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# 英汉移动动词词汇化 模式的对比研究

*A Contrastive Study of Lexicalization Patterns  
in Motion Verbs Between English and Chinese*

李 雪 著

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# 序

传统语言学局限于对语言现象的规定和描写，重在探讨和研究语言的形式，往往忽略了对意义或概念的探讨；语言学发展到当今认知阶段，突破了以往对语言现象单纯的描写和归纳，重在从认知的角度，从研究概念形成的过程（即概念化过程）出发探索语言形式的理据。认知语言学认为，不同语言由于概念化方式不同，在表达相同的意义或概念时往往会用不同的形式，这是造成语言之间形式差异的根本原因。因此，意义（或概念）和形式的匹配是当今认知语言学的重要研究课题。

这种从意义（或概念）到语言形式的过程，从广义上来说，即为词汇化过程。具体来说，词汇化是意义（或概念）体现为词汇形式的过程，是某一（些）意义与某一（些）形式建立内在联系的过程；一组语义要素可以由单个词汇形式表达，单个语义要素也可以由一组词汇形式来表达。意义、形式的匹配研究既有在句法层面的也有在词汇层面的。

李雪博士的“英汉移动动词词汇化模式的对比研究”，选择了当今语言学最热门的研究课题之一，即移动事件的概念化与词汇化，从移动动词的层面展开研究，并进行了英汉对比。目前国内还没有对英汉移动动词词汇化模式进行专题和深入研究的著作问世。本书的主要贡献体现在如下几个方面：

第一，本书对英汉移动动词词汇化模式类型的研究是建立在大量的语料调查基础之上的，弥补了以往定性研究多而语料调查分析少的缺陷，所以论证更加可靠、所得结论也更令人信服。该书在实际语料调查以及词典调查基础上，对英汉移动动词的主要词汇化模式类型（即方式移动动词和路径移动动词）的比例、类型等进行了比较系统的对比和分析，阐明了汉语移动动词词汇化模式的典型类型，并尝试修正 Talmy 关于汉语“同英语一样，属于方式词汇化模式类型”的观点（Talmy 2000 Vol. II: 27），指出“汉语移动动词并非如 Talmy 所分类的属于典型的方式词

路径动词差异的原因是英汉民族对“路径”的概念化方式不同，英语民族倾向于使用“总体扫描 (summary scanning)”方式，而汉语民族使用“总体扫描”和“顺序扫描 (sequential scanning)”两种方式。

第四，本书在共时研究的基础上还结合了历时研究，探讨了现代汉语移动动词为何会表现出双重词汇化模式类型。通过对历时语料和文献的调查，作者肯定了古汉语移动动词是以路径动词为主要词汇化模式类型，而现代汉语移动动词却表现为双重词汇化模式类型。这是因为汉语的路径动词从古到今经历了语法化过程，部分路径动词（即传统趋向动词）已经语法化为附加语，而不再是完全的动词。同时，由于汉语本身的语言演变如双音化趋势等，加之外来因素的影响如与英语等外语的接触，汉语慢慢产生了许多表达方式的移动动词，汉语移动动词因此演变为路径和方式并存的词汇化模式类型。在此基础上，作者通过大量的语料分析，对 Talmy 关于“从古代汉语到现代汉语，汉语似乎已经经历了由路径词汇化模式到方式词汇化模式的类型转变”的观点 (Talmy 2000 Vol. II: 118) 提出了自己的见解，认为：“从古代汉语到现代汉语，汉语经历了由路径词汇化模式到方式和路径并行的词汇化模式的类型转变”，并且预测汉语的这种类型转变可能还会继续。同时，作者还提出了推动汉语类型转变的机制，在一定程度上丰富和加深了语言类型学的研究。

最后，本书还阐释了该研究成果在翻译中的借鉴和应用价值。作者指出，不同语言之间移动动词的词汇化模式差异往往使翻译者在处理这一问题时陷入困境。例如，要把属于典型方式语言的英语翻译成汉语时，由于英语中所包含的丰富的方式动词在汉语中往往找不到对应，要保留原文生动的方式信息，译者就需要添加额外的表达，而有的译者则干脆忽略原文中的具体方式信息。这两种处理方法都有其不足：前者使得译文累赘，后者则因为缺失了原文的方式信息而使译文有失生动。经过对大量翻译语料的分析，作者提出了合理的建议：译者首先应注意不同语言之间动词词汇化模式的差异，在翻译时要考虑原语和目的语的不同词汇化特点，并结合上下文，根据不同的翻译目的而作出恰当的翻译。

