# 系统功能语言学前沿动态

——第八届中国系统功能语言学 学术活动周报告文集

Current Issues in Systemic Functional Linguistics
——Papers from the 8th Chinese Systemics Week

张敬源 彭漪 何伟 主编



外语教学与研究出版社 FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

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### 前言

### ——第八届中国系统功能语言学学术活动周情况介绍

《系统功能语言学前沿动态》一书由两部分组成:第一部分为专家在"第八届中国系统功能语言学学术活动周"期间所做的报告,该书收录了11位专家和学者撰写的有关系统功能语言学各个领域最新研究成果的10篇文章,其他未能收录在内的报告都已经或即将在有关期刊上发表,第二部分是一辑关于加的夫语法专题的研究论文,共有4篇。此处需要指出的是:专家报告的编排顺序是以"学术活动周"期间报告的时间安排为基准的,以方便参与活动周的专家、学者、教师和同学们参考,而加的夫语法专题研究论文的顺序则是按照从面到点,由理论到应用的原则编排的。

为了使读者对此书的编写背景有一个比较全面的了解,我们在此简单介绍一下"第八届中国系统功能语言学学术活动周"的举办情况。有关"学术活动周学术报告内容"的比较详细的综述,见《北京科技大学学报(社会科学版)》2009年第1期,更为全面的综述,见高等教育出版社2009年出版的《功能语言学与语篇分析研究(第一辑)》,即《第十届全国功能语言学研讨会论文集》。

首先我们向大家介绍一下本届学术活动周的概况。由中国功能语言学研究会主办、北京科技大学外国语学院承办的"第八届中国系统功能语言学学术活动周"(The 8th Chinese Systemics Week),于2008年3月10日至14日在北京科技大学举行。活动周的主题是"系统功能语言学"研究,"加的夫语法"探讨是其特别主题。国内外共有13位专家应邀担任本届活动周的主讲,他们做了共计16场学术报告。参加此次活动的人员还有来自全国40多所高校和研究机构的130多名教师、博士研究生和硕士研究生。

从整体角度讲,本届学术活动周的16场报告为国内功能语言学界铺开了一幅 宏伟壮丽而又博大精深的学术研究画面,这对于正在学习功能语言学的广大学生 和正在致力于本学科研究的众多学者来说,无疑是一次学术盛宴。大家一致认为 此次活动令人受益匪浅:大家不仅聆听了专家们带来的系统功能语言学这一学科 的最新研究成果,而且明确了下一步的研究方向。

接下来,我们向大家介绍一下本届学术活动周期间专家所作报告的情况。由于本届活动周的特别主题是"加的夫语法"探讨,作为加的夫语法创始人,Robin P. Fawcett教授在活动周内共作了总题为《加的夫语法介绍:21世纪系统功能语法认知一互动模式》的4场专题报告。每场报告分别讲述其中的一部分。在第一场

报告中,Fawcett脉络清晰地介绍了加的夫语法的由来和发展、与悉尼语法同祖同 宗的关系以及二者之间的差异。从中我们可以看出,悉尼语法侧重于社会—文化 模式,而加的夫语法在强调认知—互动模式重要性的同时,还认同一个语言模式 同时也是一种社会一文化模式的观点。加的夫语法对认知一互动模式的强调源自 其对语言生成角度的研究,这是建立计算机语言模式的一个必须的环节。Fawcett 的第二场报告讲述了英语小句的功能结构。从"意义是如何体现的" 这一问题人 手,Fawcett讨论了加的夫语法与悉尼语法对小句功能结构单一性或多重性的不同 看法。通过该报告,我们可以看出加的夫语法比较明确地区分开了语言的意义层 次和句法层次,对语气系统网络进行了进一步的语义化。这也正是悉尼语法中一 直以来令人迷惑的地方。在第三场报告中,Fawcett介绍了加的夫语法中的词组 类型、词组的分析方式、嵌入句和嵌入篇章。加的夫语法对相关现象的处理与悉 尼语法有类似的地方,也有不同之处。从实际分析过程看,加的夫语法中的某些 处理方式更加简单易行。Fawcett的第四场报告主要介绍了加的夫语法的生成性。 该报告体现了建构加的夫语法的目的:用于计算机自然语言的处理分析和生成。 本书收录的Fawcett名为 "A Semantic System Network for MOOD in English"的文 章,是Fawcett在SFG框架下对其语义化语气系统网络较为全面的描述。

