



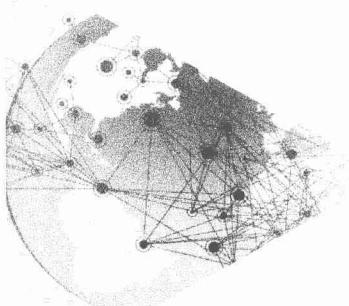
A Contrastive Study of Semantic Prosodies
in the Interface of Bilingual Corpora

双语语料库界面下 英汉语义韵对比研究

李晓红◎著



上海交通大学出版社
SHANGHAI JIAO TONG UNIVERSITY PRESS



A Contrastive Study of Semantic Prosodies
in the Interface of Bilingual Corpora

双语语料库界面下 英汉语义韵对比研究

李晓红◎著



内容提要

本文以语料库研究范式下的扩展意义单位模型为理论基础,基于双语语料库界面下的验证数据,采用语义韵力度、主导语义趋向等测量描述参数,在英汉双语视角下揭示并探讨英汉双语词汇型式表达语义韵的特征异同,并提出语义韵对等是最高程度的双语型式对等。本研究对语言对比研究、翻译研究、语言教学及双语词典编撰具有借鉴意义。本书适合语料库、翻译、语言对比领域的研究者和教师使用。

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

双语语料库界面下英汉语义韵对比研究/李晓红著.

—上海:上海交通大学出版社,2015

ISBN 978 - 7 - 313 - 13669 - 5

I . ①双… II . ①李… III . ①英语—语义—对比研究—汉语

IV . ①H313②H15

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2015)第 197388 号

双语语料库界面下英汉语义韵对比研究

著 者: 李晓红

出版发行: 上海交通大学出版社

地 址: 上海市番禺路 951 号

邮政编码: 200030

电 话: 021 - 64071208

出 版 人: 韩建民

印 制: 虎彩印艺股份有限公司

经 销: 全国新华书店

开 本: 787mm×960mm 1/16

印 张: 17

字 数: 240 千字

版 次: 2015 年 9 月第 1 版

印 次: 2015 年 9 月第 1 次印刷

书 号: ISBN 978 - 7 - 313 - 13669 - 5/H

定 价: 48.00 元

版权所有 侵权必究

告读者: 如发现本书有印装质量问题请与印刷厂质量科联系

联系电话: 0769 - 85252189

前　言

语义韵概念的提出无疑是语料库语言学领域跨世纪的重要发现与主要研究课题。后弗斯学派的语料库语言学者在研究词语搭配时发现了超越单个词语界限的态度意义,这一发现为词语搭配研究和短语学研究提供了新的理论建构和工作范式。在近三十年的发展中,语义韵概念的探索经历了由单语视角向双语视角的转向,为对比短语学研究提供了新的方法与路径。

在语料库语言学领域和短语学研究中,约翰·辛克莱(John Sinclair)提出的“成语原则”(idiom principle)和“短语趋势”(phraseological tendency)是探索意义单位过程中最具变革意义和深远影响的发现,也是语料库语言学的理论基石。语义韵是辛克莱继而提出的扩展意义单位模型中的重要概念,是由节点词、搭配、类联接、语义趋向等要素共同选择而最终指向的态度意义。根据扩展意义单位模型,跨语言视角的语义韵研究主要通过调查双语词语的意义和功能对应来确立双语对等。然而,迄今为止,跨语言视角的语义韵研究仍以英语和其他西语的对比为主,基于双语语料库证据,严谨、系统地探讨英汉词语的语义趋向和语义韵如何构建双语扩展词汇单位的研究是一项既必要又艰巨的工作。

