

李丛禾 著

PERSPECTIVE

会话语篇回指的 认知语言学探索

——基于英汉语影视剧会话语料的对比研究

学林出版社



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Anaphora in Conversational Discourse: an Exploration

From the Perspective of Cognitive Linguistics

——A Contrastive Study Based on English and Chinese Film and TV Drama Data

李丛禾 著

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——基于英汉语影视剧会话语料的对比研究



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序

语篇回指的使用和理解是一个典型的认知过程。在此过程中,交际双方——作者和读者,或说话者和听话者——作为两个认知主体,通过主体间性(intersubjectivity)互动交流,洽商沟通,达成共识。也就是说,在使用语篇回指时,如果作者或说话者希望读者或听话者以某种方式来理解语篇中表达的回指关系,他必须以一种使读者或听话者能很容易辨别其意图的方式来编码信息,提供语言提示,以引导读者或听话者做出他所期待的理解。同样,在理解语篇中表达的回指关系时,读者或听话者需要根据作者或说话者提供的语言提示,即在语篇中选用的特定词语和语法结构等,再加上自己对世界的了解,来推断作者或说话者在语篇中意在表达的回指关系。

李丛禾博士《会话语篇回指的认知语言学探索》一书的特点是,作者紧紧抓住了语篇回指使用和理解的上述认知本质,将两个认知语言学理论模型——Ariel (1988, 1990, 1994, 1996)的可及性理论和 Langacker (1987, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1999)的认知语法中的回指参照点模型(van Hoek 1995, 1997)——结合起来,通过对自己收集的大量实例语料的分析,采用定性研究与定量分析相结合的方法,在国内首次较为系统地对英汉戏剧会话中的回指现象进行了对比研究,并对此做出了认知阐释。

我觉得,本书的研究方向是正确的,因为上述两个理论模型能够较好地解释前面提到的两大类语言提示——即特定词语和语法(及篇章)结构的选择——在引导读者或听话者作出正确回指理解时的认知机理;可及性理论认为,语篇中使用的指称词语可以分为高、中、低三大类可及性标示语,为读者或听话者标示了指称对象的可及性;而参照点理论认为,句子和语篇结构反映了认知主体对事件的识解方式,突显了事件中的某一实体,使之成为识解其领地中其他实体的参照点。这两个理论相互补充,相互制约,相辅相成,可以较好地构成一个统一的阐释语篇回指的理论框架。

目前,认知语言学在国内已成为一个很热门的研究取向。沈家煊先生在外教社认知语言学丛书总序(2005:IV)中批评了目前“国内从事认知语言学研究的人有不少在讲意义的时候完全不讲形式,至少是忽视形式”

的做法,并一针见血地指出,“脱离语言的形式而谈论语言的意义(在语言学里)是没有意义的”。本书努力结合语言形式讨论语篇回指释义,这一做法也是可取的。

回指所研究的是日常生活中的一种常见语言现象;在言语交际中,人们往往也能轻易地相互理解语篇中出现的回指。但是,要对其做出合理的解释,探求其本质,寻求其使用规律,找出其理解机制,却并不那么容易,因为回指的使用和理解几乎涉及到语音、语义、形态、句法、篇章、语用等语言学研究的所有层面,而且与个人的认知和世界知识的差异也密切相关。本书在这方面做了初步的尝试,对于那些希望在这一领域做进一步深入研究的人,我相信是可以从中获益的。

许余龙

上海外国语大学语言研究院

2008年9月22日

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前 言

本书是我在上海外国语大学 2005 年完成的博士学位论文的基础上修改和充实而成。本研究的完成得到了我的导师许余龙先生的精心指导和不断的鼓励,许先生治学严谨,是国内汉语语篇回指研究方面的翘楚,先生对门下弟子严格要求,使我们受益匪浅,在此我想向许先生表达由衷的敬意和感激。