胡壮麟教授报告的题目是《系统功能语言学的社会语言学渊源》。胡教授的报告从系统功能语言学的起步和发展过程谈起,通过论述马利诺夫斯基、弗斯和韩礼德等奠基人的语言学研究思想,以及新一代代表人物,如哈桑、马丁和麦西逊等人的研究活动,论证了系统功能语言学具有社会语言学的思想渊源这一观点。

朱永生教授题为《多元读写能力研究及其对我国教学改革的启示》的报告,从当今世界的发展和变化谈起,在介绍了"新伦敦小组"的由来,讨论了多元读写能力与传统意义上的读写能力的区别,以及西方国家对多元读写能力培养的高度重视后,指出我国在多元读写研究和多元读写能力培养方面已经落后于西方国家。为了缩小我国与其他国家在这方面的差距,朱教授提出了八点培养多元读写能力的具体做法。

方琰教授作了题为《在系统功能语言学的视角下看汉语的发展》的报告。方教授在报告中阐明了从系统功能语言学视角研究汉语的意义,介绍了韩礼德的意义潜势扩展理论。在此基础上,方教授着重讨论了汉语中意义潜势系统的扩展性以及其得以扩展的种种原因。

张德禄教授的报告题为《汉语语气系统的特点》。同方琰教授的报告一样, 张教授的报告也是运用系统功能语言学理论对汉语进行的研究。报告通过典型例 子说明了汉语与英语语气系统的不同:汉语语气系统的特点取决于汉语在其自身 文化语境中的交际功能以及汉语语言的孤立性;与之相对的是,英语语气系统的 特点取决于英语语言在其自身文化语境中的交际功能和它的语言系统特点。

李战子教授在其题为《从语气、情态到评价》的报告中,运用Halliday"词汇语法连续统"的观点,通过综述Martin、Lemke等对一些特定评价类别的研究,把语气、情态这两个语法范畴与评价这一词汇范畴有机地联系了起来,提出了以这三者的关联性来探讨系统功能语法的"词汇语法连续统"这一观点,并说明了该观点在语义学和话语分析中的重要性。

姜望琪教授报告的题目是《Martin的语篇语义学思想》。姜教授的报告从Martin的学术背景谈起,向大家系统地介绍了Martin于1992年出版的经典著作《英语篇章——系统与结构》中所阐述的语篇语义学思想。姜教授指出,Martin的语篇语义学思想受到了他的大学老师Gregory和Gutwinski、硕士研究生导师Gleason以及博士研究生导师Halliday的影响,该报告是对Martin里程碑式学术思想的一个很好的概述。

杨信彰教授的报告《科学语篇和教育语篇的分析》指出,科学语篇和教育语 篇在人类生活中发挥着很大的作用,研究科学语言和教育语言已成为当代语言学 研究的重要课题。杨教授的报告即是围绕着这两种语篇的特点而展开的。在报告 中,杨教授讨论了科学语篇的特点及其范畴,介绍了教育语篇的定义、范畴以及 学者们对教育语篇的研究情况,阐述了名词化现象在语体中的作用,强调了"名 词化的使用与语体类型有着不可分割的联系"这一观点。此处需要指出:此报告 没有收辑在本书中,本书收辑的是杨教授最新撰写的关于另外一个话题的一篇 论文。

田贵森教授做了一场题为《功能语言学在中国的应用研究与发展》的报告。 在报告中,田教授总结了功能语言学研究在国内的发展历程,将功能语言学的研究分为基础或理论研究、应用研究和实证研究三大类,具体探讨了功能语言学在 英语教学、翻译实践、文体分析等方面的应用研究。

任绍曾教授的报告题目是《信息结构的另外一种分析方式》。任教授的报告 围绕着Halliday和Chafe对信息单位的划分方法展开了讨论,表明Halliday和Chafe 对信息单位的二分法和三分法的出发点是不同的——虽然二者都是以听话者为取向,但是前者更注重语言层次,而后者的着眼点是人们认知机制中的意识状态,并指出Chafe的三分法不能取代Halliday的二分法。

