

本书为教育部人文社科规划项目“功能视角下语法与语篇的接面研究”之成果

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A New Approach to English Grammar

— An Interface Study between Grammar and Text from the Perspective of SFL

何继红 著



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内 容 提 要

本书以功能语言学理论为视角,研究语法与语篇之间的关系,通过体裁结构和修辞结构的双重分析,对毕业典礼演讲语篇和体育新闻报道语篇做定性和定量研究,探索了语篇结构的类型、层级性和分析模式。通过分析发现,由于语篇的不同结构成分的特定功能,在语篇内部会出现体裁混合与体裁杂合现象,且均出现在中观结构中。本研究为语法和语篇的连接建立了初步的理论研究模式,对语篇分析、外语教学、翻译研究等的发展有一定启示。

读者对象:高等院校教师、本科生、研究生以及其他与英语相关的科研和教学人员。

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序 言

欣悉何继红副教授的《英语语法新探索——功能视角下语法与语篇的接面研究》即将付梓,十分高兴,特表示祝贺。何继红教书育人,怀着对外语教育事业的热心和爱戴,全身心投入到教学和教学研究中。她不仅教学效果突出,多次被学生评为学校“最受欢迎的老师”,还经常领衔进行学生参加全国演讲比赛的培训,参加学生的第二课堂活动、学生举行的各种艺术节、戏剧节等。2017年,她荣获了同济大学“名课优师”称号,并由于在教学和人才培养方面的成就,荣获了学校颁发的“育才奖”。

她取得这些成绩除了她具有的教的天赋之外,还有几点是一般人难以达到的。一是她吃苦耐劳,尽管天天辛苦工作,经常干到深夜,甚至第二天清晨,但她从不叫苦,一如既往;二是她做事特别仔细认真,总是追求完美,无论事务多么繁忙,她做的事情都要达到她自己对自己的要求才肯放手;三是她勇于进取,不满足现状,在工作和学习中不断完善自己,提高自己;最后我要说的一点是,她虽然积极努力,但与世无争,从不计较个人得失。这些特征能够使她在任何工作中都能集中精力,做出好的成绩,取得好的成果。

在学术研究上,虽然起步不算早,但积极努力,争取更好的成绩。她在较高的年龄段攻读博士学位,还积极申报并获批教改和科研项目,于2011年获得教育部人文社科基金项目“功能视角下语法与语篇的接面研究”,并在CSSCI核心期刊上发表论文,完成此书稿,最后顺利结项。

语篇与语法的接面研究实际上是语篇的意义与词汇语法的接面研究,具体表现为体现和被体现的关系。意义和形式的关系一直是语言学研究的难题,是功能主义试图攻克,而形式主义力图回避或间接尝试的研究课题。本课题的特点是从功能的角度进行研究,寻找语篇意义模式在语法层面上的体现模式。

系统功能语言学认为,语言可同时体现三大元功能:概念(ideational)功能,包括经验(experiential)功能和逻辑(logical)功能,人际(interpersonal)功能和语篇(textual)功能。概念功能是表现我们的外部和内部经历及其逻辑关系的功能,是语篇结构的主干部分,其结构具有粒子型(particulate)特点,被称为“整体结构”(holistic structure)(Mann & Thompson, 1978),或体裁结构(generic structure)。而人际功能则直接与交际者的交际目的相联系,在语篇中表现为协商结构(negotiative structure)或交流结构(exchange

structure)。但两种结构最后都要由语篇功能组织成为与语境密切相关,适合语境的语篇。由于篇幅和研究范围所限,本研究只局限于探讨由概念功能表现的体裁结构,因为它是语篇的主干结构。从语法上讲,概念功能由两种语法资源体现,分别是及物性结构(transitivity structure)和连接成分(conjunctive elements),主要为连词、连接副词、介词短语,在语篇隐喻中,还可以由动词体现(本研究在这方面不做深究)。这里的语篇和语法的接面研究实际上是研究语篇的体裁结构或曰整体结构是如何由及物性结构体现的,以及语篇的逻辑结构或曰关系结构是如何由连接成分体现的。

