

郭鸿杰 著

英语对现代汉语的影响

—— 语言认知研究法

上海交通大学出版社



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内 容 提 要

本书在观察和分析大量语料的基础上,采用语言接触理论的新视角和分析方法,分析英汉语言接触中由表层到深层的影响与嬗变。本书拓展了现代汉语中英语外来词的研究范围,内容还将涉及英语对汉语词汇语义、词法和句法三个层面的影响。本书在理论上试图用现代中西方语言学语言发展变化的新学说,即词汇化和语法化的理论精华来解释英语影响汉语变化的内部语言机制和动因。语言接触作为一种“催化剂”,诱发并加快了汉语自身的演化过程;也就是说,语言就是在这种“共振关系”下发展变化的。此外,书中还指出,翻译是在英汉语言接触中造成语言变化的一个重要途径。

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前言

随着描写语言学和历史语言学的不断发展,人们越来越认识到语言接触对语言演变所起到的重要作用。在人类语言演变的历史长河中,几乎任何一种语言都会阶段性地或连续地受到他族语言的影响,使语言本身的特点发生不同程度的变化。因而,忽略了由语言接触带来的影响因素,也就不可能对语言有一个完整的认识。英汉语言的接触最早可以追溯到17世纪上半叶,至今已有300多年的历史。19世纪末20世纪初,伴随着西方的科技及其思想文化大举进入中国,外来词源源不断地被吸收到汉语中,这是英汉语言接触历史中的一个重要时期。特别是近20多年来,中国与世界的接触越来越频繁、越来越密切,英汉语言接触的频度和密度随之不断提高。在这种情况下,英语作为一种强势语言向现代汉语书面语迁移,成为一种客观存在的语言事实。英语对汉语的影响不仅仅表现在英语借词的大量增加,而且在词法和句法层面出现了一些冲击汉语语法规范的语言变异现象,有的已经或正在逐步扩散出去,甚至已经变成有序的变异,即汉语中的欧化现象。汉语语法的欧化发展印证了王力先生当年的预言“欧化的语法可以说是没有限制的……我们不敢说现在欧化已经到了止境”。鉴于此,我们有必要对王力之后,尤其是近20年来汉语欧化的发展重新展开全方位的分析 and 研究。

近年来,虽然也有一些学者研究过英语对汉语的影响,但主要集中于对外来词的研究。除个别中国的港、台和新加坡等特殊华语社区的学者对现代汉语语法的欧化现象作了描写和分析外,中国大陆的学者很少有这一方面的研究成果问世。从总体上看,以往的汉语语法欧化研究描写较多,解释较少;表层分析较多,深层挖掘较少;语言事实罗列较多,理论归纳很少。

本书采用的是语言接触理论的新视角和分析方法,运用并且发展了Thomason和Kaufman(1988)的语言接触促使语言变化的模式。更为重要的是,在理论上试图用现代中西方语言学语言发展变化的新学说,

即词汇化和语法化的理论精华来解释英语影响汉语变化的内部语言机制和动因。语言接触作为一种“催化剂”，诱发并加快了汉语自身的演化过程；也就是说，语言就是在这种“共振关系”下发展变化的。从而使本研究从描写性研究上升到解释性研究。

本书拓展了现代汉语中英语外来词的研究范围，系统地分析在英汉语言接触中，英语对汉语词汇语义、词法和句法三个层面上，由表层到深层的影响与嬗变。关于外来词的界定和分类，本文根据认知语言学的原型理论，通过考察外来词进入汉语以后，受到汉语的改造程度，即外来词的汉化程度，把外来词分为“典型外来词”和“边缘外来词”。前者包括纯音译词、音译加谐义、音译加义标；后者包括意译词和英语字母词。意译词汉化程度最大，甚至可以说完全汉化，而拉丁字母词汉化程度最小，两者处于外来词连续统的边缘位置，故称之为“边缘外来词”，从而巧妙地避开了长期以来意译词和英语字母词是否是外来词的争论。此外，在借用英语词语的过程中，英汉词义的不完全对应关系以及英语词义的变化直接或间接地影响了汉语的语义。在词法层面，外来词音节的语素化是外来词在汉语词汇系统的一种动态表现形式，而且成为构造汉语新词的重要方法之一。尤其是一些英语字母词进入汉语词汇系统以后，有的已经成为异常活跃的构词语素，甚至出现了自创英语字母词情况，从而打破了汉语只用汉字语素构词的规范。在句法层面的影响主要表现在：词汇转类，词类内部的小类转用，语序变化，介词、连词的频用等等。从研究领域上讲，本研究是继王力之后首次就英语对中国大陆现代汉语在词法和句法层面上的影响进行的系统、全面的研究，具有一定的补白性和创新性。

