

基于语料库的英语复合型数量结构的功能语法分析

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摘要: Halliday 识别了一般数量语和延展数量语,这两类数量成分或两项延展数量语可构成复合型数量结构。根据概念功能的差异英语复合型数量结构有三种组合类型:姊妹结构、包孕结构和迁移结构。姊妹结构中延展数量语与一般数量语限定的事物相同,组合呈现特定规律:一般数量语大于“one”时,延展数量语多为聚集型;一般数量语由“one”体现时,延展数量语一般为剥离型或侧面型;类属型延展数量语一般与顺序数量语而不与数目数量成分构成姊妹结构。双重延展数量语首项一般为类属型或剥离型,相同类型的延展数量语也可构成姊妹结构。一般数量语嵌于延展数量语之内可构成包孕结构,此时一般数量语为延展数量语的子项成分,经验维度二者限定的事物项不同。迁移结构中一般数量语虽嵌于延展数量语之中,但并非延展数量语的子项成分,而是事物项的数量成分迁移到了延展数量语之中。一般数量语与延展数量语所呈现的组合规律与延展数量语所识解的语义有关;较凸显量性的延展数量语而言,质性延展数量语更易引导双重延展数量语结构。

关键词:语料库;系统功能语法;数量语;延展数量语

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0 引言

英语 a cup of、a herd of、a kind of、a piece of 这样的结构在语法文献中被视为部分结构(partitive)(如 Quirk et al., 1972/1985)、假部分结构(pseudo-partitives)(如 Gueron, 1979)、表量结构(classifier construction)(如 Lehrer, 1986; 王文斌等, 2009)或习语结构(idiom structure)(Makkai, 1972)。Halliday (1994)将这类结构称作延展数量语(Extended Numerative),一般数量语识解事物的数目或顺序,分数目数量语(quantitative numerative)和顺序数量语(ordering numerative),延展数量语体现事物的类属或量属,根据识解对象的差异及事物语和中心语的语义关联延展数量语被分为六种类型:聚集型(aggregate)、剥离型(portion)、量体型(quantum)、类属型(variety)、侧面型(facet)和成分型(make-up)(Halliday, 1994; Halliday et al., 2004/2008: 317/2014: 394)。一般数量语与事物语组合的词组中逻辑中心语和经验事物语重合,延展数量语与事物语组合的词组中逻辑中心语由 of 前的计量名词或类属名词体现,事物语由 of 后的名词词项体现,中心语与事物语分离(Halliday et al., 2014: 395; 于昌利, 2014)。

一般数量语与延展数量语或不同的延展数量语可构成数量叠加或套嵌的复合型数量结构如 a group of

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three families、a second bottle of wine、a six pack of beer、a kind of a series of。Quirk 等讨论过类似结构,但限于类属和量属部分结构叠加的个别示例(参见 Quirk et. al. , 1985:251)。Fawcett 关注过类属结构的套嵌现象,并以 each type of several types of health facilities 为例进行了分析,称这样的复合结构为“套嵌类属结构”(embedded typicality structure)(Fawcett, 2006: 159-262.)。Halliday 等(2004/2014)指出了一般数量语和延展数量语的区别,但未就二者的组合展开进一步分析。总体来说,复合型数量结构已引起了注意,但对这类结构语法特征的描写和阐释尚不系统。本研究立足系统功能语法,基于 COCA 语料库重点讨论两个问题:1) 英语复合型数量结构有哪些组合类型? 2) 英语复合型数量结构呈现怎样的组合规律? 针对以上研究问题,本研究根据概念元功能的耦合差异将英语复合数量结构归为姊妹结构、包孕结构和迁移结构三种组合类型,依次讨论这三类组合的特征,揭示一般数量语与延展数量语及不同类型延展数量语的组合规律,并尝试解释特定组合的动因。

1 姊妹结构

- (1) Behind the pair stands a cluster of six men. (ACAD: Art Bulletin)
- (2) The snow on those peaks was a part of the first snow. (FIC: No Recking Made)
- (3) This was a part of a series of events. (SPOK: State of the Union)