在语篇结构理论上主要采用的是哈桑的体裁结构理论(generic structure theory)和马丁的体裁理论,包括其图式结构(schematic structure),曼恩和汤姆逊(Mann & Thompson)的修辞结构理论(Rhetorical structure theory, RST);在语法层面上,主要运用韩礼德(M. A. K. Halliday)的功能语法理论,包括及物性理论和逻辑语义关系理论。

通过研究,作者在理论模式建立方面探索了语篇结构的类型、层级性和分析模式,提出了语篇结构的三大类型:粒子结构、关系结构和交换结构。这对从概念意义建立语篇结构模式有着较为直接的关系。同时,也强调了层级性研究和理论模式的构建。作者对体裁结构理论和修辞结构理论进行比较发现,虽然两种结构属于不同的意义,但二者在构建体裁结构中是相互关联和相互协同的,表现出粒子结构和关系结构的相互一致现象。在RST理论中,没有表示信息来源的修辞关系,即某条信息是来自于谁或哪里的问题,在马丁(J. Martin)的评价理论(Appraisal Theory)中,表现为介入(engagement)特征。这主要是因为RST理论中,并没有以一定的语法结构理论为基础来探讨关系结构在语法上的体现,而在韩礼德的功能语法理论中则有逻辑语义关系中的投射(projection)来表示投射源和投射对象之间的关系。然而,实际上,“来源”(source)关系不仅发生在小句之间,而且可以发生在语篇的各个层级的关系中。

在对“毕业典礼”语篇的分析中发现,由于语篇的不同结构成分的特定功能,在语篇内部会出现体裁混合(genre-mixing)与体裁杂合(genre-hybridation)现象,而且它们都出现在中观结构中,由适合于这些特定体裁的及物性结构模式体现。在定量分析中,作者发现,30个体育新闻的“导语”的及物性结构体现模式没有显著意义的差别,30个毕业典礼的“教导”的及物性结构体现模式也是如此。但它们之间却存在比较明显的、有意义的差异。

总体而言,本研究对系统功能语言学的传承和发展有一定的理论和实践价值,为语法和语篇连接建立了初步的理论研究模式,有助于语篇分析、外语教学、翻译研究等工作的开展。

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2017年10月

前 言

根据系统功能语言学理论,语篇是一个意义概念,是一个由概念意义、人际意义和语篇意义相互交织形成的意义构体。这样,从不同意义的角度出发,语篇具有三种结构:体裁(体裁一词亦可称为语类,以下统一称体裁)结构,或称“粒子结构”或“整体结构”(Mann & Thompson, 1992);逻辑结构,或称“关系结构”;交换结构,或称协商结构(Martin & Rose, 2008)。这三种语篇结构在语法中分别由及物性结构、连接成分以及相关词汇、语气和情态成分体现。本书重点通过分析语篇的体裁结构、修辞结构以及语法的及物性结构和连接成分,并且通过语篇结构与语法特征的关系,从概念意义的角度探讨语篇结构与语法结构的接面,聚焦中观结构和体现模式,力图在语篇结构和语法结构的体现和被体现的关系中,发现有价值的特点和规律。

语法结构中最大的结构成分,即小句,在语篇结构中则通常体现为最小组成单位。本书的基本观点如下:①鉴于语法与语义之间的关系不是任意性的,尽管因语法结构和语篇结构属于不同的层次而在体现和被体现关系上存在分化、融合、零体现等现象,二者之间还是存在一定程度的稳定的对应关系,功能语法结构可以直接实现语篇结构及其成分;②本书通过定性分析和定量分析相结合的方法,试图较为具体地通过语法的功能结构来探讨语篇的结构;③我们可以在功能语法和语篇结构的接面方面发现带有规律性的东西,从而确定某些功能语法视角下的原则和规则或者理论框架来识别、确认和解释二者之间的关系。本书的要旨在于运用语篇结构类型的理论,对所选语篇进行自下而上、自上而下、上下结合的分析,运用定性定量结合的方法寻求特定体裁的完整语篇之功能语法的隐藏性规律特征,即语法与语篇的接面研究,并对这些规律特征进行验证。

