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—A Cognitive Semantic Study on Polysemous Words

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——关于多义词的认知语义学研究

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科 学 出 版 社

北 京

内 容 提 要

　　本书内容涉及西方的语言学、语言哲学中一些重要的意义理论，以及词汇语义学、词典学对词义、多义的理论探索和具体处理。但着力点在于运用新兴的认知语言学，特别是认知语义学的理论框架，如范畴化原则、原型理论、框架语义学、理想认知模式、基于用法的动态模式等，来探究多义现象的一些本质属性：多义词的认知语义框架及其结构特征，词义的历时演化和生成机制等。在此基础上，作者提出了一个多义词义项划分与释义的两级认知模式，主要服务于词典编纂。作者还运用该模式对汉语中的超级多义动词"打"进行了个案研究，并构建了两个个人（老舍、曹雪芹）的语料库，分析出在他们大脑里"打"的语义表征，用实证的数据来检验个案分析的结果，验证两级模式的合理性和可操作性。

序　言

黄建华

　　田兵博士自西安来电话，告诉我一个好消息：他的词典学专著即将出版，并让我分享他的一份喜悦：叫我为他的新书写一篇序言。近几年来我们两人曾就他所研究的专题作了多番的交谈和讨论。现在他的成果终于面世，我岂有却辞之理？由于出版社规定的时间所限，作者只好催促我早日交稿，不便展开详谈，那就我简单地写上几句与书中题旨有关的话吧。

　　多义词的确定和义项划分向来是语文词典编纂工作的一个棘手问题。

　　田兵博士吸收当代语言学理论的新成果，从不同角度对此问题进行了有益的探讨，尝试提出义项划分可资借鉴的两级模式，并按其模式对词义复杂的"打"字作了个案考察。田兵的研究成果较为全面地展示了这一问题的复杂性，并在理论上作了相当充分的解释。

　　前人论述词的义项划分的文献很多，但多半围于经验性的一得之见或局限于某一语言理论所制约的不无片面的见解。像田兵这样，广泛占有有关材料（涉及认知语义学、词汇学、心理语言学、社会语言学等各方面的成果）经过扒剔梳理，消化吸收，达到对多义现象的总体把握和深入了解，我认为在国内尚属初见，这反映了作者的广阔学术视野和融会贯通的能力。

　　作者的难能可贵之处还在于：他通过对词义生成机制的考察，多义衍生理据的探讨以及对义项间关系的认识，试图构建起自己的模式并进而细化为一整套有相当参考价值的操作准则。田兵的两级模式充分考虑到多义词语义网络的一些根本属性：层级性、动态性和多维性。

至于按新模式对汉语中的"超级"多义词"打"字作详细考察，并利用语料库做出"打"字的新样条，则表明作者并没有满足于空泛之论，而是力图展示自己所主张的理论的可检验性以及据此而作的设计的可操作性。虽然其理论和模式还有待于深化和验证，但起码目前已为我们提供了在词典编纂活动中审视和处理多义词的新视角。毫无疑问，这是具有理论的认识意义和实践的指导意义的。

田博士的著作用英语写成，这固然反映了作者具备较强的英语应用能力。不过可惜的是，这是一本在国内出版、主要是面向中国读者的书。我国能顺利阅读英文的读者毕竟比阅读中文的少得多，书中许多新的理论见解我国读者和专业人士便无缘得见；而令人更为遗憾的是：其中书里一些论辩之词虽然是针对我国学者的某些见解而发，而其本人却不一定有机会读到，这样一来便迹近于独自放空炮，无法让不同意见撞击起火花，也就不便于把学术讨论引向深入。至于从事辞书编纂的实际工作者，平时有空关注词典学理论的人就不多，何况面对的是一本英文著作，哪有多少余暇顾及？因此，要是有可能的话，我真希望作者能把本书的内容改写为汉语，在改写过程中，进一步考察中国学者关于义项确定和划分的主张，有针对性地阐发自己的理论。果能如此，则目前流行的某些凝固、滞后、单一视角、却自以为已经掌握了客观标准的居高临下的关于义项划分的主张，就会在这种广视野、多角度、紧跟世界学科前沿、还给读者留有思考余地的理论阐述面前，显得苍白无力，粗疏武断。我说"改写为汉语"，而不说把它译成汉语，其中暗含这样的言外之意：希望作者能够趁改写的机会深化或充实本书的某些理论并弥补一些尚欠周密的地方。

