

NIGEL TRANSCRIPTS 18-20 Jan
We had left Providance, and were now in London on a short stay, before going on to Nairobi.

27 Jan Nigel's grandfather and grandmother came to stay. Thus still alive at this point

1-8 Feb
We moved again, this time to Nairobi. Again we stayed in a hotel for the first few days.

9-16 Feb
They rented a car

Various excursions....

2 ; 5 ; 0 – 4 29 March – 2 April
We were in Dar-es-Salaam for a few days. Nigel had been anxious about the journey; he had tended to get sick on aeroplanes, so we had got some syrup from the doctor, and given it to him before departing.

2 ; 5 ; 24 22 April
Next day we went by train to Mombass. We stayed in a little house on the beach. Nearby was a new hotel, which we went to for lunch soon after our arrival.

May - in Mombassa other time

2 ; 7 ; 10 8 June
We were in Cairo, on our way back to England, we had stopped off in Addis Ababa on the way, and been to see the Emperor's famous lions.

2 ; 7 ; 11 9 June
In Cairo, we were packing up for the next stage of the journey. Nigel recalled the moment at Nairobi airport, when I had gone off to see to the air freight and he had cried.

2 ; 7 ; 13 11 June
Nigel recalled the journey from Heathrow to Swanage.
"First what were we in … the station that was called … where we were waiting for our tràin to come?" The sentence was hesitant; it had come out wrong (it meant 'What was the station called where we were waiting for our train to come in?').
"That was called Woking. Woking station," I said.
"Wòking. And half of the train was going away … and it was going backwards … and half of the train was staying there. That was at Bòurnemouth".
He was still attending to I and you. "Will . you . mend . the . track?" he said to me. A few days earlier the same request would have been "Sha

3.4 Stanford (1972-73)

After Nairobi, Halliday spent two years in the States. For the academic year 1972-73, he was Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences at Stanford, San Fransisco in California.[11] Ruqaiya Hasan, now his partner, had a visiting faculty position at UC Berkeley,[12] up in San Fransisco (only an hour away by car).

3.5 University of Illinois (1973-74)

From 1973 to 1974, he was Professor of Linguistics at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.[13] Hasan took a Visiting Scholar a position at the University of Illinois (Urbana)[14] which is somewhere else in the State maybe.

In 1973, Halliday taught at the Linguistic Society of America summer Linguistic Institute in Michigan.[15]

- Explorations: " Visiting Professorships at Indiana, Yale, Brown, and the University of Nairobi." In H&H 1989, they add U.C. Irvine

3.6 Essex (1974-75)

Halliday's father was not well, so he decided to take a job closer to home. He talked with Michael O'Toole, the head of department at the Department of Linguistics, University of Essex. He agreed to offer him a position there. During the year, his father died.[16]

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[11] List of Contributors in Bernstein (1973), and also Halliday & Hasan (1989). Note however that the biography on Halliday (1973) states his fellowship was to run 1973-4. But this is in conflict with his biography in Halliday & Hasan (1989), which states he was at Chicago at that time.

[12] The biography of Hasan in Halliday & Hasan 1979 says she had this position, but not when. I am guessing it is at the same time.

[13] Halliday & Hasan (1989) say 1973-75, but Halliday 2002b, which is more reliable, says 1973-74.

[14] Halliday & Hasan (1989) says she took this position, but not when. I guess it was while Halliday was there.

[15] Halliday & Hasan (1989).

[16] Personal Communications, Jim Martin.

Also in the department was Peter Wexler, one of the members of the Language Group of the CP, and old colleague of Michael's. He had been there since 1967.

Apart from O'Toole and Wexler, the department was strongly formalist, and they were threatened by Halliday's functional approach. Jim Martin reports the atmosphere as somewhat stressful and unpleasant. He says the formalists organised it so Michael taught in the MA Applied program, keeping the undergraduate courses formalist.[17]

Ruqaiya Hasan also had a visiting faculty post here at the same time.[18]

Jim Martin first interacted with Halliday at this point of time. He had done his undergraduate work at Glendon College, Toronto, partially with Michael Gregory, which had inspired him to work directly with Halliday. After his Masters, he met Halliday personally, at the first LACUS meeting (Michigan, 1974). Halliday agreed to supervise his dissertation, so Martin enrolled at Essex University (he had a scholarship from Canada). They met weekly to discuss Martin's dissertation, which was on the development of children's story telling in primary school,[19] using for the most part the research framework developed with Rochester for their schizophrenia research.

