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华南师范大学外国语言文化学院学术文库

英语假分裂句的 系统功能分析

何恒幸 著

A Systemic-Functional Analysis of
Pseudo-Clefts in English

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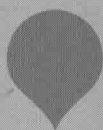


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TO
My Granny and Auntie

Who taught me the virtues of simplicity and sacrifice and
who loved me and my brothers more than their lives.

前 言

此书研究的是英语中的一个句型，是我的博士学位论文《另一视角下的假分裂句：英语变域句》（中山大学，2004年，导师：黄国文教授）的一部分内容，是《英语主位等同结构：隐喻——一致分析》（暨南大学出版社2017年版）的姐妹篇，因篇幅等之故，一分为二出版。

我对该句型的研究与出版受益于我身边许许多多人的热爱、启迪、教诲与帮助。

此书有如我的人生。我的人生又有如我的名字。我总是感觉自己有太多太多的幸运，而这些幸运一方面来自父母、家人和亲戚对我的付出：从小到大外婆一家宁可自己喝几乎见不到一粒米、清水般的粥，也要从大粥锅里捞上、做好一碗浓蛋粥给我吃；上大学前远走连平中学英语代课时二姑一家、三叔一家、四叔一家给我“家”的温暖。另一方面则是源于周围一直有太多的好心人给我的爱：小学的陈师道老师（让我担任学习委员这一重任）、初中的罗少群老师（向我传递了身残志坚的正能量）、高威廉老师（给我讲台湾大香蕉的故事，让热爱祖国的种子从此在我心中生根发芽）、高中的陈志文老师（让同学发现我在睡梦中说英语的口音都像他）、陈楚桥副校长（引我走上英语之路的伯乐），大学的很多老师和同事，例如李舫金副书记（最温和大方的老师）、伍小龙书记（最多才多艺的老师）、许益锋书记（最善于鼓励人的书记）、骆晓棠主任（笑起来像一朵花、最乐于助人的同事）、郑丹棉老师（我最和蔼可亲的班主任）、张才喜老师（天底下最有爱心的老师）、张华鸿副教授（我所见过的最上进的老师，退休后还坚持到课室听课学日语、俄语、法语；他也是我的乒乓球友，他经常见到我就让我打球，还教会我人生处世要以“让”为先的道理）、左钜生副教授（讲话语气最为平和好听的俄语老师）、冼吉昌副教授（最知人善用的领导和同事）、翁照棠副教授（最谦让的领导和同事）、鄢成章书记（最和善与平易近人的书记）、贾镇副教授（可能是天底下最为严格的老师和硕士生导师，使我为此书的撰写打下了扎实的研究基础）、梁锦祥教授（说英语最有磁性、生成句法分析最严谨的老师）、何安平教授（中国外语学术界最有名的语料库语言学家之一；是她让我学会要用语料库语料来分析此书中的句法）、徐盛桓教授（中国外语学术界最活

跃和最有创新精神的语言学家；是他让我学会要不断创新，从而提出此书中新的理论）、方汉泉教授（我国外语界最有名的英诗学家之一）、何广铿教授（我最会处世的老师、我博士生涯的引路人），读博士时的黄国文教授（我最敬佩、最敬爱的中国功能语言学家和活动家；他不仅向我教授功能语言学学问，还教会我其他很多东西，包括他“Live and let live”的人生哲学）等。可以这么说，我要感恩的人不胜枚举。正是他们接力式地给我满满的“爱”，才有我从昨天走到今天那一路上的能量、顺利、温暖和阳光。是他们促成了我太多的幸运，是他们成就了拥有太多幸运的我。

直接促成此书幸运成书的，当然是我的导师黄国文教授；促成我有机会去写此书的，是何广铿教授，是他向黄国文教授推荐我读他的博士；促成我有机会出版此书的，是为学院倾心奉献和知人善用的两位学院领导：谷红丽副院长和周榕院长，她们利用学院班子制定的资助一批学院老师出版学术专著的好政策，为我争取到学院和学校的出版资助。

我的这些恩人个个都是成果满满的，而此书中的成果给人太多幸运的感觉。幸运在于我能成为黄国文教授的一名弟子，我的选题又有他的博士论文《英语强势主位：结构与功能》的指引；幸运在于有了他的精心指导，稍作些许更新的2004年的选题与作品，现在阅读起来都不太会有过时的感觉；幸运在于在他强大的国内外学术人气氛里，至少在他引领的中国功能句法领域，此书可能会带来一定的争鸣。而幸运中的幸运，是他对我大胆而不太充实的理论创新的鼓励……

