

系统功能类型学视角
英汉投射语言对比研究

本专著获得广东省青年创新人才类项目《共时与历时视角下古汉诗读本的多模态语篇研究》(2018WQNCX123)和广东金融学院“创新强校工程”青年创新人才项目(序号41科学研究与社会服务项目类别)资助。

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Contrastive Analysis of
Projection in English and Chinese:
Systemic-Functional Typological Perspective

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序 言

本人一直致力于投射语言现象的英汉对比研究,其中涉及投射语言的各种语法实现方式,本人的博士论文研究的是投射环境成分的英汉对比,并且在国际上发表系列论文,分别讨论英汉投射意义在小句层面,在连词中以及在附加语中的种种实现方式。本拙作便是尝试整合之前这些研究,把本人关于投射研究的一点观察贯穿成书。

投射与传统语法中的“转述语”相对应。国外主要语言学流派对于引述语句法研究已经相当充分,如传统语法(Jespersen 1922; Quirk et al. 1985)、生成语法(Partee 1973; Banfield 1982)、文学研究(Leech and Short 1981; Fludernik 2009; Semino and Short 2004)、认知语言学(Vandelanotte and Davidse 2009)等。但系统功能语言学以投射的概念对“转述语”进行重新阐释,极大地扩展了其内涵与外延。“投射”是一个语义概念,指用来表征语言的语言,描述的是二级现实,其涵盖了从语篇、小句到短语、词组各个级阶的语言形式。由于其丰富的哲学内涵,学者对投射语言在各个层次的表征方式以及在各类语篇中起到的功能进行长期深入探索。

本书共由 13 章构成,第一章为引言,介绍英汉对比方法以及研究思路和研究数据来源。第二章和第三章是对投射语言研究的综述。第二章重点关注各个流派对投射和环境成分的研究,未涉及系统功能语言学。第三章运用文献综合量化分析方法,总结回顾系统功能语言学的投射研究,为有兴趣投身投射研究的读者提供概貌,指明方向。第四章对投射小句复合体进行研究,以新闻语料库为观察对象,尝试对比和解释投射小句在小句复合体中的句法位置问题。第五章对比分析英汉的人际投射,探讨情态附加语与投射意义之间的关系。第六章介绍系统功能语言学把投射与环境成分结合的独特理论视角。第七章讨论汉语连词中的投射意义问题,分析汉语中出现“说”的连词与投射之间的关系。第八到十一章对投射环境成分进行英汉对比分析。第十二章基于平行语料库数据对投射环境成分的英汉翻译转换现象进行研究,以进一步揭示英汉差异。第十三章讨论本研究对类型学方面的启示,提出几个供将来研究的类型学参数。由于时间仓促,并且是不同时期的研究整合而成,书中难免有错误与不足之处,还请读者多多包涵并批评指正。

本专著获得广东省 2018 年度普通高校青年创新人才类项目《共时与历时视角下古汉诗读本的多模态语篇研究》(2018WQNCX123)和广东金融学院“创新强校工程”青年创新人才项目(序号 41 科学研究与社会服务项目类别)资助,特此感谢。

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Significance

The general purpose of this study is to observe how and why projection is manifested differently in English and Chinese under the theoretical framework of SFL. And the object of the comparison in this study is Projection, a notion developed in Systemic Functional Grammar (hereafter SFG) to refer to speech representation (Quirk et al. 1985) or speech reporting (Collins 2001) or quotation (e.g. Bell 1991) in traditional sense. But the term Projection is defined at the semantic level whereas the traditional concepts are defined at the formal level (see section 1.2.5 for further discussion). Thus, within the framework of SFG, this study considers the traditional sense of speech representation as only one form of projection. Projection can be realized by, in traditional terms, subordination, coordination, adverbials, adjuncts, cleft sentence and nominal groups. The present research will focus on adverbials or adjuncts which bear projecting force, or in SF term, projecting Circumstance or Adjunct (the relation between Circumstance and Adjunct will be discussed below), as illustrated in examples 1.1e and 1.1f below.