However, Michael only spent one year at Essex (the 1974/75 year). During this year, he received an offer for the Chair of a to-be-established Department of Linguistics at the University of Sydney.

Martin did not follow Halliday immediately, thinking Australia too far, and for personal reasons returned to Toronto for a year (still working on the dissertation) before eventually, in 1977, heading to Sydney, and taking a lectureship there. He continued working on his Ph.D., and submitted in 1978 (to Essex).

4 Australia

In 1975 he was appointed Foundation Professor of Linguistics at the University of Sydney, where he remained until his retirement.

Halliday desired to set up a department which was not just Systemicists, so his first two appointees were non-systemic – Barbara Horvath, a Labovian, and Michael Walsh, an Australianist (specialist in Australian aboriginal languages). Soon after, he appointed Jim Martin, a young but clearly gifted linguist from Canada, already trained in scale & category and neo-Firthian linguistics by Gregory. Also John Gibbons, Graham Locke, Clare Painter.

- "Horvath, a Labovian sociolinguist, was Halliday's first appointment to the Department of Linguistics he founded at the University of Sydney in 1975." (Halliday *et al.* 1992).
- Halliday & Hasan 1996 say that it was at the beginning of 1976?
- Consultant to the Curriculum Development's Centre's Language Development Project 1976-78. Member of the Project Review and Advisory Panel for this project.[20]

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[17] Personal Communications, Jim Martin.

[18] Supposition, her biography in Halliday & Hasan (1979) states that she had this position at some point in the early 70s,

[19] Personal Communications, Jim Martin.

[20] Halliday & Hasan (1989).

Language Development Project: Halliday was involved in another major mother-tongue research programs, the Language Development Project. According to Kress et al: "During the late 1970s the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra funded the Language Development Project, a national language in education initiative with Halliday as a key consultant. See Maling-Keepes, J & B D Keepes [Eds.] 1979 *Language in Education: Language Development Project, Phase 1.* Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre."

From Mann obit.: In the summer of 1986, Halliday was in Bloomington Indiana to give a course on "grammar in daily life" as part of a semiotics institute. Christian Matthiessen was attending his courses and others. Bill Mann had decided that Penman needed a specification of the experiential semantics, for a project he had, and he rang Halliday and Christian to give them the task of proposing such an ontology. Thus, during their free time between seminars, they set to work on this task, often in cafés, and called the proposal they delivered to Mann the "Bloomington lattice".

> "One key property of this ontology was that it was based on systematic and comprehensive evidence from language, bringing out covert distinctions 'hidden' in the cryptogrammar, which was in line with Bill's view of natural language as the most powerful knowledge representation around. The Bloomington lattice turned into the "upper model" used in the Penman system and a number of other systems as well (Bateman et al, 1990; Matthiessen, 1987). It is still being actively used today, for example in a research effort at the University of Bremen conducted by John Bateman and others and involving robotics and natural language processing. Michael and I continued our work on the Bloomington lattice, and reconceptualized the knowledge base as the ideation base part of the meaning base of a system such as Penman (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999)."

Language in Education network: Halliday was as of 1987 an active participant in Australia's Language in Education network. Kress: "This is a fluid network of linguists and educators (anchored by Fran Christie and initiated by Halliday in 1979) which has held several conferences on language in education issues around Australia".

5 Retirement

Michael retired from Sydney University in 1987.

Michael had nominated Jim Martin to replace him as head of department, but due to university politics, an external candidate, Joe Foley, of Role and Reference Grammar fame, was appointed Head and Chair of Linguistics. Unfortunately, one of his goals on arrival was to eliminate Systemic Linguistics from the department. He strived to this goal, but failed.

After retiring, Michael held visiting appointments in Singapore, the UK, Japan and Hong Kong. He and Ruqaiya eventually settled down to a semi relaxed life in Manly, a beach suburb of Sydney.

6 Death

Ruqaiya died 24th July, 2015.
Michael died on the 15th April, 2018 in Manly at the age of 93.

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NOTES

[1] Encyclopaedia Britannica, Entry on Halliday, M.A.K.

[2] According to an entry in Cambridge University Library. See: http://ul-newton.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?SC=Author&SEQ=20030825221906&PID=16701&SA=Halliday,+Wilfrid+Joseph,+1889-

[3] My Halliday interview.