如例句所示,不同的数量成分递次出现,延展数量语与数目数量语、顺序数量语或另一延展数量语组合成复合型数量结构,前后数量成分限定的事物项互为姊妹成分(sister elements),这类复合数量结构为姊妹结构。姊妹结构组合不是任意的,一般数量语和相同延展数量语及不同延展数量语之间呈现特定的规律。

1.1 延展数量语和数目数量语

此类姊妹结构延展数量语和数目数量语在经验维度互为姊妹成分,逻辑功能维度数目数量语词项为后置修饰语(Post-modifier)的一部分。如“a group of four students”在经验维度有三项功能成分,延展数量语“a group of”、数目数量语“four”和事物语“students”,其中延展数量语和数目数量语互为姊妹成分,它们皆是“students”的经验限定成分;逻辑维度“group”为中心语,“a”为前置修饰语,“four”是后置修饰语的一部分。姊妹结构中有时事物项是隐性的,经验元功能成分只有延展数量语和数目数量语,如例(4)“a set of three”“a piece of one”。“省略”是语言组织信息的一种措辞手段,省略项一般不是信息焦点(Halliday et al. , 1976:147-166),这时姊妹结构凸显的是数目数量成分,被省略的事物语并非信息焦点。延展数量语和顺序数量语之间常会有指称成分,如“a part of that first group”“a fragment of a second sermon”中特指指称“that”和非特指指称“a”出现在延展数量语与顺序数量语之间。但延展数量语与数目数量语之间很少出现其他经验功能成分,其他成分多出现在数目数量语之后,如例(5)中的类别语“feminist”、属性语“young”和后指称语“other”。

- (4) a. To order a set of three, send \$9.99 plus \$3 shipping. (Southern)
- b. We may proudly display a piece of one on a shelf in the living room. (Mercury)
- (5) a. A group of twelve feminist scholars organized their own Working Group in 2000 (Journal of Sex Research)
- b. She says as she watches a group of three young men duck into the cinema. (Christian Science Monitor)

- c. There I joined a group of twenty-seven other ventriloquists. (Kansas Quarterly)

延展数量语和数目数量语的姊妹组合呈现特定的规律。当数目数量语由大于“one”的基数体现时延展数量语一般为聚集型,一般可以说“a group of four”而不说 * a piece of four, * a side of four, * a cup of four 或 * a kind of four。COCA 语料库中数目数量语大于“one”时,姊妹组合的延展数量语按出现频次依次是 a group of, a series of, a list of, a set of, a team of, a crew of, a collection of, a party of, a crowd of, a string of, a cluster of, a class of, a pair of, a suit of 和 a succession of, 皆为聚集型延展数量语。实际上,数目数量语大于“one”时 COCA 语料库中出现频次前 1000 的例示中延展数量语不属聚集型的仅七例。数目数量语由“one”体现时,与其组合的延展数量语一般为剥离型或侧面型。例(6)剥离型延展数量语与“one”构成姊妹结构,可以说 a piece of one cable, a section of one plate 但一般不讲 * a piece of two cables 或 * a section of two plates。侧面型延展数量语与数目数量语的姊妹组合中“the side of one”的频数最高,其次是“a side of one”。COCA 语料库中侧面型延展数量语“a/the side of”后基数不是“one”的有三项:the side of 1996, the side of 247, a side of Nine, 这里 1996、247、Nine 实际上并非数量成分,如例(7)“a side of Nine”中“Nine”并不限定“nail”的数量,而是与“Inch”一起构成类别语(classifier)。

- (6) a. That's just a piece of one cable. (NEWS: Christian Science Monitor)

b. In Black Lagoon, the crew find themselves a part of one such gambit. (Television Tropes & Idioms)

c. A section of one plate breaks loose. (Atlanta Journal Constitution)

- (7) There was a side of Nine Inch nails that was going instrumental. (USA Today)