本书秉承辛克莱关于扩展意义单位的理论框架,在英汉双语视角下探讨并揭示两种语言表达语义韵——隐含态度意义——的特征异同。在研究方法上,采用自下而上的语料库语言学研究范式,借助平行语料库和对比语料库中客观、丰富的语料证据,发掘和描述新的语言现象,概括新的语言型式。英汉、汉英双向平行语料库能够提供大量的双语对应证据,有助于拟定词语层级的对应。对比语料库——现代汉语语料库和英国国家语料库——用于发现以节点词为核心的短语层级意义单位,即包含搭配、类联接、语义趋向和语义韵

各组合要素的扩展词汇单位。借助对比语料库中客观、丰富的语料证据能够发现凭直觉和经验无法发觉的语言聚合规律,揭示双语扩展词汇单位在形式、意义和功能层面的对应特征,最终确立最高程度的双语对等。本书的研究过程以数据为基础,采用了相互对应率(MC)、林奈双名法(Linnaean-style binomial notation)等测量和描述手段对语言证据进行数据处理和描述。在探讨语义韵过程中,本书提出了语义韵常模、语义韵力度、主导语义趋向等描述参数,系统、详尽地讨论了双语界面下语义韵及语义趋向的相互作用和共选规律。

研究发现,英汉语义韵表达既有共同特征,又呈现特有趋势。共同特征包括两方面:第一,节点词的内涵义无法直接表明扩展词汇单位的语义韵。单个词项蕴涵着语义韵潜势,即与特定的词汇-语法环境共选并表达积极、消极或中性态度意义的可能性,词语与语境相互共选时,语义韵潜势将被触发和具体化。语义韵同词语内涵义的区别在于语义韵是集复现搭配、特定句法结构及语义一致性的统一体。第二,节点词的主导语义趋向通常与语义韵保持和谐一致;有些语义范畴的节点词其主导语义趋向则可能与语义韵冲突对立。在解读语义韵过程中,可选语义趋向具有三种作用:态度指示语、态度强化语和语义携带语。距节点词越远,可选语义趋向的频数越低,相应的搭配和类联接规律越不明显,因此非显著性可选语义趋向的位置预示着扩展词汇单位的语义边界。

英汉语义韵表达体现三方面的异同特征。第一,语义韵力度差异。初似对应词呈冲突对立的语义韵及较高的语义韵力度,这说明以二者为核心的扩展词汇单位分别表达的典型态度意义具有语言特殊性或文化特殊性。第二,语义韵空缺。违背语义韵常模的个例使用表明,在目标语中出现的语义韵差异及语义韵非典型性现象皆由文化差异、意识形态差异和价值观差异所致。第三,类联接高度不一致。两种语言在表达语义韵时体现高度不一致的类联接选择趋向。

研究的另一重要发现是,要确立适宜的双语型式对等,语义韵的

一致对应或高度相似是关键所在。通过考察扩展词汇单位在语义趋向和语义韵层面的特征异同,能够建立不同程度的双语对等。双语扩展词汇单位的语义和功能高度相似,二者可确立为高度型式对等;双语扩展词汇单位中的一方允许语义韵偏离,二者为部分型式对等;语义韵冲突对立的扩展词汇单位则为不对等型式。因此,语义韵对等是双语词汇型式最高程度的对等。比较和探讨扩展词汇单位的语义韵对等为语言对比研究、翻译研究、语言教学及双语词典编撰开辟了新路径,为调查和确立双语对等提供崭新的研究视角。

语义韵概念在国外学界正处于多视角的理论阐释和更科学的方法探索阶段,而在国内学界还是比较新的学术概念,近年间国内学者也开始越来越多地关注这一语言现象。语义韵的概念和研究方法尚在逐步完善,本书的描述和探讨难免有不尽准确之处,恳请广大专家同仁不吝指正。

拙著付梓之际,心存无限感激。

由衷感谢北京航空航天大学卫乃兴教授。他的悉心培养和专业指导是我顺利完成上海交通大学语言学博士研究的坚实基础。在博士研究和本书撰写过程中,他及时给予富有真知灼见的指导,耐心审阅本书的几次草稿,锱铢必较地指正文中谬误。卫乃兴教授严谨治学、孜孜不怠的学术风范是我完成学业和这本拙著的源源动力。