该书即将付梓，我感到无比欣慰，因为它是对李雪苦读寒窗四年有余的肯定，也是对该项研究的一种肯定。李雪勤奋好学、意志坚强，这

是她得以顺利完成博士学业，并在博士毕业不到一年的时间里成功获批国家社科基金青年项目的根本保证。诚然，该书肯定还存在一些不足之处。但我相信，李雪会在专家教授和广大读者的关心、支持下完善和弥补这些不足，并在今后的教书育人和科学研究中取得更大的成绩。

白解红

2011年3月

于长沙岳麓山下

课题，因此我们选择表达空间移动概念的动词进行集中深入的研究，将此类动词定义为移动动词。

美国著名认知语义学家 Leonard Talmy (1985/2000) 曾对移动事件在不同语言中的表达方式进行过研究。他发现：不同语言的移动动词在概念要素的包容方式，即词汇化模式上，存在类型差异，主要表现出三种类型的词汇化模式。这一发现奠定了 Talmy 的移动动词类型学理论的基础。这三种类型分别为：第一，[移动 + 方式 / 原因] ([Motion + Manner/Cause])，即动词除了表达移动本身外，还表达移动的方式或原因，例如英语中的 run、walk、float 等，汉语中的“跑、冲、窜、奔”等。这种类型的移动动词通常被称为“方式动词 (manner verb)”。表现这种词汇化模式类型的语言被称为“方式语言 (manner language)”。大多数印欧语言（罗马语除外）属于“方式语言”，英语最为典型。Talmy 认为汉语也属于这种类型。第二：[移动 + 路径] ([Motion + Path])，即动词既表达移动本身，又表达路径，例如英语中的 enter、exit、ascend 等，汉语中的“来、去、进、出”等。这种类型的移动动词通常被称为“路径动词 (path verb)”。表现这种词汇化模式类型的语言被称为“路径语言 (path language)”，西班牙语最为典型。第三：[移动 + 移动主体] ([Motion + Figure])，即动词除了表达移动本身外，还表达移动的主体。英语仅有几个这种类型的移动动词，例如 spit、rain、snow；汉语没有这种类型的移动动词。表现这种词汇化模式类型的语言被称为“移动主体语言 (figure language)”，如北美 Atsugewi 和 Navaho 语。

Talmy 的移动动词类型学理论对理解语言之间系统的“意义 - 形式”匹配关系作出了很大的贡献，引发了国际语言学界对各种语言移动事件或移动动词词汇化模式类型的一系列研究。但是，国内语言学界对汉语移动动词词汇化模式的相关研究却比较少，仅散见于一些期刊上的论文，还缺乏比较系统的、英汉之间的对比研究。关于这一课题还有许多具有争议性和值得探讨的问题。例如，汉语移动动词的词汇化模式类型是否如 Talmy 所说的“同英语一样，属于方式词汇化模式类型” (Talmy 2000 Vol. II: 27)? 英汉移动动词词汇化模式的共性和差异是什么? 正是基于这些最初的质疑和想法才有了本书的研究。

第七章在前面几章的研究基础之上，并结合其他的共时和历时研究成果，对 Talmy 的移动动词词汇化模式理论中关于汉语的部分观点作出了修正，尝试提出了古今汉语移动动词词汇化模式类型转换的机制。

第八章为本书的结论。首先总结本书的主要研究成果，然后说明本研究的应用价值，最后指出本研究的局限性和进一步研究的方向。



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# List of Abbreviations

FE	frame element
NP	noun phrase
PP	preposition phrase
S-languages	Satellite-framed languages
V-languages	Verb-framed languages
VD construction	Verb-Directional construction
VR construction	Verb-Result construction
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
E-C translation	translation from English to Chinese

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Significance of the Study

It's perhaps a truism that different languages do not all express the same or similar meanings in the same way. Not only are the sounds and the words different, but the structure and organization of the lexicon are different as well. Translators often make this discovery when they try to translate between two languages and realize that the way meanings are encoded or conflated in words differs in the two languages. For example, the English sentence *She tiptoed into the room* cannot be translated literally into Chinese; instead, it must be expressed as 她踮着脚尖走进房间 (She walked into the room on tiptoes).