延展数量语和数目数量语所呈现的组合规律是语义驱动的,与不同类型延展数量语所识解的意义相关。聚集型延展数量语体现汇集类语义(collective),由其组合的名词词组里中心语的意义范畴大于事物语的意义范畴(Head > Thing),中心语是事物语的集合,如“a group of students”中群体范畴“group”由个体“student”汇聚而成。由此,聚集型延展数量语与数目数量语的姊妹结构中,数目数量语识解集合范畴里个体汇聚的数量,所以数目数量语一般大于“one”。剥离型和侧面型延展数量语分别识解整体事物项在三维和二维空间中的一部分,中心语的意义范畴包含在事物语的范畴之内,即“中心语 < 事物语”(Head < Thing),如 a piece of cake, the side of a hill。剥离型和侧面型延展数量语所计量的名词词组所凸显的信息一般是事物语或计量词的数额,而非事物项的数量,事物项不管可数还是不可数一般被视为一个整体。由此,剥离型和侧面型延展数量语与数目数量语的组合一般限于“one”,而 * a piece of two cakes, * the side of two hills 这样的组合一般不被接受。实际上,剥离型和侧面型延展数量语与“one”组合的姊妹结构中,“one”识解数量的功能很大程度上已被弱化,非特指指称的功能得以强化,从而附加了不同程度的指称意义。

1.2 延展数量语和顺序数量语

这类组合中延展数量语和顺序数量语为姊妹成分,经验维度二者限定同一事物项,逻辑维度顺序数量语词项是后置修饰语的一部分。如“a part of the first debate”中延展数量语“a part of”和“first”皆限定事物项“debate”的数量范畴,构成姊妹式复合数量结构。延展数量语与顺序数量语之间一般伴有指称成分,如 a fraction of the second finger, each side of this last trunk。除了特指指称有时非特指指称也会出现在延展数量语和顺序数量语之间,如“a kind of a second wave”中类属型延展数量语与顺序数量语之间的指称为非特指,词组的经验组合结构为“延展数量语·指称语:非特指·顺序数量语·事物语”。有类现象值得注意,类属型或聚集型延展数量语和顺序数量语的姊妹组合中有时并没有指称标记,“零指称”不意味着指称的缺失而是非

特指指称的一种体现形式。“零指称”的姊妹组合例示并不受限于口语,也会出现在其他体裁之中。COCA语料库标记了口语、小说、新闻、杂志和学术语篇等五类语料来源,“零指称”的例示在这些体裁中皆有所体现,如例(8)。

- (8) a. Jeremy didn't grow up with the magical arts as a kind of second language. (FIC: Bk: Hawley Book Dead)
- b. The Post represents a kind of last stand for him at publishing a major city daily. (NEWS: NY Times)
- c. ...helping to create a kind of third worldwide ecumenical force. (MAG: Christ Today)
- d. Horticulture represented a kind of third way between industrialism and the plantation. (ACAD: Georgia Historical Quarterly)

如例(9)所示,聚集型、剥离型、量体型和类属型延展数量语皆可与顺序数量语姊妹组合,但不同类型的延展数量语与顺序数量语组合的活跃度和盖然性存在差异。剥离型延展数量语最为活跃,COCA语料库中出现频次较多的依次是 a part of、a portion of、a fraction of、a bit of、a clip of 和 a fragment of,这些延展数量语皆为剥离型;聚集型和量体型延展数量语与顺序数量语的姊妹结构所占比重最小,类属型延展数量语一般不与数目数量语构成姊妹结构,可以说 a group of six students, a piece of one cake, 但一般不说 *a kind of six men, *a sort of one cake。但类属型延展数量语与顺序数量语的姊妹组合却较为活跃,COCA语料库中“a + 名词 + of + 序数”范式频数前 100 的例示中延展数量语与顺序数量语的姊妹结构例示共 32 例,其中延展数量语为类属型 a kind of, a sort of, a variety of 的例示有 13 例。

- (9) a. I would like to see that as a part of the first debate. (NPR_TellMore)
- b. One came out to invite me into the group or offered a glass of the second wine. (Antioch)
- c. The plaintiffs' lawyers have released a list of the next witnesses. (ABC_WorldNews)
- d. They say right after these fires, often a kind of a second disaster happens. (NPR_Daybreak)