以下是本研究的大致脉络及主要内容梗概。

作为指称研究的一个重要组成部分,回指现象(有人也称之为照应现象)是当代语言学,特别是自然语言处理的一个研究热点和难点问题。自 20 世纪 70 年代以来,回指研究逐渐成为语言学研究的中心课题之一。语言学者从不同角度对这一现象作了全面深入的探讨。从方法论上来讲,主要有形式主义的(注重结构分析),功能主义的(注重意义、语用)以及当代炙手可热的认知语言学(探讨语言使用的认知心理动因)的研究方法;从涉及的语言单位来看,回指研究包括句内回指和语篇回指研究;从切入角度来讲,可以有回指使用(或回指产出)和回指理解(或回指解析)两个角度。从涉及的语体来讲,主要有书面的和口语的两大类。各种研究均有其优点和局限性。总的来讲,回指研究的历史揭示出一条从句内回指到语篇回指,从形式到功能语用,再到认知心理的探索,从理论思辨到实证研究的发展脉络。

以往的语篇回指研究主要是基于英语书面语,大多数的汉语语篇回指研究也是如此。口语语篇中的回指现象,特别是会话回指,比书面语篇中的回指要复杂得多,要更多地受到交际目的、交际内容、交际双方的相对社会地位与关系等因素的影响,所以这方面的研究较为少见。据我们所知,目前尚没有人对英汉语会话语篇回指做过系统的实证性的对比研究。

有鉴于此,本书基于英汉影视剧会话语料,采用定性研究和定量分析相结合的方法,运用当代认知语言学的基本观点,特别是认知语法中的参照点模型和主观性理论以及可及性理论,探讨回指参照点模型对英汉会话语篇中回指现象的解释力以及影响会话中指称词语使用和理解的深层认知心理机制。

认知语法把说话者和听话者看作是言语事件的观察者,他们的观察

体验存在于对话语表达意义的领悟之中。说话者和听话者作为观察者,是一种背景成分,他们观察的目标就是话语中明确表达出来的内容。所以我们认为会话实质上就是采用显性或隐性的言者或听者视角,对会话中被突显的概念实体进行识解的过程,言者或听者视角构成会话中的局部认知视点或者主观背景。会话主题作为交际各方关注的焦点,具有很高的突显度,成为当前话语空间中的认知参照点或者说整体的参照视点。

本书从考察会话语篇中语篇实体的主题性,指称对象的可及性以及指称词语表达的主观性入手,充分考虑会话的特点,一方面着重分析影响参照点/领地格局的主要因素如突显度和概念关联度等对英汉语中主语与主题在小句与语篇层次上的识别,另一方面对英汉会话语篇中的指称词语根据其指称对象的可及性进行了分类并对其在英汉语会话中的分布进行统计分析,将理论阐述牢固地建立在详尽的语料统计的基础之上。

具体而言,我们从大量的英汉语影视剧会话语料中收集了 419 例词汇名词短语(lexical NPs),63 例指示词语(demonstrative expressions),833 例代词(pronouns)及 313 例零形代词(zero pronouns)等共计 1628 例第三人称名词性指称词语,并对这些指称词语在英汉语会话语篇中的分布和使用做了较为详尽的统计分析。

参照可及性理论,我们考察了会话篇章中指称词语在标识其指称对象的可及性方面所表现出的差异,把英汉语中的指称词语分为高、中、低三类可及性标识语,即英汉语中的零形代词皆为高可及性标识语,英汉语中用于主语/主题位置的代词和单称指示词语也属于此类;用于其它位置的代词和复合指示词语为中可及性标识语。英汉语中词汇名词短语如专有名词和有定描述语皆为低可及性标识语。另外,由于会话中交际者之间的高度互动及动态协商的特点,所以,不论是英语还是汉语会话中,高可及性标识语大量用于跨话论的语篇环境,这显然不同于书面语篇中高可及性标识语的分布特点。