程晓堂教授在题为《欠连贯语篇的语篇特征研究》的报告中,阐述了对欠连贯语篇进行系统研究的重要性,并以系统功能语言学和语篇语言学为理论指导,

基于现有的连贯研究,以真实语料为研究对象,借助语料库的研究方法,归纳出了欠连贯语篇的主要特征,同时也明确了下一步的研究任务。本书收录的是程教授利用语域理论分析解决英语教学课堂语篇中有关问题的文章。

刘世生教授的报告题目为《语言中的权力与礼貌——适用修辞学模式探讨》。 在报告中,刘教授介绍了现代文体学的五个流派,概括了各个流派的特点,阐明 了系统功能语言学对现代文体学的重要影响。在对文体学和修辞学进行区分的基础上,刘教授引入积极修辞学和消极修辞学的概念,结合美国新修辞学两种学派 的观点,提出了适用修辞学的概念,认为适用修辞学综合了积极修辞学和消极修 辞学的特点。

黄国文教授在题为《系统功能语言学发展述评》的报告中,围绕着系统功能语言学研究发展状况这个主题,主要讲述了六个方面的内容:系统功能语言学发展的几个阶段、研究范围的拓展与跨学科倾向、系统功能语言学与普通语言学的关系、系统功能语言学与适用语言学的关系、加的夫语法的提出和发展以及评价理论的提出和发展。

从本届学术活动周16场报告的内容来看,13位国内外专家所探讨的话题主要集中在以下几个方面: 讲述系统功能语言学中除悉尼模式之外的另一个主要模式——加的夫语法,追溯系统功能语言学的渊源思想和发展过程,阐释并发展系统功能语言学中的某个特定理论,运用系统功能语言学视角研究汉语语言系统,探讨系统功能语言学对现代文体学的影响,借鉴其他学科理论发展系统功能语言学,概述系统功能语言学的应用发展,讨论系统功能语言学对教学改革的启示等。这些话题表明系统功能语言学发展到今天,已不再是个别语言学,而是普通语言学和适用语言学。作为普通语言学和适用语言学,系统功能语言学不仅要继续朝着纵深方向发展,通过整合不同模式的研究成果,使对语言系统本身的研究更加全面和完善,而且要加强横向的延伸,通过吸取其他学科的研究发现,使对语言系统和社会其他系统之间关系的探究更加深入和普遍。在这种大的原则指导下,系统功能语言学要通过其理论、应用和实证研究的本土化,进一步加强其作为普通语言学的地位,检验其作为适用语言学的能力。这正是系统功能语言学界学者们下一步要努力的方向。

鉴于"第八届中国系统功能语言学学术活动周"的特别主题是系统功能语法中的加的夫模式,而国内对加的夫模式即加的夫语法的介绍和研究还不充分,我们特别组织专家、学者撰写了一组关于加的夫语法的文章。我们相信,这些文章将有助于我们对系统功能语言学内加的夫模式的进一步探讨。

第一篇文章,即《加的夫模式功能句法分析概观》一文,由何伟、张旭平撰

写。文章借助于实例分析,简单介绍了加的夫模式所讲述的功能句法分析步骤。介绍大体上分为两个部分:第一部分是对小句的具体分析,重点放在对小句直接成分的识别方法及顺序上;第二部分是对句子内小句的识别以及小句关系的梳理,以实现对句子的整体认识。最后,文章对加的夫模式句法分析的特点进行了总结。

第二篇文章是由张敬源、顾颖撰写的《加的夫语法对悉尼语法词组单位的扩展》一文。文章结合加的夫语法的核心思想,以词组单位为例,通过比较两种模式的异同,说明了加的夫语法是对悉尼语法的扩展这一观点。文章发现,加的夫语法弱化了级阶思想,进一步从语义功能的角度对词组进行了分类和描述,扩大了词组涵盖的范围,解决了悉尼语法中的一些问题,如对名词词组中of的关注扩大了其语义范围,文章认为将悉尼语法中的"动词词组"各成分提升到小句层面上,避免了不一致的问题,性质词组的引入充分考虑到了形容词词组和副词词组的语义和结构特征,而数量词组的提出对数量表达给予了充分描述。

第三篇文章的题目是《英语假分裂句:加的夫语法视角》,由何恒幸撰写。 文章通过对英语假分裂句What I want is the book on the desk的句法分析,说明加 的夫语法分析跟传统语法分析很不相同,虽然与悉尼语法有共同的系统功能语言 学理论基础,但也有悉尼语法所没有的特色与优势,尽管同时还存在一些不足之 处。加的夫语法的确既是对悉尼语法模式的简化,又是对悉尼语法模式的扩展。