无论如何，这是一本拥有新材料，体现正确的研究方法，有自己的学术见地，能引发人思考的好书，值得关心此问题的读者和辞书工作者一读。

2004 年 12 月 8 日
于广东外语外贸大学校园

前　　言

词典已经用了 20 多年,但真正开始了解并与之亲密接触却是 8 年前,参加编纂一部英语学习词典。由于只是"客串",戏份自然不多,这样便有更多的闲暇去遐想,遐想之余还能翻阅更多的词典,及相关的书和文章。那期间,还喜欢把几本,乃至十几本词典摆到一块,对比着看,结果词典也越看越多:有不同出版社出的同一类型的几本词典,像英国出的几种学习词典,美国出的几种大学版词典;也有一家出版社出的不同部头、不同用途的词典;还有同一部词典的不同版次,如《朗文当代英语词典》、《牛津高阶英语词典》的不同版本以及双解版等等。

当然,最初比较词典是为了了解词典,确保编纂词条的质量,同时也希望借机提高自己使用词典的效果、帮助改进词汇教学。但随着对词典兴趣日增,问题也越来越多,所掌握的语言学知识也时常捉襟见肘。比如,词典中多义词义项的认定与划分,为什么不同的词典在处理时会出现那么大的差异?什么原因造成的?追问下去便是对义项划分标准的质疑。诸如此类的质疑终于导致打定主意攻读词典学专业的博士,命运捉弄又选定这一棘手问题来做博士论文。

摆在您面前的这本书就是在博士论文的基础上完成的。

全书分九章。除了绪论和结论,其余的七章构成本书的主体。这七章的内容又大致分为三部分:第二章和第三章是第一部分,分别从词汇语义学和词典学来探讨词义和多义的理论研究的整体概况及一般处理方式,构建起研究的平台。

第二部分是第三章和第四章,是理论综述和探索,是从多个层面、纬度和视角对多义词认知语义结构进行深入研究。如果把复杂多义词

比作庐山的话，那真是"横看成岭侧成峰"——共时的横向静态研究（第四章）、历时的纵向动态研究（第五章）以及无时的动态研究（第五章的一部分）。

第三部分是第六章、第七章和第八章。这一部分更多地体现了作者个人的思考和一些原创性的工作。第六章是在认知语义学理论框架下，构建服务于词典编纂的多义词义项认定、区分和释义的两级模式。第七章是运用该模式的个案研究——对现、当代汉语中的超级多义词"打"的语义进行了比较深入和全面的分析。第八章是利用语料库提供的大量语料进行量化的语义分析，进一步来检验第七章的个案分析和第六章的理论模式。

以下是各章的框架和一些内容要点。

第一章是绪论。初步回答什么是多义，以及本书要研究的问题和所采取的主要方法。

第二章是词义与多义。主要是在相关意义理论和词汇语义学研究的基础上搭建本书的研究平台。研究路径是自上而下：首先是语言哲学中相关的意义理论，侧重意义的自然主义假设和指称论；然后是语言学中的意义理论，即意义的使用论和系统功能语法对意义的研究；再就是词汇语义学的相关内容，主要涉及词的界定和词义的根本属性。具体到多义现象本身，这里集中探讨了词的多义性与单义性的区分，多义性与同形异义的区分，以及规则多义与个性多义的区分，从而将本研究的对象锁定在个性多义。

第三章是词典编纂中义项的认定与划分。首先是讨论多义词义项划分中存在的问题。主要有三个：一是主观武断，源自语义分析的不足，二是优先特征的错置，三是造成划分义项的孳生。其次是讨论词典编纂实践中义项划分的实际程式和所遵从的准则。再就是传统词典学范式下相关的理论探索和最新的一些进展。