在定性分析的过程中,本书以两篇分属常用体裁的新闻报道和公共演讲语篇[一篇少于200字的体育新闻报道(英文简称“SN”)和一篇多于2000字的毕业典礼演讲英文简称“CS”]为蓝本,旨在对这两篇长度差异较大、语域(包括语场、语旨、语式)各不相同的文本进行分析,即体裁结构(GS)和修辞结构(RS)进行分析。体裁结构是自上而下的分析方式,本研究将这两个语篇从宏观结构、中观结构(作者首创术语)至微观结构进行成分分析,中观结构及体现模式为本研究的聚焦所在,二者之间的关系密不可分,分别代表着形式与意义,其研究结果也直接关联着本书的核心,即语法与语篇的接面问题。体裁结构的分析依据韩礼德(Halliday, 1985/1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004/2014)功能语法

的基本思想,对小句的及物性六大类(包括物质、关系、心理、话语、行为、存在)进行归纳分类界定,其目的在于将此分析结果与体裁结构进行对应对照。体裁结构的语篇成分为粒子状态,结合及物性对语篇的概念功能中的经验意义进行分析,其结构图为家谱式树形图。而与体裁结构截然不同的修辞结构则通过修辞结构理论(RST)为本研究中概念功能中的逻辑意义的分析提供依据,在对相同上述语篇分析时则呈现网状形态,修辞结构理论借用曼恩和汤姆逊(Mann & Thompson's 1987)在 20 世纪 80 年代首创的对语篇的逻辑关系进行分析而得出的 32 个逻辑关系定义及对应其语篇结构的图式。借用修辞结构理论的逻辑关系定义,笔者将最微观结构的小句与小句的关系进行图式建构,并运用这种建构与上述的体裁结构和修辞结构进行对比分析,进而为语法和语篇的接面研究提供证据。通过定性研究有如下新的发现:①以小句作为最小语篇切分单位,体育新闻报道(SN)与毕业典礼演讲(CS)在体裁结构和修辞结构上都呈现较大结构边缘较为一致的特征。②SN 与 CS 在中观结构的特征上呈现层级数相当但在总体中观结构的数量上与语篇长度成正比,其各自形成的较大结构的数量也与语篇的大小成正比。③SN 作为体育新闻,其体裁结构和修辞结构上均出现“来源”这一特殊现象,出现在语篇的导语和正文部分,没有出现在背景部分,作为体裁结构的成分之一及修辞结构的关系之一,此关系可视作对修辞结构理论关系的一个补充和修正。④CS 作为毕业典礼讲话,含有对故事的叙述,并出现较多的“序列”关系,而“序列”在体裁结构分析中不出现,但在修辞结构中频率较高,说明体裁结构的颗粒状特征和修辞结构的逻辑关系线特点,在进行相应的对比中发现,“序列”关系所在小句或“小句串”(此为作者首创名词)的及物性过程类型与相应的体裁结构或修辞结构不存在特性上的对应规律,但“序列”关系却会由各种内在特质,包括时间序列、突出度序列、因果序列、大小序列、一般到具体序列等。⑤SN 在及物性上呈现的过程类型的出现频率依次为物质型、关系型、话语型、心理型和行为型,无存在型,出现频率较高的事件或者行为的体裁结构成分,往往较多为物质型及行为型,参杂有关系型和话语型,而在修辞结构分析中,却无事件或者行为作为关系定义,取而代之的是出现频率较高的“详述”关系。⑥CS 的体裁结构分析图汇表明,语篇各个层次的体裁结构成分趋向于通过一定的及物性结构模式体现。⑦修辞结构理论图汇表明,CS 语篇涵盖了 SN 语篇出现的所有 11 种关系图式,包括作者认为应该增加的“来源”关系,以及背景、细化、目的、连接、意愿结果、情形、系列、对比、条件和让步等,同时还含有 SN 所没有的十种关系图式,包括使动、重述、非意愿结果、意愿原因、概要、解释、对照、动因、解决、评价等。可以认为,语篇越大,涵盖的关系图式种类也越丰富。⑧在 SN 的修辞结构分析中,从最低层次的小句与小句之间建立的逻辑关系,到最高层次的小句串或者小句与另外的小句串或者小句之间建立的逻辑关系,层次数最多的为八层,而在 CS 的修辞结构分析中,层次数最多的为 12 层,而在最上层和最下层之间,便是中观结构,最底层的一定是分析到可以与及物性过程类型一一对应的小句与小句之逻辑关系,最上层可以是小句串或小句与另外的小句串或小句之逻辑关系,某个多层结构中的中观结构的内容越复杂,那么相应的语篇之概念意义也就越复杂。定性研究中同时也将体裁混合与体裁杂交的现象作了归纳和总结,尤其在 CS 当中,把故