本书的素材是笔者自1999年至2004年间从词典、报纸、杂志以及文学作品中收集的大量语料，并尽可能详尽地挖掘、描写语言事实。此外，还对语料进行统计性分析，从而使研究和表述尽可能做到客观、详实、精确、细致、全面。所以这基本上是语料库语言学、描写语言学、对比语言学与中国传统的汉语词汇学、语法学等相结合的产物。

本书进行的研究将对国内外有志于从事弱势语言受到强势英语影响的对比研究的同行，具有重要的参考价值和借鉴作用，从而有助于我们更加清晰地认识在各种语言接触背景下，语言变化表现出的共性和差

异。此外,本研究还将为语言变化、社会语言学、对比语言学、汉语的演变、英语在中国社会文化中的地位和作用以及中国大陆的语言政策和语言规划等研究提供重要的参考和利用价值。

这部专著是笔者在博士学位论文基础上加以增删修订而成的。它是我近五年在汉语欧化研究领域努力跋涉、刻苦钻研的一点学习心得。

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限于时间之紧迫,更苦于资料之不足,还有很多的疑问,等待笔者与有共识者的共同探索。笔者切盼拙著能抛砖引玉,引发有识之士的宏论,以开茅塞。

Table of Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Theoretical approach	3
1.3	Purpose of the study	4
1.4	Methodology and data collection	5
1.5	Outline of the book	7
2	Literature Review of English Influence on MSC	9
2.1	Introduction	9
2.2	Historical retrospect	10
2.3	Previous research on lexical borrowing	15
2.4	Previous research on morphological borrowing	20
2.5	Previous research on syntactic borrowing	21
2.6	Language attitudes toward English impact on MSC	25
3	Language Contact and Related Theories	32
3.1	Introduction	32
3.2	Broader perspective on language contact	34
3.3	Definition and types of contact-induced language change	38
3.4	Outcomes of language contact	40
3.5	Lexicalization and grammaticalization	49
3.6	An analytic model of contact-induced language change	62
4	Lexical Influence of English on MSC	69
4.1	Introduction	69
4.2	Types of English loan words	70
4.3	Lexico-semantic influence of English on MSC	92

4.4	Summary	97
5	Morphological Influence of English on MSC	101
5.1	Introduction	101
5.2	Morphological analysis of Chinese morphemes	101
5.3	Morphological enrichment in MSC	106
5.4	Summary	137
6	Syntactic Influence of English on MSC	140
6.1	Introduction	140
6.2	Shifts in word categories	140
6.3	Shifts in sub-categories	160
6.4	Word order change	176
6.5	Use of conjunctions and prepositions	199
6.6	Summary	212
7	Conclusion	215
7.1	Introduction	215
7.2	Summary of findings	215
7.3	Limitations of this study	222
7.4	Implications of this study	223
7.5	Suggestions for further studies	225
	Bibliography	227

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Language contact is a setting in which linguistic changes involve the systems of the two languages concerned, and linguistic borrowings may occur at any linguistic level (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). In the analysis of Chinese-English contact, the studies dealing with the influence of English on Chinese which tend to concentrate on interference from Chinese in the learning of the English language, are few and fragmented. These studies on Chinese-English contact have been done under the rubric of contrastive analysis and have attempted to elaborate on the difficulty Chinese speakers have with English as instances of interference from the mother tongue. Meanwhile, virtually not much research has been conducted on the impact of English on Chinese from a historical linguistic perspective. Taking a different tack, this research is oriented towards the investigation of English influence on Chinese. Hence, this is the first consideration in the choice of research topics.