我们认为词典编纂过程中义项划分方面的问题是由其范式决定的，是与生俱来的。我们必须寻找新的语言学理论框架，来建立新的范式，才有希望从根本上解决这些问题。我们选定研究多义词的认知语义框架来作为认定和划分其义项的一个阶石。

第四章是多义词的语义框架。首先是经典范式下的一些研究，主要涉及分解语义和自然语义元语言两种方法，对国内的相关研究也有所涉猎。然后是本章的核心内容——认知语义学范式下的相关研究。主要包括原型理论、框架语义学、理想认知模式、基于用法的动态模式等方面的相关研究。另外，本章还探讨了心理语言学和计算语言学等方面的相关研究。本章对多义词的语义结构的描绘主要是从静态的视角出发的。

第五章是语义的变化和义项的生成。主要是从动态的视角来考察词汇语义的变化：首先是词义变化的环境，涉及人类作为种群进化时的社会环境、个体发育的认知环境，以及语言篇章具体展开的上下文环境。其次是词义历时变化所呈现出的一些规律和特点。再就是具体、临时的语用学意义向相对稳定的语义学意义的转化。本章还涉及临时义项的生成和多义的生成这两方面的研究，不过是从形式语义学方面切入的。

由于是理论探讨，第四章和第五章理解起来可能会困难一些，但下点工夫研读是值得的。至于第五章，尤其是后一部分的内容，一般读者可以略过不读。

第六章是以词典编纂为取向的义项划分模式。这是整本书的核心。该模式主要是以认知语义学的相关研究为理论基础，以研究多义词的认知语义框架为前提，来认定和划分多义词的义项。该模式主要由两个方法构成：一是不同义项的认定和区分，二是本义的确定。这两种方法进一步具体化为一整套义项认定和区分的准则。同时，又从词典使用者和编纂者互动的视角，引入了义项划分粒度的概念。此外，我们还研究了多义词认知语义框架的一些宏观特征和微观结构特点，以及义项间的一些基本语义关系，这些都可以作为划分义项时参照的理据。

第七章是多义动词的义项划分："打"的个案研究。这一章是对第六章所建模式的实证检验。在充分回顾相关文献对"打"的研究的基础上，我们以《现汉》中"打"的研究为基点和参照，运用新建模式对"打"的义项进行了重新分析。在确定"打"的基本认知框架的基

础上，我们认定了超级概念层上"打"的四个原型义，并进而区分和认定了基本概念层面上的不同义项，做出了能体现复杂多义词义项特点的语义网络结构图，最后又以新的格式做出了一个词典样条。

第八章是老舍和曹雪芹大脑中"打"的语义网络。本章又是前一章个案研究的进一步实证研究。我们对《红楼梦》（前80回）、《四世同堂》（前87回）中含"打"的例证进行了穷尽收集和整理分析，对其中"打"作为单字词的义项进行了分析梳理，并进而作出了他们各自大脑中"打"的认知语义网络结构图。对比分析的结果进一步印证了"打"的个案研究的可靠性，以及新建的义项认定和划分模式的合理性和可操作性。

第九章是结论。主要是对整个研究的内容进行了重点总结，并对未来的研究作了展望。

作者希望这本书能成为词典学理论大厦建设中的一砖一瓦，或者一块铺路石。

此时的心境和情绪，不由得让人想起一则笑话：某人黑夜行路时丢了东西，便跑到路灯下寻找，因为只有那里有灯光，可以看得见。运用语言学理论来解决词典学中的问题，难免不让人觉得有路灯下找东西之嫌。

书稿付梓在即，蒙恩师黄建华先生百忙中拨冗赐序，又多嘉誉之辞，勉励之语，心中愈发惴惴不安。遥想南国，先生此时也一定正坐在摆满词典的书桌前，醉心于在汉－法两张巨大的词网中漫游。我仿佛又看到先生书房墙上的诗句：学者当自树其帜。

书中涉及的国外语言学和词典学的新领域和分支比较多，限于作者的学识水平，误解、纰漏难免，还望读者不吝指教。

田兵
2004年12月16日
于西安明德门鑫泰园

Acknowledgements

This book is mainly based on my PhD dissertation. It is revised just to make it accessible to a wider audience.