事渗透至说服性演讲词中是一种体裁混合的表现,而故事与劝戒相得益彰形成“导向—错综—评价—反思—劝戒”的体裁杂交现象。在定性研究中,也对 SN 和 CS 的连接词进行了描述与分析。

作者在定性研究基础上做了相关的定量研究。定量研究选取了 30 个体育新闻语篇、30 个毕业典礼演讲语篇,并力图对以下五个方面进行定量分析:①对体育新闻语篇和毕业典礼演讲语篇的“来源”成分或关系进行分析,需要研究分布特点,不同“来源”的方式探讨,对表达作者意义和实现目的的作用等。②对体育新闻语篇和毕业典礼演讲语篇的“序列”关系进行分析,查明是否体裁结构中的“系列”分属同一个成分,而不是两个成分,并找寻其逻辑关系的类型。③对体育新闻语篇的开头部分进行定量分析,查明其体现和被体现关系,找寻表达特殊意义的模式。④将毕业典礼演讲语篇的劝戒部分进行定量分析,查明其体现与被体现关系,从体现角度看小句之间类型有没有形成模式。⑤对中观结构进行分析,并找到体裁混合及体裁杂交的证据。

在定性定量分析的基础上,本书提出了五点:①“来源”应该作为修辞结构理论的关系定义增加;②“序列”关系中,在演讲体裁中较多出现由顺序产生的序列关系,而在新闻体裁中则多出现由时间产生的序列关系;③较长的语篇比较短的语篇在中观结构的层级数上较多,且微观结构也有所处的层级差异;④及物性直接影响具体语境下的语篇的实现模式,且受体裁混合及题材杂交之影响;⑤演讲语篇比新闻语篇更多出现连接词。

本书针对三个研究问题,在定性、定量研究相结合的基础上得出以下结论并发现:①以小句为中心的体裁结构和修辞结构分析图呈现二者关联和协同的锦图;②具有双向特征的中观结构在概念意义的建构中起着举足轻重的作用,也是实现体裁混合及体裁杂交的主要结构层;③通过词汇语法来实现语篇的概念功能,及物性过程类型和语篇中的局部交际目的变化直接相关。作者通过 UAM Corpus Tool 和 SPSS 21.0 软件分析并查明两段不同体裁的及物性过程不存在比例上的显著差异,但两组以体育新闻“导语”和毕业典礼演讲“教导”之间却存在显著差异。同时对小句间逻辑关系的连接词进行了归纳和总结。

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Preface

According to SFL, text/discourse is a semantic concept, which is composed of ideational meaning, interpersonal meaning and textual meaning interwoven into a meaningful structure. Thus, from the different perspectives related to meaning, text/discourse is equipped with generic structure/particulate structure/holistic structure (Mann & Thompson 1992), logical structure/relational structure, and exchange structure/negotiative structure (Martin & Rose 2008). In grammar, these three text structures are realized by transitivity structure, connective elements, and the corresponding elements of lexicon, mood and modality. The key to this dissertation lies in the analysis of the generic structure (GS), rhetorical structure (RS), transitivity structure as well as connective elements of the grammar, hence an interface study of the relationship between text structure and grammatical feature, with the focus on meso-structure and realization patterns, striving for valuable conventions or regularities via the such relations of the realizing and the realized between text structure and grammatical structure.

Clause, the largest unit within a grammatical structure, is however, the one which constitutes the smallest part within a text/discourse. The basic points of this dissertation are as follows: ① There exist relatively stable and corresponding relationships between grammatical structure and text structure and therefore the grammatical structures can lead to the realization of text structures and their components, due to the non-arbitrary nature of the relationship between grammar and meaning, despite the fact that grammar and text belong to different strata and hence exist linguistic phenomena such as diversification, conflation, or zero realization; ② The current research employs both a qualitative and a quantitative study, for a more elaborate approach to text structure via functional grammar; ③ Regularities, conventions or certain patterns can be found in the study of the interface between functional grammar and text structure, which will lead to the establishment of certain kinds of principles or rules in functional perspective, or

certain theoretical frameworks, in order to recognize, confirm or interpret the relationships between the two. The key of this study is to apply the theories in text structure so as to analyze the chosen texts from bottom-up, top-down, and two-way approaches, to find out the hidden regularities and characteristics of functional grammar in the given texts of particular genre types, in order to conduct an interface study between grammar and text, via both a qualitative and a quantitative study, for findings and justifications.