Secondly, the most productive and salient studies on language contact are those on lexical transfer from the Source Language (SL) to the Recipient Language (RL). It is observed that a great many studies of the influence of English on other languages have revolved around the lexical and phonological levels. Generally speaking, there have been no in-depth studies on contact at the grammatical level (Kachru, 1994). In fact, grammatical elements such as morphological and syntactic units may also be transferred from the SL to the RL in intense language contact situations, which, however, few studies have documented (Thompson & Kaufman, 1988). In a similar vein, the lion's share of previous research has focused primarily upon English loan words in Chinese (Pan, Yip & Han, 1993). With regard to the influence of English on the grammar of Chinese, Wang Li (1943/1954a) has conducted by far the most comprehensive and

systematic study of Europeanization^① in Chinese. However, the analysis of English influence at the lexico-semantic level remains untouched. Ever since his time, some studies on this topic have been conducted in special Chinese speaking communities like Hong Kong, Taiwan of China and Singapore. Unfortunately very few similar studies have been undertaken in Mainland China (Pan et al. , 1993). In recent decades, China has been in frequent and vigorous contact with the outside world. The Chinese language, as a major means of communication, has been involved in the dynamic process of contact with a number of foreign languages simultaneously. Among all these foreign languages, English has always been the one with which the Chinese language has had the most frequent and comprehensive contact. In effect, the present-day Chinese language has manifested a number of English-influenced features. Thus, a systematic study of English influence on Chinese will facilitate our perception of the language used by contemporary Chinese speakers, and meanwhile it may provide sufficient evidence for the study of language change.

Thirdly, according to Shi (2003), in recent decades some Chinese words, which have enjoyed their special status in the language communities in Hong Kong and Taiwan of China, have now become the common vocabulary in Modern Standard Chinese (MSC). Lexical borrowing might also apply to the syntactic level. So this is the first study to test the hypothesis formulated by Shi (2003) that English-colored constructions in Hong Kong Chinese^②(HKC) are also likely to penetrate MSC.

With the above three chief considerations in mind, an empirical study is initiated to investigate the influence of English on MSC, particularly at the lexical, lexico-semantic, morphological and syntactic levels by drawing from the theoretical framework of contact-induced language change.

① Europeanization is confined to the influence of the English language, as it is a known fact that English has attained such an unprecedented status as being a universal language and it has more far-reaching effects than that of Greek and Latin or any other languages, whatsoever.

② What is meant by Hong Kong Chinese here is the written and spoken forms of Chinese specifically in Hong Kong only.

1.2 Theoretical approach

With regard to language change, there is a long-winded debate over whether the causes of linguistic change are internal or external. The present study holds that the external factors initiated by language contact are a powerful promoter of language change though it does not ignore the role of internal factors in language change. According to Weinreich (1953/1964), language contact assumes face-to-face contact between speakers of two or more languages and thus bilingual speakers are a necessary prerequisite for any occurrence of large-scale contact. However, this restricted definition cannot explain the case of Chinese-English language contact because of its two distinctive characteristics. For one thing, Chinese-English contact does not take place in a bilingual environment. For another, Chinese speakers have more contact with written English than spoken English. Therefore, a broader understanding of language contact is quite necessary. The present study distinguishes two types of language contact. For borrowing to occur through spoken language contact, it may be termed “direct language contact”. For borrowing to occur through written language contact, it may be referred to as “indirect language contact”. Obviously the Chinese case largely falls into the indirect type of language contact.

As to contact-induced language change, the present study agrees with Thomason's (2001) viewpoint: “any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact” (p. 61-62). Thomason (2001) suggests that ‘at least in part’ is necessary because of the possibility, and in many cases the actuality, of multiple causation (p. 62). It is unanimously acknowledged that the vocabulary of a language is the most prominent and explicitly delineated area of influence. By contrast, there has always been a long-debated theoretical issue of whether the grammatical system of a language can be influenced by other languages. In this study, it is maintained that the internal linguistic development and external forces work hand in hand to contribute to grammatical borrowing.

The model of contact-induced language change is built upon Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who argue that the framework of contact-induced language change is more applicable to two typologically different languages. So it is

especially useful to have such a model of contact-induced language change as the framework of the present study. Following the measuring stick of the intensity of contact, the two scholars distinguish five types of contact. The current study reveals that Chinese-English contact has predominantly undergone some changes in the first three types of contact. Hereby, this study proposes for a three-level model of language contact on the basis of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework.

Concerning the linguistic process involved in contact-induced change, it is postulated in the current study that lexicalization and grammaticalization in Chinese could offer explanatory linguistic mechanisms conducive to the emergence of English-influenced structures as well as the incorporation of English loans in the Chinese language. Meanwhile, contact as a driving force has triggered and facilitated the process of lexicalization and grammaticalization in the development of the Chinese language. This kind of intermingling process is initiated and enhanced by translations.

1.3 Purpose of the study

Since Wang Li's pioneering work in Europeanization, very few studies have been conducted concerning English influence on Chinese syntax. Thus, the general purpose of this study is to update and investigate the recent trends of this process of Europeanization in the Chinese language. It is argued that the Chinese language is enriched with English elements at various linguistic levels.

