

摘要

本文是在系统功能语法框架下，针对英汉两种语言，自行收集并统计语料，利用非定序分类变量相关性分析的统计学原理，考察小句中环境成分主位化相关语篇因素的一项研究。

论文提出：在小句的经验主位中，“环境主位”应具有和“主题主位”相同的结构地位。语义条件是环境成分主位化的重要条件。按照语义指向，环境主位可以分为指向全句（I类）、指向主题（II类）两个类别，其中指向全句的又可以分为时空类（IA类）和非时空类（IB类）。每一类又分为若干次类。同主题主位一样，环境主位位于句首，是小句的语篇信息参照点，发话人对其具有选择权。环境成分主位化目的是更好地服务于以认知习惯为基础的语篇信息流动，从而实现语篇连贯。环境成分主位化结果受一系列语篇因素的驱动，包括：1）小句主题的语篇可及性高低；2）环境成分与上下文具有的语义关联；3）同时存在语篇连接语或评价连接语；4）环境成分的语义范围出现跨句；5）环境成分所在的小句充当超主位或超新信息。其中后两个因素在有些类别的主位化中可以合类分析。

为了验证环境成分主位化及相应语篇因素在实际语料中存在的统计相关性，本研究共收集现代英、汉语语料共计6万余字（词），对所有类别和次类的环境成分主位分布和各项主位化语篇因素的存否分别进行卡方检验，并利用 ϕ 系数来说明其相关程度。总体结果显示，IA类主位化在英、汉语中的用法和出现频率差异不大；IB类主位化英语明显比汉语活跃、用法更为多样且情况复杂；II类主位化在英语中较为活跃，在汉语中则几乎没有出现。

研究发现：“任意语篇因素的存在”与各类“环境成分的主位化”均呈现很强的相关性， ϕ 系数大部分在0.6~0.8，其主位化实现比例多数情况下都超过了80%，说明实际语料的统计分析结果整体上符合论文的理论预测。具体来说，相关性最强的是跨句/超主位/超新信息，其无论在英、汉语的任何类别中 ϕ 系数都在0.5~0.6左右，呈现出非常稳定的面貌，这提示我们跨句/超主位/超新信息是环境成分主位化的一个重要内在因素，受其他语内语外因素的干扰非常少；其次具有较稳定相关性，且在英汉语间差异不大的因素是语义关联，其可能受语篇内容或其他随机因素的影响较大；再次是存在连接语，其在英、汉语和不同类别中呈现出较大的差异，且大体上在英语中的相关性大于汉语，这提示我们英汉两种语言在语篇构造的惯用模式上可能存在一些差异；主题可及形式和实际可及度的预测效果最弱，仅在个别统计项目中呈现相关。

最终得出：1.各语篇因素对环境成分主位化的驱动作用排序为：超主位/超新信息 \approx 跨句 > 语义关联 > 连接语 > 小句主题可及性。这个序列在英汉语中

均成立。2.各类环境成分对上述主位化因素的敏感性排序为，英语：IA 类 \approx II 类 $>$ IB 类；汉语：IA 类 $>$ IB 类 $>$ II 类。论文通过大量分析认为：环境成分的主位化，归根结底体现的是语篇中语义因素的已知性、可及性、凸显度此消彼长地竞争性、动态性变化。主位化的最终目的是为了实现语篇连贯。

关键词：主位化 语篇 环境成分 系统功能语法

Abstract

This thesis, which is in the framework of systemic functional grammar (SFG), studies the textual factors of thematization of circumstantial elements in clauses of English and Chinese by setting up a small corpus and making use of the statistic rationale of relational analysis for un-ordered categorical variables.

The thesis holds that the experiential theme is composed of not only topical theme but also circumstantial theme which comes from the transitive system. Accordingly, the thesis defines the circumstantial elements that could not only placed in rheme but also in theme as “potential thematic elements” (PTE). The thematization of PTE is to be decided by the text constructor, in order to meet the demand of textual-information coherence based on the cognition mechanism.

The thesis proposes that, according to the semantic relationship, PTE and circumstantial themes could be classified as follows: (I) the one orienting to the clause and (II) the one orienting to the subject/topic. The class-I could be further divided into temporal-spatial (IA) and the others (IB). The thesis holds that their thematization is driven by a series of textual factors including: 1) the accessibility of clause’s topical theme; 2) the semantic bonds between PTE and context; 3) the co-occurrence of textual connectives and evaluative adjuncts; 4) the scope of PTE beyond a clause or not; 5) the clause where PTE are located being the hyper-theme or hyper-new of the paragraph. The last two factors could be regarded as one in the analysis of some PTE classes.

The thesis holds that, for each class, the theme-rheme distribution of PTE and the presence of the proposed factors should be statistically correlated. To prove this, the study sets up a corpus that includes more than 60 thousand English words or Chinese characters collected from modern novels and essays of both languages. Once the statistic correlation is verified by chi. square test, the phi-factor would be introduced to denote the degree of correlation. The result shows that, in terms of the use of circumstantial theme, there isn’t much difference between English and Chinese in the frequency of the IA theme; for the IB theme, the usage in English is obviously more frequent, active, diversified and complex than in Chinese; the II theme is frequently used in English but hardly found in Chinese.

Roughly the statistical analysis of corpus supports the theoretical prediction of the thesis. Except for outliers that could be explained, all textual factors are somehow related to the thematization of PTE. When any textual factor is present, a strong

correlation is observed in all classes and sub-classes, the phi-factor around 0.6~0.8, the proportion of thematization over 80% for most cases. Among the factors, the highest correlation is in hyper-theme/hyper-new or the scope, regardless of English or Chinese, the phi-factor stably around 0.5~0.6, suggesting that these factors are internal to PTE thematization, rarely disturbed by other factors within or without the text. The second fairly stable factor is semantic bond, which is also an important thematizing factor but easily influenced by other random factors. The third factor is the presence of connectives or adjuncts, in which roughly the correlation is more statistically significant in English than in Chinese, suggesting that there could be a distinction of habitual mode of texture between the two languages. The weakest correlation lies in topical theme accessibility, for which correlation is only found in exceptional statistical items.

As a result, the power of text factors driving circumstantial thematization is ordered as: hyper-theme/hyper-new \approx textual scope > semantic bond > connective or adjuncts presence > high accessibility of topical theme. The sensitivity of PTE classes for being thematized by the textual factors are ordered as: IA \approx II > IB (Eng.) and IA > IB > II (Chi.). The thesis finally concludes that the thematization of circumstantial elements is ultimately driven by the fluctuation of dynamics of the accessibility and prominence of the textual semantic entities. The aim of thematization is to realize the coherence of text.

Key words: thematization; textual; circumstantial; systemic functional grammar