[1.1a] He says some people won't like it. (subordination)

[1.1b] Some people won't like it, he says. (coordination)

[1.1c] It is said that some people won't like it. (cleft sentence)

[1.1d] I remember his saying that some people won't like it. (nominal groups)

[1.1e] According to him, some people won't like it. (adverbials / adjuncts)

[1.1f] Reportedly, some people won't like it. (adjuncts)

William Croft illustrates the significance of cross-linguistic comparison:

... by examining a number of diverse languages, one will find striking, fascinating and sometimes mysterious connections between certain linguistic structures that one would not have imagined if one's attention were restricted to one language or a few typologically similar languages.

—William Croft (2002:10-11)

The current study concentrates on the comparison between two languages—English and Chinese. The significance of comparing two languages in this study is two-fold: (i) Different grammatical features of projecting Circumstance in English and Chinese may reveal some typological/systemic differences about the two languages. For example, it seems none of the previous studies has noticed why a projecting element *gōngbù* “announce” should be added in the Circumstance in Chinese compared with the counterpart in English, as shown below:

[1.2a]	According to the government, ...		
[1.2b]	<i>jù</i>	<i>zhèngfǔ</i>	<i>gōngbù</i> , ...
	据	政府	公布
	acc.	government	announce

This difference could not be thoroughly understood without being approached from Projection as well as typological differences between the two languages. (ii) The comparison between English and Chinese will uncover some grammatical features of Projection that do not necessarily exist in all languages such as the occurrence of *lái* “come” in *yī wǒ kàn lái* “acc. I come see” (in my opinion), which deserves more attention. How should the morpheme of *lái* be analyzed grammatically? How can we classify projecting Circumstance in a way that could generalize neatly the systemic differences between the two languages? Therefore, this thesis will contribute to the theory of Projection in SFG by examining the metafunctional nature, the grammatical structures and translation shifts of projecting Circumstance in an English-Chinese contrastive manner.

1.2 Methodology and Research Questions

The definition of language typology, according to Croft (2002:1-3), has developed through three stages: typological classification, typological generalization and functional-typological explanation. The classification approach refers to an observation of structural types across languages. The generalization approach aims at identifying some linguistic patterns found in a range of languages which are theorized to be language universals such as the notion of implicational universals introduced by Greenberg (1966). The explanation approach is “closely allied to **functionalism**, the view that linguistic structure should be explained primarily in terms of linguistic function (the Chomskyan approach is contrastively titled **formalism**) (Croft 2002: 2).” For this reason, the explanation approach is often called the functional-typological approach. The basic idea is that language structures can be explained in terms of semiotic functions, external factors, and common perception of human-beings (cf. Comrie 1989 and works in Haiman 1985). The present study assumes a systemic-functional typological perspective that draws heavily on SFL. As a theory that is discourse-oriented and meaning-focused, SFL complements functional typology in the following aspects (Caffarel et al. 2004: 4):

- (1) SFL ensures that the features being typologized can be motivated independently for each particular language by reference to naturally-occurring discourse.
- (2) The typological generalizations would be based on a multidimensional view of language as a meaning potential.
- (3) A multidimensional theory of language like SFL deepens our understanding that languages are far too complicated to be typologized as a whole. It is only a particular system or semantic domain that can be typologized across languages.

Languages have been well documented from this perspective (e.g. chapters in Caffarel et al. 2004; Caffarel 2006; Bardi 2008; Kumar 2008; Li 2007; Teruya 2007). Further contrastive analyses between two languages and comparative analyses of multiple languages began to surge in recent years (Lavid et al. 2010; Matthiessen et al. 2015; Matthiessen et al. 2016). The systemic typological studies of the comprehensive functional grammar of languages will not be reviewed here because this thesis, different from the studies above, focuses on a very specific grammatical unit. An extensive overview of systemic typological studies and their relevance to other typological approaches can be found in Mwinlaaru and Xuan (2016). Notably, Mwinlaaru and Xuan (2016) call for a new area of research that initiates systematic analysis of grammatical units below the clause. Hence a contrastive analysis on projecting Circumstance in English and Chinese, as is presented in this thesis, would serve as a precursor in this direction.