第四篇文章是由彭漪、王艳萍撰写的《基于加的夫模式对中西方英文报纸语言特点的对比分析》一文。文章主要在加的夫语法模式下,对中西方英文报纸新闻报道的语言特点进行了比较和分析,指出中西方报纸在句子的复杂程度、主语的选择和名词化现象的使用等三方面存在差异,并根据加的夫语法中的信念系统说,从参与者、思维方式和意识形态三个方面揭示了造成这些差异的原因。

最后,作为结束语,我们要表达我们对学界专家的衷心感谢。没有他们的 鼓励和指导,我们不可能举办这样一个成功的学术活动周,没有他们的参与和支 持,我们也不可能编辑出这样一部有益于学科发展的学术书籍。同时,我们也要 感谢外语教学与研究出版社承担本书的出版事宜,使本书得以尽早与读者见面。

> 张敬源 彭漪 何伟 于北京科技大学外国语学院 2008年10月26日

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### 一、专家报告

### A Semantic System Network for MOOD in English

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#### 1. Orientation

#### 1.1 The two purposes of this paper

The first purpose of this paper is to make available to linguists and applied linguists in China the semantic system network for MOOD in English that has been developed in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar, so that it can be used in whatever way that you, the reader, may find useful. One possible use would be as a guide in the task of analyzing the semantics of interpersonal meaning in texts. This approach would be especially useful when analyzing spoken discourse, which displays the fullest variety of choices in MOOD—including speech in novels, and so one aspect of literary stylistics. Another use would be as an aid in designing programs for teaching adult learners of spoken English, and yet another might be in curriculum development for learning English in schools—and so on.<sup>1</sup>

But in what way, you may ask, is this system network different from the system

<sup>1.</sup> The research that is drawn on here was in large measure carried out as part of the COMMUNAL Project. COMMUNAL was supported by grants from the Speech Research Unit at DRA Malvern for over ten years, as part of Assignment No. ASO4BP44 on Spoken Language Understanding and Dialogue (SLUD), by ICL and Longman in Phase 1, and throughout by Cardiff University. I would also like to express my personal thanks to the two friends and colleagues to whom I am most indebted. The first is Michael Halliday, the 'father' of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the linguist to whom I, like many others, owe the basis of my current model of language. The second major debt is to Gordon Tucker, who has worked with me in (i) developing the version of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) that has come to be known as the Cardiff Grammar, and (ii) in implementing it in the COMMUNAL computer model of language. This paper has grown out of the combination of (i) an expansion of the notes used in a talk on this topic to the 23rd International Systemic Functional Linguistics Congress, University of Technology, Sydney in 1996; (ii) a slightly revised version of Chapter 11 of Fawcett 2008a; and (iii) the fuller system networks that are used at Cardiff University and elsewhere by students and others when analyzing the semantics of MOOD.

network for MOOD that can be found in most introductions to Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)?<sup>1</sup> This question brings us to the second purpose of this paper—which is to explain the historical and theoretical background to the emergence of this very different way of looking at MOOD.

Let me begin by offering a short answer to the question 'How does the system network for MOOD that will be presented here differ from the "standard" MOOD network?' In simple terms, the answer is that this network is at the level of **meaning**, while the standard one (which is Halliday's MOOD network from the 1960s) at the level of **form**.

1. Most of these 'introductions' are 'introductions to an introduction'—i.e. to Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar (1985, 1994 and, as revised by Matthiessen, 2004, henceforth IFG). This is a fascinating book, packed with insights and interesting ideas, but one that is far from being an introduction for beginners in linguistics! Surprisingly, perhaps, the well-known and widely reproduced simple MOOD network does not appear in the first two editions of IFG itself. It has become widely known through being reproduced by other scholars, chiefly in textbooks that introduce Halliday's work: first in the 1970s, in books such as Muir 1972 and Berry 1975, and then more recently in a second series of introductory textbooks based on IFG, such as Eggins 1994 and 2004, Bloor & Bloor 1995 and 2004, Butt et al 1995 and Thompson 1996 and 2004. However, all of the usual introductory MOOD network (and a few additional systems) can be inferred from Halliday's verbal description (e.g. 1994:43), and it is this verbal description by Halliday himself (rather than the versions found in the various introductions to IFG) that is reproduced in Figure 5 in Section 2.1.