Specifically, five objectives will be accomplished.

Firstly, this study attempts to propose a new classification of English loan words based on the degree of sinicization which English loan words have undergone in a new linguistic context.

Secondly, Wang Li undertook a comprehensive study of English influence on Chinese grammar, but the analysis of English influence at the semantic level remains untouched. It is hoped that this study can bridge the gap.

Thirdly, this study attempts to unfold a thorough study of morphological influence of English on Chinese in recent decades. It is argued that partially owing to the influence of the English language, modern Chinese is gaining a morphology which it traditionally did not possess in a systematic way.

Fourthly, this study aims to find out whether the distinguishing features of Europeanization in HKC have also emerged in MSC. It is maintained that as a bilingual speech community, Hong Kong is more loaded with English traces than Mainland China. But in due course of time the Europeanization will progress and expand in China's mainland.

Finally, this study of the new phenomena in MSC will contribute to a deeper and richer understanding of an indirect type of language contact, which does not occur in a strictly bilingual environment. Consequentially, we can perceive the universality of language contact theory even if the mediums in contact have no genetic ties or synchronic resemblances.

1.4 Methodology and data collection

Methodologically speaking, the current study entails four sources of data collection, including dictionaries, newspapers, magazines and literary writings.

Firstly, since one of the main aims of this study is concerned with the linguistic analysis of English loan words in Chinese, the problem is to discover the elements in Chinese which have their sources or models in English. In terms of data collection, both dictionaries and other modern Chinese written materials (e. g., newspapers, magazines and books) are utilized for the purpose of linguistic analysis. The Chinese dictionaries include *Hanyu Wailaici Cidian* (《汉语外来词词典》)^①, *The Dictionary of Loan Words in Chinese*, *Jin Xiandai Hanyu Xin Ciyu Ciyuan Cidian* (《近现代汉语新词语词源词典》)^②, *An Etymological Dictionary of Neologisms in Modern and Contemporary Chinese*, *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (《现代汉语词典》)^③, *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, *Xinhua Xin Ciyu Cidian* (《新华新词语词典》)^④, *The Xinhua Dictionary of Neologisms*, and *Xiandai Hanyu Xin Ciyu Cidian* (《现代汉语新词语词典》)^⑤, *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary of Neologisms*. It is a fact that a sizable

① 刘正琰、高名凯、麦永乾、史有为, 1984, 《汉语外来词词典》, 上海: 上海辞书出版社。

② 香港中文语文学会, 2002, 《近现代汉语新词语词源词典》, 上海: 汉语大辞典出版社。

③ 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室, 2002, 《现代汉语词典》(增补本), 北京: 外语教学与研究出版社。

④ 商务印书馆辞书研究中心, 2003, 《新华新词语词典》, 北京: 商务印书馆。

⑤ 林伦伦、朱永锴、顾向欣, 2000, 《现代汉语新词语词典》(1978~2000), 广东: 花城出版社。

number of English loan words have not yet been registered in the dictionaries and other written sources owing to the fact that the lexicographical recording of the vocabulary constantly lags behind lexical development. Therefore, a collection of data from the media would be a prerequisite for picturing truly contemporary loans.

Secondly, for materials about the syntactic influence of English on MSC, sample sentences used in this study are collected in a random manner from newspapers, magazines and literary writings, which can feature a regularly updated language. In other words, the examples reported here are all observed naturalistic data taken from modern Chinese press. In the light of the choice of the newspapers, the primary source has been collected mainly from the 'quality press', which is characterized by discourse strategies more typical of literacy, compared with the 'popular press', which tends to employ discourse strategies more typical of colloquiality. To a certain extent, English-influenced structures are so common that it may be considered one of the defining features in the 'quality press'. The following is a list of newspapers from which data has been collected: *the People's Daily* (PD), *the Beijing Evening Newspaper* (BEN), *the Wenhui Daily* (WD), *the Xinmin Evening Newspaper* (XEN), *the Southern Weekend* (SW), and *the Yangcheng Evening Newspaper* (YEN). Part of the data comes from the literary works of famous Chinese writers like Lao She, Maodun, Bing Xin, Lu Xun, Wang Meng, and others. Finally, a small proportion of the data is constituted by clippings from several popular magazines. In terms of newspaper sections in the Chinese press, English influence occurs in the following genres, roughly in descending order of frequency: news report, literary essays, articles on new technology and business, quotes in interviews, advertising, entertainments (e. g. , fashion, music, and sports), and the like.