It is also necessary to mention *the cross-linguistic comparability*, a methodological issue any typological study needs to address. The notion stresses that the same phenomenon across languages has to be correctly identified for the purpose of comparison. The essential problem is that one category of grammatical feature recognized in one language does not exist in another language. For example, in a typological study of subordination systems across a wide range of languages, Cristofaro (2003) finds it inapplicable to define subordination on lexicogrammatical grounds. The criteria such as clausal embedding and use of non-finite verb forms can no longer apply in Chinese. For instance:

- [1.3] tā hē le jiǔ, jiù shuì zhāo le
他 喝 了 酒 就 睡 着 了
He drink ASP wine, then sleep succeed ASP.
“After he drank the wine, he went to sleep.”

The Chinese sentence, morphosyntactically involving two independent clauses, would be excluded as an instance of subordination if subordination were not defined on functional ground. It has been

repeatedly argued in typological literature that the object of typological studies should be defined in language-independent, semantic/pragmatic terms (Cristofaro 2003; Croft 2002). Hence, Cristofaro (2003: 33-34) proposes to identify the asymmetry between two clauses through criteria that reflect the interpersonal function of a clause such as negation, questioning and question tagging (cf. Matthiessen 2002 on free and bound clauses).

To put it in SF terms, the domain for cross-linguistic comparison is better identified at semantic stratum than at lexicogrammatical stratum. The semantic domain, as illustrated above in section 1.2.5, provides a theoretically well-grounded solution to the issue. Therefore, it should be noted that the term *projection*, the object of English-Chinese comparison in this study, is defined on functional/semantic grounds (see Chapter 3 for more discussions).

The current research questions are based on the five strategies in designing a study in language descriptions and typologies proposed by Matthiessen (2015):

- (1) theoretical guidance;
- (2) typological guidance;
- (3) transfer comparison;
- (4) analysis of registerially informed sample of texts in context;
- (5) use of language consultants (cited from Mwinlaaru and Xuan 2016).

Following the strategies (the first four in particular), the present study attempts to answer the following questions:

- (1) What are the lexicogrammatical strategies used to realize projection in English and Chinese? How are they different?
- (2) What is the functional nature of projecting circumstance?
- (3) How are the systemic differences between English and Chinese instantiated in the translation shifts of projection in parallel corpora?
- (4) How can the differences of projection in English and Chinese be described with reference to metafunctions such as textual or interpersonal values?

This book will exhaustively examine all the available lexicogrammatical strategies for projection in English and Chinese.

1.3 Data Collection

The data of the current thesis are collected from large-scale online corpora such as COCA, BNC,

BCC (Chinese) (Xun et al. 2015, 2016) and CCL(Chinese). Some of the data are collected from online news websites such as BBC, Reuters and *People's Daily* online (Chinese). The analysis in Chapter 12 will be based on parallel corpora which are extracted from the bilingual website of *Financial Times* and the corpus of *The Dream of Red Mansion*(Ren et al. 2010). The sources of my data will be introduced when appropriate.