Halliday explains the lack of system networks in *IFG* by saying that what he is presenting in *IFG* is, in his words (1994:xv): 'not the systemic portion of a description of English, with the grammar represented as networks of choices, but the structural portion in which we show how the options are realized... The systemic portion is currently stored in a computer.' Where his readers would like the networks to be, however, is not 'in a computer' but publicly available to a general readership in published books!

I now have to ask myself whether I am guilty of a similar unwillingness to make my system networks publicly available. While it is true that the most complete version of the Cardiff Grammar's system network for the meaning potential of English is similarly 'in a computer', numerous portions of it have been reproduced in published works, especially works by Huang, Tucker and myself. And very many more will be made available with the publication of Fawcett forthcoming 2008 and forthcoming 2009. The present paper supplements these by bringing 'the systemic portion' of the grammar of MOOD out of the computer, and making it available for general use, e.g. in analyzing texts.

It will be the easiest to explain the significance of this difference with the help of a diagram of how language works. Please consider Figure 1.

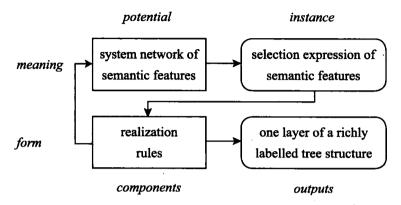


Figure 1: The components and their outputs in a systemic functional grammar

The system network for MOOD is a part of the full system network of the language's meaning potential (to use Halliday's own apt term for describing the top left component in Figure 1). The features in the network are therefore semantic features. In other words, we assume here that MOOD is an area of the semantics of a language in which choices are made such that THEY ASSIGN COMMUNICATION ROLES TO THE PERFORMER (whether speaker or writer) AND THE ADDRESSEE (whether listener or reader)—roles such as 'seeker of information' and 'giver of information', and also 'performer of proposed action' and 'permitter of proposed action'—and also, as we shall see, many others.

<sup>1.</sup> Halliday introduced this term during the period in the late 1960s and early 1970s when he made the revolutionary proposal that the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME and so on should be regarded as the semantics of a language. See Chapter 4 of Fawcett 2000a, Fawcett 2008a and 2008b for the evidence that this was his position for a while—even though he appears now to have reverted to his earlier position in Halliday 1961/76/2002 and related works, which is that such systems are part of the level of form. The position taken by those working in the framework of the Cardiff Grammar is that the challenging model of language that Halliday presented us within the early 1970s provides a more insightful framework for understanding the nature of human language than the model presented in, for example, Halliday & Matthiessen 1999 and Halliday's 2004 revision of *IFG* (which proposes that there should be an additional layer of system networks above those for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME and the like).

A traversal of the system network produces as its output a selection expression, i.e. a set of semantic features. One output from a simple MOOD network might consist of the two features 'information' and 'giver'—so generating an 'information giver'.

These meanings, however, are not left 'floating in the air', as it were. As Figure 1 shows, they become the input for a set of explicit realization rules, and the output from these is one layer of structure at the level of form.

This is the procedure that all meanings in a Systemic Functional Grammar go though in order to be realized as forms. But what are these 'forms', through which MOOD meanings may be realized? The full set of types of 'form' are:

- (i) in functional syntax (i.e. in 'grammatical structure'),
- (ii) in items (the words that expound the elements of the clause and other units), and also
- (iii) in either **intonation** or **punctuation**—depending on whether the mode of discourse is spoken or written.<sup>1</sup>

And, as we shall see in Section 5, all of these play a role in the realization of MOOD meanings—though in the introductory description in Section 5 we shall focus mainly on realizations in syntax and items.

A semantic system network of options in MOOD provides a far richer and far wider range of resources for expressing subtle distinctions in assigning communication roles than there are in Halliday's small network for MOOD (which will be summarized in Figure 5 in Section 2.1). It is not hard to see why this is so. His network was first established in the 1960s, so BEFORE the time when he introduced the revolutionary concept that system networks should model choices between meanings—and HIS MOOD NETWORK HAS BARELY CHANGED SINCE THAT TIME. In effect, it is as if his network was at the level at which we find the realization rules in Figure 1, i.e. the level of form. Indeed, this was his original conception of where system networks belonged in his seminal paper 'Categories of the theory of grammar' (1961/76/2002).