1.3 双重延展数量语

除了延展数量语与一般数量语的姊妹组合,两个(类)延展数量语也可毗邻出现构成姊妹结构,如 a kind of a group of guys, a sort of a series of accidents 中类属型与聚集型延展数量语递次出现,双重延展数量语在经验维度限定的事物项相同。

- (10) a. You have a kind of a group of guys that travel around with you. (ABC_Primetime) (类属型^聚集型)
- b. It was a sort of a series of accidents. (CNN_News) (类属型^聚集型)

双重延展数量语的组合不是任意的,而是呈现一定规律。Quirk 等(1972, 1985)认为量性部分结构应包含在质性部分结构的句法域之内,应说“two kinds of loaves of bread”而不是 *two loaves of kind of bread。Halliday 等(2014:395)认为量性延展数量语统摄聚集型、剥离型和量体型三类,质性延展数量语统摄类属型、成分型和侧面型三类。Quirk 等虽指出此类结构的组合并非任意的,但由于研究视角和关注焦点的不同并未展开更为深入的讨论。不同类型延展数量语呈现不同的组合倾向。类属型延展数量语出现在前时,毗邻其后的延展数量语多为聚集型如例(10),也可以是剥离型或成分型,如(11a)中“a kind of a piece of territory of Iraq”中“a piece of”为剥离型,(11b)中“a kind of a sense of historical destiny”中类属型与成分型延展数量语组成姊妹结构。Quirk 等(1985)认为质性部分结构出现在前,实际上,延展数量语有时也会出现在量性延展数量语之后,如“a part of a pattern of human behavior”和“a part of the kind of person”。剥离型延展

数量语在前时,其后的延展数量语可以是聚集型或成分型,如例(12)“a part of a group of veterans”“the slice of a pair of scissors”中剥离型与聚集型组合成了双重延展数量语,“a bit of a sense of”中成分型延展数量语现于剥离型之后。成分型延展数量语在姊妹结构中也可出现在前,其后的延展数量语一般是剥离型、类属型或聚集型,如例(13)中成分型后的延展数量语分别为剥离型“a piece of”、类属型“a sort of”和聚集型“a couple of”。聚集型和量体型延展数量语较少出现在前,量体型延展数量语出现在前时其后的延展数量语一般为类属型,如例(14)中的“a bottle of some sort of intoxicant”。

(11)类属型在前

- a. ...incorporate Kuwait into a kind of a piece of territory of Iraq. (PBS Newshour) (类属型 + 剥离型)
- b. It's a common project. It's a kind of a sense of historical destiny. (PBS Newshour) (类属型 + 成分型)

(12)剥离型在前

- a. I don't see the distinction. I mean, if you are a part of a group of veterans. (Fox) (剥离型 + 聚集型)
- b. This is a part of a pattern of human behavior, I told myself. (Esquire) (剥离型 + 类属型)
- c. And there's a bit of a sense of humor about it. (NPR_TalkNat) (剥离型 + 成分型)

(13)成分型在前

- a. ...design not in a sense of a piece of art. (TED Radio Hour) (成分型 + 剥离型)
- b. There was really a sense of sort of fear. (NPR_TalkNation) (成分型 + 类属型)
- c. And we want to get a sense of a couple of radio talk show hosts. (ABC_GMA) (成分型 + 聚集型)

(14)量体型在前

- ...staggering and carrying a bottle of some sort of intoxicant. (Bk:Queens Dollmaker) (量体型 + 类属型)

双重延展数量语也可由相同类型的延展数量语构成。例(15a)“a kind of a sort of assisted suicide”中两项类属型延展数量语“a kind of”“a sort of”先后出现构成姊妹结构。除此之外,两个剥离型延展数量语也可同时出现如“a part of the first segment of this program”。聚集型后几乎不会出现类属型、量体型或剥离型延展数量语,不过两个聚集型延展数量语却可同时出现,如例(15c)“a list of the first group of signatories”中“a list of”和“the (first) group of”均为聚集型延展数量语。