The current research is primarily qualitative. Thus, one purpose of using the corpora above is to raise examples from naturally occurring language to avoid artificially-made sentences. However, in some particular cases, I will adopt a quantitative approach to investigate the probabilistic aspect of the grammar and some tendency or preference of the two languages (Chapter 12 in particular). It will be explained in the relevant sections below.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Projection is a well investigated phenomenon, which has been discussed under a number of terms such as speech reporting, speech presentation, speech and thought representation, discourse presentation, discourse representation, citation, quotation and many others. The research on projection has been conducted in a wide range of disciplines such as anthropology and ethnology (Lucy 1993), literary stylistics (Bakhtin 1986; Leech and Short 1981; Short et al. 2002; Myers 1999; Page 1973, Fludernik 2009, 1993), pragmatics (Landert 2014; Gutzmann and Stei 2011; Collin 2001; Tannen 1989), sociolinguistics (Buchstaller 2011; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), cognitive linguistics (Chafe 1994; Clark and Gerrig 1990; Schiffrin 1981; Vandelanotte 2009; Vandelanotte and Davidse 2009), generative linguistics (Partee 1973; Banfield 1973, 2014; Wierzbicka 1974), language typology (Coulmas 1986; Buchstaller and Alphen 2012), SFL (Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 2004; Zeng 2000, 2003, 2006; Thompson 1996; McGregor 1997; Huang 1999) and other disciplines (see the summary in Buchstaller and Alphen 2012: XIX-XX). However, I will not review all these works because it will take a book length effort. This chapter will first review some of the most influential approaches to the syntax of projection (reported speech). Then it will look at some previous studies on circumstantial elements (more often called adverbial or adjunct in linguistic tradition).

2.1 Approaches to Projection

2.1.1 Classic Approach

Projection has long been investigated in traditional grammar. It can be traced back to Jespersen's (1922: 290-300) classification of projection into three types, namely, direct speech, indirect speech and represented speech. The first two types have been extensively adopted whereas represented speech seems to cover any reported speech that fall outside of the first two types. In his words, "[i]n represented speech, the only shiftings in questions are those shiftings of person and tense that are common to all indirect discourse; otherwise questions remain what they would be in direct quotation (298)." For example:

[2.1] he said was I coming back, and I said yes.

More recently, Quirk et al. (1985: 1022-1035) classify projection into direct speech, indirect speech, free direct speech and free indirect speech. The latter two modes refer to projection without reporting clauses. One of the syntactic issues they bring up is that the reporting clause can occur before, within and after the direct speech. When the reporting clause appears medially or finally, the subject and the verb may be inverted. Their example is quoted below:

[2.2] “The radio is too loud.” Elizabeth complained/she complained/complained Elizabeth.

The inversion is most common when the reporting verb is *say* and the subject is not a pronoun. Hence an inversion such as *complained she* or *said she* is “unusual and archaic (1022)”. The classification of projection in traditional grammar is the most widely accepted one. But it is not comprehensive because it solely concerns the form rather than the meaning of projection. For example, it does not distinguish between speech and thought in reported speech.

2.1.2 Deep Structure Approach

The deep structure approach refers to the syntax analysis of projection under the framework of universal-generative grammar (Partee 1973; Banfield 1973, 1982; Wierzbicka 1974). Partee (1973), for example, tries to describe the deep structure of direct quotation as follows:

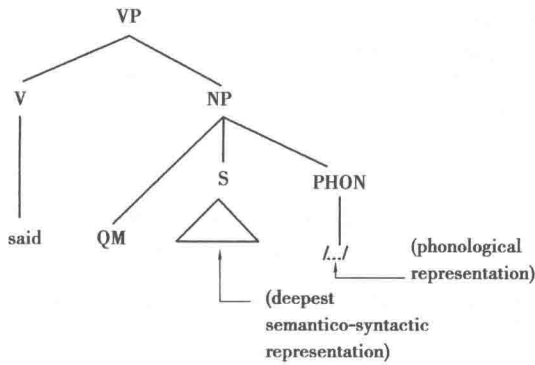


Figure 2.1 The Deep Structure of Direct Quotation

The tree indicates that a quotation sentence involves a containing clause (quoting clause) VP and a contained clause (quoted clause), embedded as an NP. The NP contains a quotation morpheme (QM), a sentence (S) and a phonological representation of that sentence (PHON). In order to address the case in which only sound that does not hold any meaning is quoted, a “surface rule” is added; if S = PHON, delete PHON; if S ≠ PHON, abort. Partee maintains that the quoted sentence, which is not syntactically or semantically part of the quoting sentence, does not contain a deep structure. The syntax and the meaning of the quoted sentence, she suggests, is inferred