[4] Orton, Harold & Wilfrid J. Halliday (eds.) (1962--63). Survey of English Dialects. (B) Basic Material. Vol. 1 (in 3 Parts). Six Northern Counties and Man. Leeds, E.J. Arnold for the University of Leeds.

[5] From an autobiography of a friend of Wilfrid, R.W. Beatty. See: http://www.woodhousegrove.co.uk/old%20grovians/twenty.html

[6] Halliday 2002b, p117.

[7] Halliday (Interview) states that she lived in Bramley as well as did school there.

[8] Halliday (2002b), p119.

[9] From the Pudsey grammar School homepage: http://www.gee-bee.demon.co.uk/pudsey/32.htm.

[10] Halliday, Interview. Williams & Lukin (2002) also state he was the son of a Yorkshire dialectician. He himself, in Halliday (2002a), states that "both his parents were teachers".

[11] My Interview.

[12] Halliday (2002a), p14.

[13] Halliday, Personal Communication.

[14] Address kindly provided by the Rugby school archivist.

[15] Personal Communication, July 2004.

[16] From http://www.fylinghall.org/images/classthen.jpg

[17] Email from Ruqaiya Hasan 2008. She says that Michael’s mother kept a copy of the cutting, which Michael still has.

[18] From the bio section of Halliday 2002b. Also, confirmed by Rusty MacLean, the Archivist at Rugby School (personal communication).

[19] http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rugby,_England.

[20] Personal Communication, July 2004.

[21] Details provided by Rusty MacLean, the Archivist at Rugby School (personal communication).

[22] From http://www.rugbyschool.net/sub/history/SchoolHistory/rugbyschool.htm

[23] My Interview.

[24] See: http://www.rugbyschool.net/sub/history/SchoolHistory/rugbyschool.htm.

[25] Halliday, My Interview.

[26] Encyclopaedia Britannica entry on Firth, J.R.

[27] From Dick Hudson's "Obituary - R. H. Robins", posted to Linguist List (See: http://www.emich.edu/~linguist/issues/11/11-1020.html.

[28] From a note on archival material held on Eugenie Henderson: http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2?coll_id=182&inst_id=19

[29] Halliday says elsewhere (Halliday 2002b, p117) that he did well on the tone identification test.

[30] From records in Rugby School.

[31] Halliday 2002b, p117.

[32] Halliday (2002a) states he joined the army in 1944. Hasan & Martin (1985) p1. Hernandez (2002) p 233 says he "was instructed in Chinese by the British Army".

[33] Hasan & Martin (1985), p1, also Hernández (2000), p233.

[34] Kress *et al.*1992.

[35] Kress *et al.*1992.

[36] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[37] Hasan & Martin (1985), p1.

[38] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[39] Kress *et al.* 1992. VE – Victory in Europe, end of the European War.

[40] Halliday 2002b, p117.

[41] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[42] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[43] My Interview.

[44] My Interview.

[45] My Interview.

[46] A guess, although Kress *et al.* suggested that he was studying mainly modern Chinese.

[47] My Interview.

[48] Kress *et al.* 1992. Also My interview.

[49] My Interview.

[50] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[51] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[52] Check either Hasan & Martin (1985), p1. or Biography on back cover of Halliday (1973).

[53] Hasan & Martin (1985), p1.

[54] From http://www.nzchinasociety.org.nz/gungho.html.

[55] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[56] See e.g., http://www.cityweekend.com.cn/issues/2003/4/Books_CW04.

[57] From http://www.nzchinasociety.org.nz/gungho.html.

[58] Halliday, Personal Communication.

[59] Halliday 2002b, p117.

[60] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[61] Halliday 2002b, p117.

[62] Hasan & Martin 1989, p1.

[63] Kress *et al.* 1992.

[64] Hasan & Martin 1989, p1.

[65] Halliday 1985, p4.

[66] Hasan & Martin 1989, p1.

[67] Hasan & Martin 1989, p1 specify the recommendation, Webster 2002, p7 provided Wang Li's position.

[68] Hasan & Martin 1989, p1.

[69] Hernández (2000), p233.

[70] Hernández (2000), p234.

[71] Hernández (2000), p233.

[72] Halliday 19xx1.

[73] This was told to me by Michael Cummings, but later confirmed by Halliday himself.

[74] Hasan & Martin (1989), p1.

[75] Hasan & Martin 1989 (p2) say the thesis was on a Chinese text "Secret History of the Mongols", while Halliday & Hasan 1980 says that the thesis was on 14th Century Mandarin.