(15)

- a. ...that divides a sense of participation and suicide versus a kind of a sort of assisted suicide. (CNN_Crossfire) (类属型 + 类属型)
- b. The straw poll was a part of the first segment of this program. (CBS_FaceNation) (剥离型 + 剥离型)
- c. A list of the first group of signatories follows. (World Affairs) (聚集型 + 聚集型)

不同类型延展数量语引导双重延展数量语的活跃性是存在差异的,其中类属型的活跃程度最高而聚集型的活跃程度最低。类属型延展数量语有时甚至可以触发多项延展数量语的链式结构,如“a sort of a set of tiers of candidates”中类属型、聚集型和剥离型延展数量语叠加出现。聚集型引导双重延展数量语的活跃性相对要弱。这种差异一定程度上呼应了夸克语法对此类结构组合特征的认识,即质性而非量性结构更易出现在前。实际上,就引导双重延展数量语的活跃度而言不同类型的延展数量语构成了一个连续统,连续统一端是类属型延展数量语,另一端是聚集型延展数量语,介于中间的是分别是剥离型、成分型和量体型延展数量语。双重延展数量语识解经验范畴的顺序一般是由抽象到具体。由此,延展数量语的质性意义越强,

越易引导姊妹结构,而延展数量语的量性越凸显引导双重延展数量语的活性也就越弱,这也就解释了在语料库中类属型延展数量语接续聚集型和剥离型的例示很多,而聚集型接续其他类型延展数量语的例示却很常见。

形式相同的“of”连环套嵌结构在功能上可能并不相同,(16a)和(16b)中三个“of”连环出现,二者形式上虽然相同,功能上却是有所差异的。“a sort of a set of tiers of candidates”中三个of均为延展数量语的一部分,事物语在第三个“of”之后,为延展数量语的链式结构。而“a kind of a piece of territory of Iraq”最后一个“of”结构为定性语(qualifier),事物语在第三个“of”之前,经验结构为“延展数量语^延展数量语^事物语^定性语”。

- (16)a. There's a sort of a set of tiers of candidates (SPOK: News Stream)
- b. ...incorporate Kuwait into a kind of a piece of territory of Iraq. (PBS_Newshour)

2 包孕结构

姊妹式复合数量结构中前后两种(个)数量语处于同一年级,经验维度它们限定的事物项相同,但在“a second bottle of wine”“the first group of settlers”这样的例示中数量语“second”和“first”并非本阶事物项“wine”和“setters”的经验限定成分,而是嵌在延展数量语之内对计量单位进行限定,为延展数量语的子项成分,这类结构为包孕式复合数量结构。姊妹结构中一般数量语词项在逻辑维度为后置修饰语的一部分,而在包孕结构中一般数量语词项则为前置修饰语。

- (17)a. Mitch poured the remainder of a second bottle of wine into his glass. (Plough Shares)
- b. But the first group of settlers, totaling 114, was almost destroyed by disease. (Bk: Tell Me Tale)

例(18)中的“a glass of the second wine”和“a second glass of wine”皆源于小说,脱离语境很容易误认为“second”在两个词组中限定的经验对象相同,实际上它们的语义指向并不相同:“a glass of the second wine”源自2015年Paul Christensen发表的小说《戴帽子的人》(*The Man with the Hat*),文中“我”在此之前并没受邀喝过酒,“我”听到了开第二瓶红酒的声音,这里“second”指的是“第二瓶酒”而不是“第二杯”。“a second glass of wine”源自同年Ken Harvey的小说《男友的经历》(*The Boyfriend Experience*),文中女主人公已点过一杯酒,Simon进来时她正在点第二杯酒,这里“second”限定的事物并非“酒”。这两个例示前者为姊妹结构而后者则为包孕结构。

- (18)a. I heard a second cork pop and pouring of glasses...No one came out to invite me into the group or offered a glass of the second wine.

- b. I'm enjoying my solitude and order a second glass of wine when Simon walks in, now wearing jeans.