In the qualitative study of this book, two specific texts chosen from the two commonly used genres, namely news report and public speaking (one news report on sports of less than 200 words with the abbreviation “SN” and one commencement speech of more than 2 000 words with the abbreviation “CS”) for analysis. The author intends to use these two diversely different texts in terms of lengths and register (field, tenor, mode) and investigate three aspects of structural research via GS (generic structure) and RS (rhetorical structure). The employment of GS hereby strives for an analysis in a top-down manner, from macro-structure, meso-structure (a term coined by the author), down to micro-structure of the two texts. Meso-structure and realization patterns, which are closely related to each other, representing form and meaning respectively, and the findings of the research are directly connected with the critical issue of this study, i. e. the interface between grammar and text. GS is analyzed via Transitivity Process Types. Transitivity Process Types, based on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1985/1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004/2014), refer to the six process types (material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioural, existential) which are categorized in line with clauses of the two texts, corresponding to the GS structural analysis. The GS structural diagram presents a particulate text style in nature. Coupled with the Transitivity categorization which aims at experiential meaning of the ideational metafunction, it shows the text structure like a family tree. In contrast to GS structure, RS structure, is analyzed via the Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), representing the logical meanings of the ideational metafunction, looks more like a web. RST is based on Mann & Thompson’s (1987) theory originated in the 1980s, in which 32 logical relation definitions are given with schemas for text structure. The borrowing of RST’s logical definitions in the analysis of these two texts leads to the logical relational schemas between clause and clause. Hence, with a comparative study between GS and RS towards the text structures, evidences are provided for an interface between grammar and text. The findings of the qualitative study are as follows: ① As the smallest unit in the text,

the generic structure (GS) and the rhetorical structure (RS) of the SN and CS coincide with each other in terms of their respective borderlines. ② In small text and in big text, the number of levels of meso-structures are more or less the same within the same borderline, while the total number of meso-structures are in proportion to the lengths of the texts, and the number of relatively major structures formed in the two diagrams or diagram collections are in line with the size of the texts, either small, or big. ③ SN is a news report on sports, and both its GS and RS diagrams see the unique feature “source” as either the generic structure element or the rhetorical structure logical relation, a phenomenon which appears in the Lead and Body parts, but not the Background and this “source” relation is a development for the RST. ④ The big text is a commencement speech with stories told and with a frequent “sequence” RS relation and yet in no such terms used in the GS diagrams, and the relatively higher frequency of “sequence” only in RST justifies that GS elements are particulate in nature while RS relations are characterized by logical threads, and in the comparative study it can be seen that there is no obvious relationships or characteristics between the the process types of the clause(s) where “sequence” appears and the corresponding GS or RS. Yet the “sequence” relationship may vary in terms of the underlying causes between clause(s) and/or “clause cluster(s)” (a coined term by the author), including time, saliency, cause-effect, size (big-small), generality (general-specific). ⑤ The small text shows the process types for the transitivity as follows in the order of frequency: material, relational, verbal, mental, behavioural, without existential process. The GS diagram indicates that the generic elements of event or act/action with a higher degree of frequency among the different elements, tend to have material and behavioural, mingled with relational and verbal processes. Whereas in RS diagrams, there is no such a relation called event or act/action. Instead, the most frequent relation is “elaboration”. ⑥ GS diagrams of CS indicate that different level generic elements of the text tend to be realized via certain transitivity-based structural modes. ⑦ RST schemas collection indicates that CS text covers all the ten schemas that appear in SN text including “source” relation which the author believes should be added, and background, elaboration, purpose, joint, volitional result, circumstance, sequence, contrast, condition, and concession. Meanwhile it also covers ten other schemas which do not appear in SN, including enablement, restatement, non-volitional result, volitional cause, summary, interpretation, antithesis, motivation, solution and evaluation. Supposedly the longer the text, the richer the variety of schemas it covers. ⑧ In the RS analysis