我们考察了汉语会话中指称词语的分布特点及其在参照点/领地格局中的作用。语料分析表明,说话者倾向于使用中或低可及标识语激活一个新的认知参照点或者重新确立一个已有的但被取代的参照点;处于主语或主题位置上的中或高可及性标识语常被用来维持一个心理实体的参照点地位。对于指称对象出现在会话现场的情况,也可用高可及性标识语来激活参照点。汉语会话中典型的参照点/领地格局是会话主题链,它通常由中或低可及性标识语引导,并续之于零形代词引导的一组小句。时间、地点或转折等状语成分的插入通常会影响到其概念关联度,从而导致

由零形代词向词汇代词的转换。回指性的低可及性标识语通常表示较大的概念打断,从而会出现从属于同一认知参照点的几个不同的领地。此外,指称弹回(return pop)和指称修正(anaphoric repair)是会话中的两个独特现象,前者通常是用一个高或中可及性标识语,跨越当前谈论的主题,来指称一个被取代已久的主题;后者是由于指称实体在会话双方心理表征中的可及性差异,造成指称词语使用不当,会话中的一方会用一个语义信息丰富的低可及性标识语来修正可能指称不明的高可及性标识语。

同样,我们也对英语会话中指称词语的分布特点及其在参照点/领地格局中的作用进行了考察。英语会话中参照点的建立、维持和转换同汉语中的基本相似。只不过英语中零形代词的使用极其有限,而汉语中则相当广泛自由。英语中常见的参照点/领地格局是会话回指链(anaphoric chain),其首发回指语通常是一个中或低可及性标识语如词汇名词短语,充当参照点,处于其领地内的后续指称语一般用代词或指示词语。英语中的指称弹回功能一般由代词行使,指称修正同汉语。

从当代认知语言学的角度研究会话中的回指现象能够更好地揭示指称行为的认知心理本质以及指称信息在认知主体心理表征内的动态流动。会话中的参照点/领地格局是由说话者和听话者在交际中共同完成的在线实时的动态认知构建,标示高可及性的回指语反映了认知主体对指称对象的高度主观性识解及其更高的主题性地位,标示低可及性的指称语反映了认知主体对指称对象的客观性识解,以及指称对象较低的主题性地位,这实质上是主观参照视点在不同的会话者心理表征内不断转换以寻求最佳关联的过程,指称词语的使用反映了会话参与者对指称对象的主观识解,归根结底是人类的认知体验性在语言中的具体体现。

在英汉会话语篇回指的认知语言学研究方面进行深入的探索对于推进语篇回指的认知研究,深化人们对于自身认知能力的认识都有重要的理论意义,对英汉语会话语篇中指称特点的详尽分析对于英汉语会话对比研究、外语教学、自然语言理解和人工智能等都具有重要的启发意义和参考价值。

本书的出版,得到了解放军南京政治学院上海分院院部领导的大力支持和帮助,学林出版社曹维劲社长、责任编辑乐惟清老师等也为本书付出了辛勤的劳动,谨此一并致谢!

李丛禾

2008年秋于上海书香公寓

Abstract

The present study, based on quantified corpus analyses, investigates the distributional and referential features of major referring expressions in English and Chinese conversations by applying the basic tenets of modern cognitive linguistics, especially the Cognitive Reference Point Model and Accessibility Theory. It explores the extent to which the CRP model can explain the referential behaviors of the referring expressions in question, as well as the underlying cognitive and psychological factors influencing the interpretation of anaphoric patterns as discerned in our data.

For that purpose we have collected and analyzed altogether 1,628 cases of English and Chinese third-person referring expressions including 419 cases of lexical NPs, 63 cases of demonstrative expressions, 833 cases of pronouns and 313 cases of zero pronouns in both English and Chinese drama conversations.