All examples of suspected English influence were jotted down on slips of paper. The sample sentences are provided in the form of a dated written quotation. A total of more than 2000 clippings were collected^①. The majority of them were rechecked with the aid of some linguistically sophisticated native Chinese speakers, and then arranged by virtue of grammatical categories for systematic presentation here. The methodology is thus more qualitative and

① Only part of the clippings is used in this study considering the limitation of space.

ethnographic than quantitative and probabilistic. The qualitative aspect lies in the fact that examples in the present study within any one category are primarily for illustrative purposes. In other words, the data is meant to be qualitative rather than quantitative, but it is hoped that they may also serve as a partial basis for future quantitative studies. It should be kept in mind that the body of data on the whole differs from the normal procedure of corpus linguistics in that the data is qualitatively and not quantitatively processed.

The sampling sentences will be presented first in Chinese characters in the same way as they occurred in the clippings, followed by Romanization *pinyin* coupled with idiomatic English translation where appropriate. This is occasionally supplemented by a morpheme-by-morpheme translation when it is considered necessary to make explicit the surface meaning of the Chinese expression for comparison and contrast.

1.5 Outline of the book

The study of this book contains seven chapters. A sketch of each chapter is presented as follows.

Chapter One introduces the theoretical approach of the study, the purpose, methodology and data collection, and organization of this work.

Chapter Two provides a survey of previous research conducted on Chinese-English language contact. For the purpose of this study, the influence of English on Chinese at various linguistic levels, involving lexical borrowing and Europeanization in Chinese, is critically reviewed.

Chapter Three deals with some important issues pertaining to the theory of language contact. It first provides an overview of the language contact features in modern Chinese, as reported in the literature and in this fieldwork. Other relevant issues, including definition and types of contact-induced language change, and outcomes of language contact, are also discussed. It is assumed that lexicalization and grammaticalization in Chinese serve as the linguistic mechanisms of contact-induced language change. Meanwhile, contact as a driving force has triggered and facilitated the internal development of the Chinese language.

The following three chapters, which constitute the main body of the work, discuss the linguistic outcomes of language contact in terms of three major

domains. Chapter Four deals with the lexical influence of English on MSC. It is argued that the lexical borrowing constitutes the major “gateway” to all of the other aspects of contact-induced language change. In addition, this chapter probes into the lexico-semantic influence of English on modern Chinese in the process of lexical borrowings.

Chapter Five deals with the morphological influence of English on modern Chinese. Under the influence of English loan words, a list of new morphemes have arisen from them (e. g. , root words, bound morphemes and affixes), and have formed with other components through the process of compounding and affixation. Therefore, it could be predicted that based on such a systematic way of gaining a morphology, contemporary Chinese speakers tend to create as many new words as possible, without resistance from native language constraints.

In Chapter Six, the syntactic influence is grouped under four headings: i) shifts in word categories; ii) shifts in sub-categories; iii) word order change; and iv) use of prepositions and connectives. Chapter Four, Five and Six are based primarily on the new findings of the current development of Chinese and on previous observations of other scholars as well.

Chapter Seven first summarizes the major findings of this study. The limitations and implications of the study are then spelled out. Finally, suggestions for further research are presented.

2 Literature Review of English Influence on MSC

2.1 Introduction

It is noticeable that English has continued and is continuing to have an impact on many languages spoken today, a fact which allows for comparative observations across a wide spectrum of languages. Equally important is the fact that this influence is ascribable to a variety of factors, ranging from colonial domination over a vast area of the globe, military presence, particularly during and after World War II, to intense economic and cultural relations, etc. It is significant to note that even in cases where such factors do not exert a direct influence, there are indirect routes for the penetration of English elements, particularly based on the current role of English in the formation of the so-called international vocabularies of science, technology and culture in its more general sense.

In accordance with Kachru (1994), users of the English language can be divided into three circles in terms of the functions and demographical distribution of the users:

- (1) The Inner Circle: as a first language (L1)—the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- (2) The Outer Circle: as a second language (L2)—South Asia, Southeast Asia and West Africa.
- (3) The Expanding Circle: as a foreign language—Japan, China, Latin America and the remaining areas of the world.

The influence of English on the Outer Circle languages has captured considerable attention from linguists in the past decades. However, the impact of English on the languages in the Expanding Circle has not yet been fully studied. So far the study of lexical borrowing from English by the Expanding Circle languages