被太多幸运包围的我也相信，此书可起到抛砖引玉的作用，而书中不足则会成为我继续前进的动力：把英语假分裂句说成英语“变域句”可能还需要进一步充实的论证，对英语假分裂句的语篇功能论述可能还需要进一步的深化……因为这些问题，往好里说，证明我只不过还是一个不折不扣的“潜力股”。

……

总之，此书的出版饱含着太多太多的幸运。可以这么说，此书中，句法即幸运，幸运即句法。因此，或许可以有“情感句法”一说。也因为句法为我的至爱研究，正如我至爱的歌曲——《爱的奉献》，每当我歌唱这首歌曲时，为我带来太多太多幸运的父母、家人、亲戚、老师、同事、恩人为我无私奉献、给我提供无私帮助的情景便会历历在目，让我感动不已，让我唱出真情，尤其是下面这个“爱”的句子，不在开始，不在结束，让“爱”居中，将“爱”化为永恒：

“……只要人人都献出一点爱，世界将变成美好的人间……”

何恒幸

2017年4月3日

于华南师范大学教师村

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Finally, I would like to give my thanks to my family for their love and support, without which this book would not have been possible.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support by High-Level University Construction Project of South China Normal University!

Abstract

This book studies such a construction in English as '*What I want is this*', a structure termed 'pseudo-cleft (sentence/construction)' or 'wh-cleft (sentence/construction)' in formal grammars, or 'thematic equative', 'theme identification', 'object-as-role-in-event construction', or 'referent as role in event construction' in systemic functional grammars. But it is termed 'Sphere Shift Identifying Clause (Construction)' instead, or 'Sphere Shift' in the present study for reasons which will be given in this book. This construction is studied for a number of reasons, including initial observations of problems with its previous studies and its special charm for linguists, even today.

The general purpose of this book is to propose an alternative systemic functional analysis of this construction, based on genuine texts from British National Corpus and elsewhere. This book is intended to be descriptive and qualitative. It has three major objectives: (a) to evaluate previous studies of this construction, (b) to describe and explain this construction from an alternative systemic functional perspective, and (c) to identify the discourse functions of this construction. There are four research questions related to these objectives: (a) Why is it necessary to undertake a further exploration of this construction? (b) What would an alternative analysis of this construction be like? (c) What is the nature of this construction? (d) What are the discourse functions of this construction?

To achieve these objectives and answer these research questions, the book is structured as follows. Chapter 1 is devoted to the exposition of the reasons for the choice of the construction to be studied, the purpose and scope of the present research, data and methodology employed, and the structure of the whole book. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the previous studies in both formal grammars and systemic functional grammars.

Chapters 3 and 4 offer a reconsideration of the previous studies. Chapter 3 shows that linguists vary in their understanding of the relationship between the Sphere Shift and

the question-answer pair, that Question-in-Disguise Theory and other theories in relation to Sphere Shifts are principally the product of discourse analysis on the one hand, and analysis scope and focus on the other, that the construal of the Sphere Shift remains an interesting puzzle. This chapter also argues that some of the previous grammatical descriptions of Sphere Shifts are problematic, including the relationship between Identified and Value, the function of the nominalization, the abstraction of Token and Value, the predication of Identified, the composition of Theme, the information structure, and the (in) animateness of the focus, for which I have proposed an alternative analysis or description.

Chapter 4 reveals that formal grammars and systemic functional grammars alike deal with Sphere Shifts both in the loose sense and in the strict sense, that linguists disagree as to the types of Sphere Shifts, that many areas of Sphere Shifts as regards the relationship between form and meaning warrant further investigation, and that each of the previous terms has drawbacks of one kind or another, which leads to a serious consideration of its alternative term 'Sphere Shift' employed in the present book.

Chapter 5 offers a construal of experience through meaning of Sphere Shifts. A brief discussion of possible and existing approaches to the construal of Sphere Shifts, the 'agnate clause' assumption, the trinocular approach and the model of stratification reveals the inadequate realizations of what there is in discourse in the previous studies and hence the need for an alternative construal of Sphere Shifts. In the present book, the 'agnate text' assumption, an alternative model of stratification and another configuration of the trinocular approach are proposed, and the semantic, (lexico) grammatical and pragmatic meanings of Sphere Shifts are analyzed and illustrated. With all this, a Sphere Shift is interpreted as a construction which results from the semantic, (lexico) grammatical and pragmatic sphere shifts of one kind or another within its 'agnate text' to focus on something, or as the product of FTGF (i.e., focus-opting, text-restructuring, grammar-locating and function-enacting) packaging. In addition, terms 'Shifter' and 'Shiftee' are also introduced, types of 'Shifter-Shiftee' relationship are discussed, and the use of the term 'Sphere Shift' is explained.