Based on a detailed examination of the factors (such as Prominence and Conceptual Connectivity) influencing the reference point/dominion organization, we have discussed the identifying principles of a Chinese or English topic/subject in relation to the establishment of a cognitive reference point. Due to the ubiquity of POV (Point of View) phenomenon in conversation, the speaker or hearer POV, either explicit or implicit, serves as the subjective background or local reference point for conceptualizing the profiled or onstage material. The conversation topic is the center of attention in the speaker or hearer's mind serving as the global reference point in the current discourse space (CDS).

Then we classified both English and Chinese referring expressions into high, intermediate and low accessibility markers through data analysis in terms of the discourse contexts in which they occur, i. e. , the referential distance (both linear and hierarchical), interference and syntactic positions. Zero pronouns in both English and Chinese belong to the

class of high accessibility markers and lexical pronouns used in subject/topic positions and single demonstratives also belong to this class. Lexical pronouns used in positions other than the subject/topic position as well as complex demonstratives belong to the class of intermediate accessibility markers. The lexical NPs such as names and definite descriptions in both English and Chinese are low accessibility markers. Due to the dynamic nature of conversation, we find many more cases of high accessibility markers in across turn environment than those that occur in across paragraph environment in written data.

Based on the collected Chinese conversation data, we have first considered the syntactic and morphological means to mark or establish a cognitive reference point. In Chinese conversation, morphological or lexical means is the major device for reference point establishment, mainly including low or intermediate accessibility markers such as definite or indefinite lexical NPs and complex demonstratives. In situations where an intended referent is physically present at the speech event, high accessibility markers may also be used to activate a reference point. Then we have surveyed the maintenance and shift of a cognitive reference point in relation to different types of accessibility markers. The main device for maintaining a reference point is high or intermediate accessibility markers occurring in subject/topic positions. A typical reference point/dominion organization in Chinese conversation is the conversational topic chain which is usually headed by a low accessibility marker and followed by a series of zero pronouns. The insertion of temporal, locative and other adverbials may cause damage to their conceptual connectivity, triggering the shift from a higher accessibility marker to a lower one, for example, from a zero pronoun to a lexical pronoun. An anaphoric low accessibility marker usually indicates major conceptual break and starts new dominions under the same reference point. Return pop and anaphoric repair are two occurrences unique to conversational discourse. A zero pronoun or a lexical pronoun, that is, high or intermediate accessibility markers, is usually used to return to a long displace topic in Chinese. In cases of anaphoric repair, an informationally rich low accessibility marker is usually used to repair an attenuated high accessibility marker.

We also discussed the distributional patterns of English accessibility markers in relation to the establishment, maintenance and shift of a cognitive reference point. Like Chinese, the majority of the cases of reference point establishment are done by low accessibility markers such as definite or indefinite lexical NPs in subject/topic or object positions. High accessibility markers in subject/topic positions are predominant in maintaining a reference point. The shift to a new reference point or to a minor dominion of under the same reference point concurs with the use of low accessibility markers. That is, a low accessibility marker indicates conceptual shift. The typical reference point/dominion organization in English conversation is the anaphoric chain headed by a low accessibility marker. A return pop in English conversation is usually done with a pronoun. And a low accessibility marker is usually used to repair a high accessibility marker for purposes of clarity.

Our study suggests that to study anaphoric reference in conversation from the perspective of modern cognitive linguistics may shed more light on the mental nature of referring as well as on the dynamic flow of referential information in the mental representations of cognizing individuals. Reference point/dominion organization in conversation is a matter of dynamic shift between the different subjectively chosen cognitive reference points in the pursuit of optimal relevance.

The use and interpretation of anaphora in conversation is a very complicated phenomenon. There is no hard and fast rule concerning the use and interpretation of referring expressions. What we are aiming at is to find the probabilistic tendency and relevant factors that may throw some light on reference resolution in artificial intelligence.

Key Words: Accessibility; Subjectivity; CRP; Prominence; Conceptual Connectivity

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