The three years, as a PhD student at the National Center for Linguistics and Applied Linguistics of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GDUFS), is of great significance to my academic career and surely to this book- the distinguished scholars to learn from, the favorable academic atmosphere to do research in, the timely buying of newly published monographs and journals to read and explore, the other PhD students and friends to discuss and argue linguistic questions with, and the White Cloud Mountain to hike and climb...

For the fulfillment of my dissertation, there are many people I'd like to express my thanks to. First and foremost, my sincere thanks go to my supervisors, Prof. Huang Jianhua, and Prof. Zhang Yihua. Their influence on me goes beyond academics. Prof. Zhang's devotion to lexicography spurs me on and on. "A scholar should have his own banner erected." -this motto of Prof. Huang always inspires me to go further and higher in lexicographic inquiry. As to my dissertation, they are always ready for my unexpected dropping by and are generous with their time discussing with me, criticizing and constructively suggesting on my dissertation draft. Their examination of my progress in fulfilling the dissertation is always timely and has prevented me from erring and deviating. Their criticisms and modifications on the different revisions of the dissertation have contributed enormously to what it is now. Surely I myself should be

responsible for any of the errors and mistakes in it.

My thanks go to the members of my committee: Professor Zhang Boran, Professor Wu Qianguang, Professor Yong Heming, Associate Professor Shen Sanshan, and Dr Li Lan for their time spent in examining the dissertation draft. Their challenging and thought-provoking comments have contributed a lot to the improvement of the dissertation.

My thanks go to the academic circle of lexicography. The Center for Lexicographical Studies has invited many lexicographers and lexicographical theoreticians to give lectures or join in the seminars. I fortunately have got the opportunities to exchange ideas with Hartmann, Li Lan, Yong Heming, Tao Yuanke, Zhao Yanchun, He Jianing, Yuan Kele, Wu Qianguang, Zhang Linxin, and Zhao Cuilian. Their influence on my academic research is fundamental and far-reaching and my dissertation has benefited a lot from them.

My thanks go to the scholars at the National Center for Linguistics and Applied Linguistics - especially Professor Gui Shichun, introducing me to cognitive sciences, Professor Qian Guanlian, provoking me to think on a higher and philosophical level, Professor Yang Yonglin, introducing me to meta-cognitive studies, and Dr. Dong Yanping, helping me to have access to researches on mental lexicon. I also learned a lot from the linguistic courses and lectures at the Center, especially those by Thomas Lee, Lao Kaye, Qin Xiubai, Li Yafei, MacWhinney, etc.

My thanks go to other PhD students in GDUFS. We spent much time together climbing the White Cloud Mountain, discussing or arguing linguistically. My special thanks go to Yang Shouxun and He Junjie, making me computer-literate, Li hong, Ma Shuhong, and Zhang Jingyu, discussing lexical acquisition with, Zheng Chao, Zhou Baoguo, Xu Zhanghong, Yu Weichang, Mo Aiping, Lin Wenzhi, Zhou

Xiaoyan, Wang Xiaohai, Liu Huixiu, Xu Hai, Wang Renqiang, Cheng Wei... and Huo Yongshou, my two-year roommate, bringing *Women, Fire and Dangerous things* to GDUFS for me.

And my thanks to my family members. Their love and support is essential to the fulfillment of my research. Guo Li, my wife, is always there, supporting me to pursue my career, especially in taking a Ph.D. program. And Tian Jiaxi, my daughter, my indebt to her is uncompensated. I stole the time that I should have spent together with her. And her excellent performance at school has always been an encouragement and a challenge to me.

The publication of a book of this kind needs money. I am grateful to Shaanxi Normal University, which funded my publishing of this book.

It has been a pleasure to work with the people at Science Press, who have taken this project very seriously. I especially want to express my thanks to Hu Shenghua and Hao Jianhua for their help in making the book textually clear and physically beautiful.