本书还得到上海交通大学王同顺教授、上海交通大学胡全生教授、上海复旦大学曲卫国教授、华东理工大学邵志洪教授、华东师范大学邹为诚教授的指点与帮助,深表谢意。

上海交通大学语言文字研究所的学友们多年来与我一起探讨,给予我不尽的帮助与鼓励;上海电力学院外国语学院的领导和同事给予我大力支持与帮助,由衷谢意难能细表。

寒窗苦读离不开家人默默地关爱和支持。我为长期以来不能在父母身边尽孝充满愧疚,更为父母无怨无悔地帮我照看幼子无限感激。爱人涂文强给予我莫大的支持与鼓励,陪伴我克服障碍,完成拙著。若无家人奉献相助,何谈今日之所得!

双语语料库界面下英汉语义韵对比研究

上海交通大学出版社的编辑为本书的出版花费大量时间和精力,给予了宝贵支持。谨向他们表示诚挚的感谢。

李晓红

2015年7月

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Nodes investigated in previous major cross-language studies	30
Table 3.1	<i>Prima facie</i> translation pairs (TP) with MC in JDPC	48
Table 4.1	Recurrent collocates of 涌现 and <i>SPRING up</i>	54
Table 4.2	Recurrent collocates of 涌现 and <i>CROP up</i>	60
Table 4.3	The percentages of connotative polarity and semantic prosody	67
Table 4.4	Overall data in terms of semantic prosody, semantic preference and connotation	69
Table 5.1	The collocational profile of 助长	80
Table 5.2	Nodes with overt connotative polarity in agreement with semantic prosody	83
Table 5.3	Preferences and collocates of <i>immersed in</i>	87
Table 5.4	Nodes with covert connotative polarity in disagreement with semantic prosody	89
Table 5.5	Collocational profile of <i>BREED</i> in $n_1 V n_2$	95
Table 5.6	Extended lexical unit with 孕育 as the core	99
Table 5.7	Agreement between predominant preference and prosody on negativity	102
Table 5.8	Agreement between predominant preference and prosody on positivity	102
Table 5.9	Disagreement between predominant preference and semantic prosody	104

Table 5.10	Chinese verbs with conflicting predominant preference and semantic prosody	108
Table 5.11	Prosodies and optional preferences of 10 <i>prima facie</i> pairs	110
Table 5.12	Attitude reinforcers and their lexical realisations ...	114
Table 6.1	Prosodic strengths (PS) of opposite prosodies ...	130
Table 6.2	Prosodic strength (PS) of agreeing prosodies ...	134
Table 6.3	Frequent verbal collocates of <i>uprising</i> and <i>revolution</i>	146
Table 6.4	Structural patterning 1: the role of attitude indicator in Chinese	157
Table 6.5	Structural patterning 2: the role of attitude indicator in Chinese	158
Table 6.6	Structural patterning 1: the role of attitude indicator in English	159
Table 6.7	Structural patterning 2: the role of attitude indicator in English	160
Table 6.8	Structural patterning 3: the role of attitude indicator in English	160
Table 6.9	Structural patterning 4: the role of attitude indicator in English	161
Table 6.10	Recurrent structural patterning <i>adv V</i> as attitude reinforcer in Chinese	162
Table 6.11	Recurrent structural patternings as attitude reinforcers in English	163
Table 7.1	Comparisons between 助长 vs. <i>FEED</i> and <i>FUEL</i> ...	213
Table 7.2	Comparisons between 策划 vs. <i>HATCH</i> and <i>ORCHESTRATE</i>	215