[76] Pembroke College list him as matriculating in 1950. See: http://www.pem.cam.ac.uk/alumni/register/h.htm.

[77] My Interview.

[78] My Interview.

[79] My Halliday Interview.

[80] See: http://www.utdallas.edu/~schulte/annotations/K.htm

[81] Halliday Interview, also Kress *et al.* 1992.

[82] Kress *et al.* 2002.

[83] 24.12.1951 according to http://www.jihlava.cz/archiv/dokumenty2.asp?id=1769&id_org=5967

[84] Halliday notes that, interesting enough, Pulleyblank became a very good linguist afterwards (my interview). NOTE CONFLICT: Pulleyblank CV places him as only starting at Cambridge in 1953. Halliday himself in his thesis publication thanks Pulleyblank for support since 1954.

[85] Halliday 2002b, p118.

[86] Halliday 2002b, p118.

[87] Halliday 2002b, p118.

[88] Halliday 2002b p120 says probably 1952. Kress Interview says it was in Chinese, and also that politics was the deciding issue.

[89] From X. His CV in Halliday 2002b says he held this post 1954-58, but other sources suggest he started in fact in 1953.

[90] Halliday 2002b, p120.

[91] Halliday Interview.

[92] Halliday 2002b, p120, also My Interview.

[93] Kress Interview.

[94] Hasan & Martin (1989) date the unpublished paper as 1951.

[95] Hernández (2000), p234. Davies is added to the list because of a reference in ¿? (in Library in Leeds)

[96] Halliday, My Interview.

[97] Halliday, My Interview.

[98] Halliday 2002b, p4.

[99] Hernández (2000), p234.

[100] Halliday 1985, p4.

[101] Halliday 2002a, p4.

[102] From a tribute at Peter Wexler's funeral by Peter Brew, a friend and colleague.

[103] Kress Interview.

[104] Halliday, My Interview.

[105] Halliday 2002b, p121.

[106] Halliday, My Interview.

[107] Collinge 2002, p69.

[108] According to Dick Hudson: http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/dick/lagbhist.htm.

[109] Collinge 2002, p69.

[110] Jean Ure (Personal Communication).

[111] Webster (2002), p17.

[112] http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2005/nov/02/guardianobituaries.highereducation

[113] Halliday 2002b, p122.

[114] Halliday 2002b, p122.

[115] Lyons 2002, p181.

[116] See http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/appling/jjoseph/ and also Leopoldo Wigdorsky, Personal Communication.

[117] Halliday 1985, p4.

[118] http://www.hh.se/shl/Engelska/Paddy.htm

[119] See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rodney_Huddleston.

[120] Also known as J.C. Catford.

[121] Hasan in Halliday and Hasan 2007, p31.

[122] Halliday, My Interview.

[123] Personal Correspondence from Leopoldo Wigdorsky Vogelsang in 2002.

[124] Halliday & Hasan 1989 "About the Authors".

[125] Halliday 2002a, p6.

[126] Halliday 2002a, p5.

[127] Kress et al. Interview.

[128] Note that the University of London itself had a Department of General Linguistics, of which Firth was the founding chair.

[129] Halliday, in the introduction to *Language and Use* (1971) places the project as 1964. But Hasan's biography in Halliday & Hasan (1979) shows her working on this project from 1965-67.

[130] Open University Press Release (2002).

[131] See Huddleston, R D, R A Hudson, E Winter & A Henrici 1968 *Sentence and Clause in Scientific English.* University College, London: Communication Research Centre; and Henrici, A 1981 Some notes on the systemic generation of a paradigm of the English clause. M A K Halliday & J R Martin [Eds.] *Readings in Systemic Linguistics.* London: Batsford. 74-98.

[132] Personal Communication, Ruqaiya Hasan.

[133] Hernandez, p237.

[134] Ruqaiya Hasan, Personal Communication.

[135] Introduction to 'Language in Use'

[136] Halliday & Hasan (1989).

[137] Nigel Transcript gives his first birthday as on 29th October 1970.

[138] Halliday's notes associated with study of Nigel places his birth at roughly October 28, 1969.

[139] Halliday & Hasan 1989 "About the Authors".

[140] From Hudson (2002).

[141] From Gordon Tucker's intro to Gregory Festschrift.

[142] From Jim Martin's summary of a Liverpool Systemic Congress (on web).