<sup>1.</sup> The description of generation in a SFG that I have just given in a brief and informal manner is set out more fully (but using the same diagram) in many of my recent publications (including two recently published in China), e.g. Fawcett 2000a, 2003, 2006, 2008a and finally, in both English and Chinese, in Huang, He & Liao 2008.

The fact that the network to be presented here is at the level of semantics means that it is able to throw far more light on what users of English are accomplishing, through their choices in MOOD, than a network that merely shows choices between forms.

As I have said, the first purpose of this paper is to make this semantic system network for MOOD in English available for use by scholars in China. But its second purpose is to explain why it is important to replace the earlier system network by one that is explicitly semantic. The first half of this paper (Sections 1-4) will fulfil the second of these two purposes, and the first purpose will be fulfilled by the long Section 5—which constitutes most of the second half of the paper—together with the Appendix. So, if you are not interested in the reasons for preferring a semantic system network and you simply want a tool for analyzing the semantics of texts, you may wish to skip the rest of the first half of the paper, and go straight to Section 5.

The plan for the rest of Section 1 is as follows. After setting the scene in Section 1.2, we shall briefly examine, in Sections 1.3 to 1.5, the relationship of MOOD to a component that is located 'above' it—to employ the usual metaphor of 'levels' of language—i.e. discourse structure. Section 1.6 then establishes the relationship between MOOD and the other system networks of the semantics of English. Section 1.7 provides a summary of the historical background to the development of the revised network—and concludes by asking four key questions. Section 1.8 then explains the structure of the rest of the paper, in relation to these four questions.

### 1.2 MOOD in relation to the other components of language

The system network for MOOD is often spoken of in the introductory writings of Halliday and others as if it was entered in parallel ('simultaneously') with other major networks, such as those for TRANSITIVTY and THEME. But it is not; that is a simplification of the true relationship between the major system networks of English carried over from Halliday's early, exploratory system networks.

If we want to understand the true position of MOOD in English (and in related languages) we need to locate it in relation to the rest of language—and in two ways. The first is in its relationship to a higher component of language, i.e. the component—or, in the model proposed in Martin 1992, the components (in the plural)—which describe **discourse structure**. And the second way in which we need to locate the system network for MOOD in English is its relationship to the other system networks within the semantics of the lexicogrammar of English, i.e. the component that generates text-sentences.

#### 1.3 MOOD in relation to the structure of discourse: An overview

The models that have been developed for planning and analyzing the structure of discourse fall into three broad categories of what we shall term 'discourse grammar'. Some researchers in language (e.g. in the field of Natural Language Generation, in Computational Linguistics) use just one of them (though this severely restricts the types of text they can handle); many systemic functional linguists use two types; and a very few use all three—as we shall here, and as does Martin in *English Text* (1992).

Each of the three types of 'discourse grammar' generates a different aspect of the structure of discourse, as follows:

- 1 genre structure (many 'grammars', with one for each type of genre, but with some 'sub-genres' sharing partly similar 'genre grammars');
- 2 exchange structure (one 'grammar' for all genres, but with varying probabilities for each; mostly used for dialogue—spoken or written); and
- 3 rhetorical structure (one 'grammar' for all genres, but, as with exchange structure, with varying probabilities for each; mostly used for monologue—spoken or written).

In the present approach, these three types of 'discourse grammar' are regarded as being very closely interlinked, so that they are in effect one large 'discourse grammar' (unlike the model assumed in Martin 1992). The overall structure is provided by the genre structure, which Martin has usefully defined as 'a staged, goal-oriented social process' (1992:505).

But here we shall not be concerned with genre structure; the types of 'discourse grammar' that affect MOOD are those that generate exchange structure and rhetorical structure. Their highest units 'fill' elements of the genre structure, and their 'lower' portions terminate in acts—and it is these that influence—either directly or indirectly—the choices in MOOD. However, we should note that the lower two 'discourse grammars' also interact with each other (hence the word 'mostly' in the descriptions above of the second and third types). Thus a rhetorical structure, which may well have

<sup>1.</sup> However, I shall continue to use 'scare quotes' round the term 'discourse grammar', to make it clear that such 'grammars' are very different in nature from the grammar from which text-sentences are generated.