Chapter 6 proposes, after Huang (1995, 2003), a taxonomy of the discourse functions of Sphere Shifts, the result of the analysis of previous studies and genuine texts. This taxonomy is composed of 'Prospective', 'Progressive', 'Retrospective' and 'Retrospective-Prospective', each of which has their components of discourse functions. In addition to those recognized in previous studies, such new discourse

functions as ' event-pre-announcing ', ' condition-adding ' and ' elaborating ' are introduced and illustrated. Finally, Chapter 7 gives a summary of the main arguments of the present book, draws conclusions and suggests follow-up research areas.

The major conclusion of this book is that there exist some inadequacies in the previous studies, and that from an alternative perspective, or in terms of the semantic, (lexico) grammatical and pragmatic features, pseudo-clefts are better interpreted as Sphere Shifts.

List of Abbreviations

A - S - V - C	Adjunct - Subject - Verb - Complement
A	Adjunct
Af	Affected
Ag	Agent
At	Attribute
BNC	British National Corpus
C	Complement ; Congruent
Ca	Carrier
CG	the Cardiff Grammar
Circ	Circumstance
Cl	Clause
DP	Determiner Phrase
D-structure	Deep-structure
Em	Emoter
ETC	Enhanced Theme Construction
Eth	Enhanced Theme
FTGF	Focus-Opting, Text-Restructuring, Grammar-Locating, Function-Enacting
Id	Identified
IP	Inflection Phrase
K	Known
LF	Logical Form
M	Main Verb ; Metaphorical
Ma	Manner
MC Analysis	Metaphorical-Congruent Analysis
NP	Noun Phrase

NPI	Negative Polarity Item
O	Operator
Ph	Phenomenon
PPR	the Progressive, the Prospective and the Retrospective
Pr	Process
QDT	Question-in-Disguise Theory
Rel	Relational
S - V - C	Subject - Verb - Complement
S	Subject
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
SS	Sphere Shift
TG	Transformational-Generative Grammar
U	Unknown
WCS	Wh-Cleft Sentence

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This book attempts to study such sentences as ‘What I want is this’, a structure termed ‘pseudo-cleft (sentence/construction)’, or ‘wh-cleft (sentence/construction)’ in formal grammars (cf. Jespersen 1928/1965, 1937; Akmajian 1970; Faraci 1971; Nakada 1973; Higgins 1979; Horn 1981; Huddleston 1984; Delahunty 1984, 2001; Quirk, *et al.* 1985; Lapolla 1986; Sornicola 1988; Delin 1989; Collins 1991; Declerk 1984, 1990, 1992, 1994; Lapolla 1986; Heycock & Kroch 1996; Weinert & Miller 1996; Boskovic 1997; Biber, *et al.* 2000; Hedberg 2000; Hedberg & Fadden 2007; Cecchetto 2001; Lambrecht 2001; Gundel 2002; Ward, Kaplan & Birner 2007, etc.) or ‘thematic equative’ (Halliday 1994), ‘theme identification’ (Matthiessen 1995; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999), ‘object-as-role-in-event construction’ (Fawcett & Huang 1995; Huang and Fawcett 1996; Huang 1995, 2003), or ‘referent as role in event construction’ (Fawcett 2003) in systemic functional grammars (also see Halliday 1967a, 1967b, 1968, 1985a, 2007; Prince 1978; Fawcett 1980, 1987, 2003, 2006; Bromser 1984; Butler 1988, 1994; Huddleston 1988, 1991, 1992; Martin 1992; Halliday and Martin 1993; Bloor and Bloor 2001; Huang 1996, 2002; Davidse 1996; Davies 1996; Lock 1996; Tucker 1998; Thompson 2000; Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997; Harvey 1999, 2001; Yu 2001; He 2002; Kilpert 2003a, 2003b; Herriman 2003, 2004; He 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2015; Zhu 2006; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; He, Yang & Wen 2015; Devrim 2015, Zhang 2016). But for reasons that will emerge as this book progresses, I shall call this structure ‘Sphere Shift Identifying Clause (Construction)’ instead, or ‘Sphere Shift’ or ‘SS’ for short.

The choice of this study is manifold.

Firstly, this construction is a touchstone to all linguistic theories, as Jucker (1996)