Abstract

A problem that lexicographers always have to face is to decide whether to "lump or split" in determining how many senses a polysemous word actually has. This dissertation comes to grips with this thorny problem directly, under the theoretical framework of cognitive semantics, whose investigation into polysemy in the past two decades has made it possible to approach it in a more empirical fashion. It is oriented to establish a practical model for identifying and differentiating the senses of polysemous words, which will help lexicographer reduce their arbitrariness in and make more consistent judgments on sense demarcation.

The questions, such as "what is a word sense?" and "what is polysemy?" motivate us to explore meaning theories, to look into the nature of word meaning, and then to work out a working procedure for identifying idiosyncratic polysemy in contrast to monosemy, homonymy, and regular polysemy of different kinds.

As lexicographers, we nail down arbitrariness, sense proliferation, and feature priority misplaced as the target problems to solve and we further argue that these problems are intrinsic to the traditional practice, and that any attempts in the traditional fashion are doomed to a failure.

The elusiveness of sense identification in practical lexicography forces us to turn to the semantic networks of polysemous words as a stepping-stone. We are most interested in the cognitive seman-

tic approaches, such as frame semantics, idealized cognitive model, and cognitive grammar. To look into the microstructure of the semantic networks, we also take into account of the mechanisms of sense generation and generating polysemy, in addition to the regularities in semantic change either diachronical or synchronical.

With these theoretical underpinnings, we start to establish our model. The model consists of principles for identifying the protosense and for distinguishing the distinct senses, which can be further specified as a set of operational criteria:

1. The distinct senses of a polysemous word should first be identified on the basic concept level in that they are embodied ones;

2. These senses should be identified by studying their corresponding cognitive semantic frames respectively;

3. Among these senses one (or more than one in some rare cases) is primary or central, owing to its cognitive importance in acquisition, its frequency in use, and its derivational (not necessarily diachronically true) relationships with other senses;

4. The protosense, if there exists one, should be identified on the super-ordinate level to capture the invariant meaning components among the distinct senses on the basic level;

5. A sense on the basic level, under some cases, can further differentiate into or instantiate as several subsenses on the subordinate level;

6. The number of senses a definer can distinguish is indefinite unless sense granularity is set according to factors, such as how closely a definer examines the citations collected, what (linguistic and encyclopedic) knowledge s/he expects the intended dictionary users to have.

The advantages of the model lies in its capturing of the dynamic, bi-level, and multi-dimensional nature of the semantic networks of

polysemous words.

As a test for the usefulness and effectiveness of the model, a case study of *da*, a super polysemous verb in modern and contemporary Chinese, is carried out. To verify the results of our case study against corpus evidence, we extract all the sentences bearing *da* from *A Dream of Red Mansions* (the first eighty chapters) by Cao Xueqin and *Four Generations Under One Roof* (the first eighty-seven chapters) by Lao She. We construct two semantic networks of *da* as what is represented in their minds respectively. Through comparing these two semantic networks of *da*, we find that the sense identification and distinction of da in our case study is confirmed in that it captures both the basic structures of those two semantic networks and the majority of their senses, especially those core senses, which correlate to their corresponding high frequency in the citations.

Abbreviations

AD/R: addressee or reader

AVS: attribute-value structure

CCD: The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary [《现代汉语词典》]

CIDE: Cambridge International Dictionary of English

COBUILD: Collins COBUILD Learner's Dictionary

ESL: English as Second Language

FourGs: Four Generations Under One Roof

GIIN: generalized conversational implicature

ICM: idealized cognitive model

IIN: conversational implicature

IITSC: Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change

LDOCE: Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

MLD: monolingual learner's dictionary

MTC: metonymic-type coercion

NI: noun that is implicitly attached

NLP: natural language processing

NODE: The New Oxford Dictionary of English

NSD: native speaker dictionary

NSM: natural semantic metalanguage

OALD: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English

OCC: The Origin of Chinese Characters

OCD: The Concise Oxford Dictionary

RedDs: A Dream of Red Mansions

SP/W: speaker or writer

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