of SN text, from the logical relations between clause and clause in the lowest rank to those between the clauses or clause clusters in the highest rank, the maximum number of ranks is eight. But in RST analysis of CS text, the maximum number is twelve. And between the highest rank and the lowest rank, lies the meso-structure. The lowest rank logical relation is analyzed via clause and clause corresponding to different transitivity process type. The highest rank logical relation between a clause or clause cluster and another clause or clause cluster. The more complicated the meso-structure is within the multi-ranking structures, the more complicated the corresponding ideational meanings of the text.

Based on the qualitative study, the author makes a quantitative analysis with 30 news reports on sports (SNs) and 30 commencement speeches (CSs), from the following five aspects: ① Choose the Source parts from the SNs and CSs and to find out the GS and RS distribution features or source categories, as they are associated with the communicative purpose(s) accordingly in the texts. ② Choose the Sequence parts from the SNs and CSs and to find out whether the corresponding generic elements in GS diagrams belong to the same or different components, hence a specific logical relation definition. ③ A quantitative study is made in terms of the Leads in SNs, in order to find out the particular relations between the realizing and the realized for special modes of meaning expressions. ④ A quantitative study is made in terms of the Instructions in CSs, in order to find out the particular relations between the realizing and the realized for special genre modes of meaning expressions. ⑤ Meso-structure is analyzed so as to find proofs for genre-mixing and genre-hybridation. In qualitative study, genre-mixing and genre-hybridation are also explained and summed up, particularly in CS, when stories are told in the persuasive speech it is a phenomenon of genre-mixing while the ultimate blending of narratives and instructions in the public speaking turns out to be genre-hybridation with the mode of “Orientation-Complication-Evaluation-Reflection-Instruction”. In the qualitative study, conjunctives or conjunctive expressions in SN and CS are analyzed and discussed.

Five tentative conclusive remarks are made based on qualitative and quantitative study. ① “Source” is added to the RST definition relations. ② The speech genre tends to have sequence of order than news report genre in which sequence of time takes the lead. ③ Meso-structure has more ranks in longer text than in shorter ones, and there are different ranks of micro-structures accordingly. ④ In terms of transitivity, process types have their respective characteristics in respective realization patterns in line with specific contexts, and the impact of

genre-mixing as well as genre-hybridation. ⑤ Speech genre text tends to have higher frequency of use of connectives than the news report genre text as to connective elements.

The book strives for the answers to the three research questions raised at the very beginning and has the following results or findings: ① Clause-based Tapestry exists for GS and RS with the association and coordination between them; ② The bidirectional meso-structure plays a vital role in the ideational meaning building, and its different ranks primarily make the genre-mixing and genre-hybridation possible; ③ The ideational metafunction is realized by lexico-grammar, and transitivity process types have the direct relation with the detailed communicative purpose(s) of the text. Using UAM Corpus Tool and SPSS21.0, the author analyzes and finds out that there is no statistically significant difference between two texts in terms of their respective percentages in transitivity process types, and yet there is statistically significant difference between the Leads in SNs and the Instructions in CSs in the same aspect. At the same time, the connectives or connective expressions in the SN and CS as well SNs and CSs are investigated.

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List of Abbreviations

CC	Contextual Configuration
CC'	Clause Cluster
C. C.	Clause Complex
CS	Commencement Speech
CSs	Commencement Speeches
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DG	Dependency Grammar
GPSG	Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar
GE	Generic Element
GS	Generic Structure
GSP	Generic Structure Potential
HPSG	Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar
LFG	Lexical-Functional Grammar
MDA	Vmulti-modal Discourse Analysis
Meso-S	Meso-Structure
Micro-S	Micro-Structure
TG/TGG	Transformational-Generative Grammar
N	Nucleus in RST
ObE	Obligatory Elements
OpE	Optional Elements
P & P	Principles and Parameters Theory
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
Rec-E	Recurrent or Recursive Elements
RS	Rhetorical Structure
RST	Rhetorical Structure Theory
S	Satellite in RST
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SN	News Report on Sports
SNs	News Reports on Sports

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