List of Figures

Figure 3.1	Five-step comparative procedure	44
Figure 5.1	The production and identification of semantic prosody	124
Figure 7.1	Correspondence between 冲破 vs. <i>SHATTER</i> in preference and prosody	171
Figure 7.2	Correspondence between 渗透 vs. <i>INFILTRATE</i> in preference and prosody	174
Figure 7.3	Correspondence between 涌现 vs. <i>CROP up</i> in preference	177
Figure 7.4	Impossible PE in terms of semantic preference and semantic prosody	179
Figure 7.5	Partial PE in terms of semantic preference and semantic prosody	181
Figure 7.6	Correspondence between 滋长 vs. <i>FOSTER</i> in preference and prosody	184
Figure 7.7	Correspondence in semantic preference within <i>V n</i> or <i>n V</i>	196
Figure 7.8	PE in terms of semantic preference and semantic prosody	201
Figure 7.9	High probability of PE in terms of semantic preference and semantic prosody	209
Figure 7.10	PE in terms of semantic preference and semantic prosody	222
Figure 8.1	Patterning equivalence in a bilingual dictionary ...	235

List of Abbreviations

BNC	British National Corpus
CPT	Contextual Prosodic Theory
JDPC	JiaoDa Parallel Corpus
MC	mutual correspondence
MCC	Modern Chinese Corpus
MEUM	Model of Extended Units of Meaning
PE	patterning equivalence
TP	translation pairs
SL	source language

CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Objectives and significance of the study	4
1.3 Organization of the thesis	7
Chapter 2 A Review of the Literature and the Theoretical Background	10
2.1 Major views of semantic prosody in the monolingual context	10
2.1.1 The contagious view	10
2.1.2 The connotative view	13
2.1.3 The functional view	14
2.1.4 The discoursal and textual view	17
2.1.5 Disputes on semantic prosody	19
2.2 Cross-language studies of semantic prosody	23
2.2.1 Studies of semantic prosody across English and other European languages	24
2.2.2 Studies of semantic prosody across English and Chinese	27
2.2.3 Comments on the cross-language studies of semantic prosody	30
2.3 Summary	33

Chapter 3 Research Design and Methodology	34
3.1 Definitions and terminology	34
3.1.1 Semantic preference and semantic prosody	34
3.1.2 Other terms	37
3.2 Corpus used	41
3.3 Analytical procedure	44
3.4 Sketching out <i>prima facie</i> translation pairs in JDPC	47
3.5 Summary	52
Chapter 4 A Case Study and Overall Data of Semantic Prosody ...	53
4.1 A case study of identifying semantic prosody	53
4.1.1 Presumed equivalents by MC values	54
4.1.2 Equivalents from dictionaries	63
4.2 Overall data of prosodies	67
4.3 Summary	77
Chapter 5 Common Properties of Semantic Prosody in English and Chinese	78
5.1 Connotative polarity and prosodic potential	78
5.1.1 Prosodic transparency by overt connotative polarity	79
5.1.2 Prosodic opaqueness by covert connotative polarity	85
5.1.3 Discussion	89
5.2 Semantic preference and semantic prosody	92
5.2.1 Consistent polarities between predominant preference and semantic prosody	93
5.2.2 Conflicting polarities between predominant preference and semantic prosody	104

CONTENTS

5.2.3	Optional preferences and semantic prosody	109
5.2.4	Discussion	119
5.3	The production and identification of semantic prosody	124
5.4	Summary	126
 Chapter 6 Language-specific Features of Semantic Prosody		128
6.1	Prosodic strength	128
6.1.1	Divergence in semantic prosody	129
6.1.2	Congruence in semantic prosody	134
6.2	Prosodic clash	137
6.2.1	Prosodic atypicality in the target language	139
6.2.2	Prosodic gap in the target language	143
6.3	Structural patterning and semantic prosody	150
6.3.1	Variations in structural patterning	151
6.3.2	Roles of structural patternings	156
6.3.3	Discussion	167
6.4	Summary	168
 Chapter 7 Semantic Prosody Equivalence and Patterning		
Equivalence		170
7.1	Opposite semantic prosodies and low possibility of PE	170
7.1.1	Opposite prosodies and different preferences	171
7.1.2	Contextual equivalents	174
7.1.3	Discussion	179
7.2	Different semantic prosodies and partial PE	180
7.2.1	Partial patterning equivalence	180