除了顺序数量语,数目数量语嵌于延展数量语之内的包孕结构也比较常见。“two pieces of wood”中“two”是对计量单位的数目限定,是延展数量语的子项成分而非姊妹成分,这可从“pieces”的复数标记中得到佐证。除剥离型延展数量语外,其他类型的延展数量语皆可与数目数量语构成包孕结构,例(19)中“two”分别嵌入在聚集型、量体型、类属型和侧面型延展数量语之中构成包孕结构。

- (19)a. The two groups of students then form two concentric circles around the classroom. (Education)
- b. He downed two cups of coffee, stuck the cup in a sink full of last night's dirty dishes. (The Antioch Review)

- c. There were two kinds of people in this world. (Dangerous desires)
d. He was crying like a man on a bridge— suspended between two sides of life. (New Yorker)

包孕结构中延展数量语的类型不同,事物语“数”的选择也会有差异:延展数量语量性越凸显事物语“数”的选择越趋向单峰分布,质性延展数量语与数目数量语组合的包孕结构则趋向单数和复数的对称分布。聚集型延展数量语与数目数量语的包孕结构中事物语一般为复数,剥离型延展数量语的包孕结构中事物语一般是单数。COCA 语料库中量体型延展数量语的包孕结构中事物语“数”的分布虽有双向性,但大多为单数,单数与复数的概率分别为 90% 和 10%。延展数量语为类属型时,其与数目数量语组合的包孕结构中事物语单数和复数的概率呈对称分布,单数与复数的概率非常接近(见表 1)。

表 1 COCA 语料库中 [mc *] [kind] of [nn *] 范式事物语“数”的统计

范式	例示数	[nn *] 单数	[nn *] 复数	单数概率	复数概率
two[kind] of [nn *]	555	256	299	46%	54%
three[kind] of [nn *]	180	100	80	56%	44%
four[kind] of [nn *]	81	40	41	49%	51%
five[kind] of [nn *]	25	12	13	48%	52%
合 计	841	408	433	49%	51%

3 迁移结构

Gruber 等(1981)认为词、短语或从句应靠近其所修饰的词项,不靠近它所修饰的词的结构是不被接受的,所以应说“Give me a glass of cold beer”而不是“* Give me a cold glass of beer”。Quirk 等(1985:1397-1399)认为修饰词与中心词有时会被其他词、短语甚至句子间隔开来,并将这种修饰关系称作“间隔修饰”(discontinuous modification),如既可以说“a cup of hot tea”“a pair of beautiful legs”也可以说“a hot cup of tea”“a beautiful pair of legs”,前后两组名词短语的意义相差不大。Halliday 等(2014:395-396)将“a strong cup of tea”视作经验成分发生了迁移的结构,即在经验维度事物的属性语迁移到了延展数量语之内。实际上事物的类别语和数量语有时也会发生迁移现象,如“a black cup of coffee”中“black”既不是“cup”的属性语也非“coffee”的属性语,“black coffee”描述的是咖啡的类别而非咖啡的颜色,“black”是“coffee”的类别语,这里类别语发生了迁移,迁移到了延展数量语之中在逻辑维度充当“cup”的前置修饰成分(于昌利, 2014)。发生迁移的类别语不仅可由形容词体现,也可由普通名词体现如“a research group of students”中的“research”,还可由专有名词体现如“a Nike pair of shoes”“a Moscow group of politicians”中的“Nike”和“Moscow”。

- (20) a. A research group of students and postdoctoral associates at Arizona State University in Tempe. (Natural History)
b. ...is the National Basketball Association and a Nike pair of shoes. (Ind_Limbaugh)
c. Luzhkov sits atop one of the mightiest of these ruling oligarchies, a Moscow group of Politicians. (Wash Post)

除了属性语和类别语,一般数量语有时也会发生迁移。延展数量语与一般数量语构成的包孕结构中(如 six cups of coffee)一般数量语词项在逻辑维度是前置修饰语;“a six pack of beer”中“six”在逻辑维度也