7.2.2 Deviation from prosodic norms	182
7.2.3 Non-correspondence between optional preferences	190
7.2.4 Discussion	194
7.3 More on partial PE	195
7.3.1 Correspondences in semantic preference	196
7.3.2 The attitudinal pendulum	202
7.3.3 Deviations from prosodic norm	205
7.4 Similar semantic prosody and high probability of PE	208
7.5 Typical PE and synonymous <i>prima facie</i> equivalents	211
7.5.1 Degrees of syntagmatic expectation	212
7.5.2 Specificity of collocational choices	218
7.5.3 Typical PE among synonymous pairs	221
7.6 Summary	223
 Chapter 8 Conclusions and Implications	 226
8.1 General Conclusion	226
8.2 Implications	232
8.2.1 Implications for translation studies	233
8.2.2 Prosodic information in bilingual lexicography	234
8.2.3 Awareness of prosodies in language teaching and learning	237
8.3 Limitations of the present study and suggestions for future studies	238
 Bibliography	 241
Index	251

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

In the past two decades the concept and phenomenon of semantic prosody have assumed a place of central importance in corpus linguistics; particularly, it has been brought into close integration with the study of attitudinal meaning and pragmatics. The concept of semantic prosody arises from post-Firthian corpus linguistics and is widely elaborated in phraseological studies. In effect, semantic prosody has increasingly been given considerable attention in corpus linguistics and beyond. Studies of semantic prosody have widened the horizons in the foreland field of linguistic exploration and enriched the methodology and contents of linguistic description (卫乃兴 2011a).

Discussions, questions and debates about the nature of semantic prosody, its identification and linguistic/non-linguistic implications lie at the heart of previous studies. In the literature, the term “semantic prosody” embraces different interpretations and is assigned with a broad range of features; however, the most common and acceptable interpretation can be paraphrased as: semantic prosody is semantically a property of meaning prevailing in the context as a result of lexico-grammatical co-selection, and pragmatically the hidden attitude and communicative purpose of a speaker/writer (Louw 1993, Sinclair 1996, 卫乃兴 2011a).

In Sinclair's (1996) Model of Extended Units of Meaning (henceforth MEUM), one of the most pioneering works for subsequent theoretical and empirical research, semantic prosody is considered as an obligatory property of an extended lexical unit. Semantic preference, or semantic association (Hoey 2005), reveals the relation between a word and a set of semantic categories, closely connected with the concept of collocation. The proposal of semantic preference leads us to a new understanding of collocation, because what we begin to note is not only "word-to-word collocation" but "word-to-class" or "word-to-semantic-class-of-word collocation" (Bublitz 1998: 16). Studies of semantic prosody and semantic preference have opened a brand new perspective to explore how the Idiom Principle or Phraseological Tendency (Sinclair 1996) operates on the syntagmatic axis and how the co-selection between lexis and grammar is oriented by communicative functions in languages, genres and language varieties (卫乃兴 2011a).

In the literature, semantic prosody and semantic preference have been explored most extensively by Sinclair (1996), Stubbs (2001), Partington (2004) and Bednarek (2008), among many others. The two notions have been widely and fully explored in a monolingual context, mainly in English. There are, however, only a few researchers (Partington 1998, Berber-Sardinha 2000, Tognini-Bonelli 2002, Dam-Jensen and Zethsen 2007) showing keen interest in contrasting semantic prosody between English and other European languages. Still less work has been carried out in a systematic way to study semantic preference and semantic prosody within a contrastive context involving English and a non-European language (notable exceptions include Xiao and McEnery 2006, 卫乃兴 2011b, 李晓红 and 卫乃兴 2012).