是中心语的前置修饰成分,形式上此类结构很容易被当成包孕结构,但两者是有所区别的,这种区别体现在经验功能维度:经验功能中“six”并非对计量单位“pack”的数目设定,而是和延展数量语一样是对本阶事物“beer”的数量限定,即“六瓶啤酒”而非“六捆啤酒”。这里事物的一般数量语发生了迁移,迁移到了延展数量语之中,在逻辑维度该成分不再是后置修饰语的一部分而成了中心语的前置修饰成分。2013年美国乡村音乐模仿歌手克莱达·裘德(Cledus Judd)发行了一部音乐专辑,专辑名字是“a six pack of Judd”,专有名词Judd并非指裘德这个人而是代指“Judd’s songs”,“six”限定的对象是“pack”还是Judd的歌曲呢?这部音乐专辑由六首Judd所模仿的乡村歌曲构成,也就是说“six”虽嵌于延展数量语之中,但经验维度“six”限定的事物项是“Judd’s songs”而非“pack”。以上两个例示中,一般数量语在复合数量结构中皆发生了语法迁移,发生迁移的数量语为数目数量语,顺序数量语一般不会发生迁移现象。迁移结构在逻辑维度与包孕结构相同,但在经验维度则与姊妹结构相近。

(21) Seth enters the room carrying a six pack of beer and two take-out bags. (Mov: From Dusk Till)

4 结语

系统功能语法对语言单位的研究以功能为导向,认为脱离实际语言例示和盖然性无法揭示语言单位的本质属性,由此在实际运用中常将句法分析与语料库相结合,使其在句法描写和解释方面有独到之处(Bloor et al., 2004: 233; 胡壮麟等, 2005: 19; 黄国文等, 2014: 115; 黄国文等, 2020: 606)。其学理与范式使系统功能语法具有诸多理论和应用上的优势(彭宣维, 2017: 13)。本研究立足系统功能语法,结合COCA语料库,围绕两个研究问题对英语复合数量结构进行了分析。就第一个问题,本研究根据概念功能的差异认为可将英语复合型数量结构分为姊妹式、包孕式和迁移式三种组合类型。就第二个研究问题,本研究主要有以下发现:数目数量语大于“one”时,延展数量语一般为聚集型,数目数量语由“one”体现时,延展数量语一般为剥离型或侧面型;类属型延展数量语一般仅与顺序数量语构成姊妹结构。延展数量语和一般数量语的组合规律是由语义所驱动的,延展数量语可毗邻出现,组合成双重延展数量语结构,不同类型的延展数量语引导双重延展数量语的活跃性存在差异。质性延展数量语的活跃性强,而凸显量性的聚集型延展数量语的活跃性最弱。

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A Corpus-Based Systemic Functional Study of the English Complex Numerative Structures

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Abstract: In SFG M. A. K Halliday discerns Numeratives and Extended Numeratives and the two type of numerative elements or two Extended Numeratives can be configured into complex numerative structures. According to the discrepancies of the ideational function, the English complex numerative structures fall into three subtypes: the sister structure, the embedded structure and the transferred structure. In the sister structure the two type of numerative elements delimit the same thing item and show some specific syntagmatic patterns: when the Numeratives are realized by the items bigger than *one*, the Extended Numeratives tend to be of the aggregate type; when the Numerative is realized by *one*, the Extended Numeratives tend to be of the portion type or the facet type; the variety type of Extended Numeratives generally form sister structure with cardinal numeratives but not with the ordinal numeratives. When two Extended Numeratives combine, the variety type or the portion type tends to occur first in most of the cases. The Numeratives can be embedded in the Extended Numeratives and serve as the daughter elements. In some instances, the embedded Numeratives are not daughter elements of the Extended Numeratives but the transferred numeratives which delimit the matrix thing items. The configuration of the Numeratives and the Extended Numeratives shows some specific syntagmatic patterns which is motivated by the different experiential meaning of the Extended Numeratives. Compared with the quantity Extended Numeratives' the quality ones are more likely to trigger the duplet Extended Numerative structures.

Key words:corpus; systemic functional grammar; numerative; extended numerative

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