Meaning-to-form relation has always been an important research topic in the linguistic field, especially after the burgeoning of cognitive linguistics. Researchers can approach the meaning-to-form relation at different levels, for example, clause level (Talmy's motion event description is at clause level), structure level (the study of ditransitive constructions or resultative constructions), and word level. Our study is at word level and focuses on motion verbs. The reasons for choosing motion verbs are as follows:

Firstly, most linguists agree that verb is the most important word class in any language. Studies of language typologies and universals show that nouns and verbs exist in all languages in the world, and in all classes of words, "nouns and verbs are the two most fundamental grammatical categories" (Langacker 1991: 51). In a sentence, verb is usually the center and organizer of all the

elements (Chafe 1970; Fillmore 1968). The famous Chinese linguist—Lǚ Shuxiang (吕叔湘 1987: 1) also points out that the study of verbs is the first most important issue in grammatical study, and he says: “Why verb is important? It’s because verb, in a sense, is the center and core of a sentence and all other elements are attached to it (动词为什么重要, 因为在某种意义上, 动词是句子的中心、核心、重心, 别的成分都跟它挂钩, 被它吸住).”

Secondly, studies of language acquisition show that verbs are much more difficult to be learned than nouns. Some researchers have argued that nouns are relatively easier to be learned because they typically denote physical objects which can be individuated (and presumably conceptualized) on the basis of human being’s perceptual experience of the world. Verbs, they argue, are more difficult for novice language learners because perception does not package events into stable individuals. Instead, languages decide how to conflate the conceptual components of events into lexical items. This results in greater cross-linguistic differences in the meanings of verbs than in the meanings of nouns. To learn verbs, they argue, learners must first discover how a language chooses to package events and generalize the systematic lexicalization patterns within that language, which allow the pace of verb learning to accelerate (Gentner 1982; Gentner & Boroditsky 2001; Gleitman 1990; Schwartz & Leonard 1980; Snedeker & Gleitman 2004; Tardif, Shatz & Naigles, 1997). These studies, from one aspect, have shown the increasing importance of the study of the conceptual components of verbs.

Taking into consideration the importance of verbs in grammatical categories and the complexity of their conceptualization, we think it is of great value and significance to study the lexicalization patterns in verbs, that is, the way conceptual contents are arranged in lexical forms of verbs.

However, due to the large variety of semantic categories that verbs can convey, it’s impossible and infeasible in a study to cover verbs of all semantic categories. The more feasible way is to focus on verbs of one kind of semantic category. Inspired by the pioneering study of the systematic cross-linguistic variation in lexicalization patterns in motion verbs by Leonard Talmy (1985,

2000)—a famous American cognitive semantist, whose 1985 paper “*Lexicalization Patterns: Semantic Structure in Lexical Forms*” has intrigued a great deal of research on lexicalization patterns in motion verbs in the international linguistic field, we choose motion verbs as the research topic and aim to make a contrastive study of lexicalization patterns in motion verbs between English and Chinese.

## **1.2 Theoretical Background**

The present study is a contrastive study, guided by the basic theories of cognitive linguistics and contrastive linguistics, and utilizing some important findings from linguistic typology. Viewpoints of these linguistic theories, which are concerned with our study, will be sketched in this section.

### **1.2.1 Cognitive Linguistics**

This study adopts the theoretical perspective of cognitive linguistics, viewing languages as both a product of the human mind and an instrument for construing experience and conveying information. In many respects, this study draws upon insights and proposals from various publications within cognitive linguistics extending over the past two decades, especially those by Talmy (2000 Vol. I and II), Langacker (1987, 1991, 1999), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), Jackendoff (1983, 1990), Fillmore (1982, 1985), Fillmore et al. (2001), Fauconnier (1997).

From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, the relationship between language and reality is mediated by human cognition. Language expressions are neither objective reflection of the physical world nor external to human beings. They do not reflect the objective events and situations directly, as what the truth-conditional semantics holds, but rather through human cognitive construction and construal (赵艳芳 2001; 白解红 2001). Furthermore, cognitive linguistics views language as an integral part of human cognition sharing certain fundamental organizational properties with all other cognitive



systems, such as perception, reasoning, and attention. Linguistic categories and structural patterns reflect human “general conceptual organization, categorization principles, processing mechanisms, and experiential and environmental influence” (Geeraerts 1997: 7). Therefore, there is no need or justification for positing a separate module of language or autonomous syntax in the human brain, as postulated in contemporary generative linguistics.

As for the mediation of human cognition between language and the physical world, cognitive linguistics views language categories and structures as inherently embodied and schematic. First, language categories and structures are embodied in nature. On the one hand, grammatical categories and constructions emerge from the structure of our early bodily experiences, which are generally pre-linguistic. On the other hand, based on the embodied experiences, our conceptual imagination plays a central role in establishing linguistic categories and structures. As noted in much recent literature, the conceptual imagination constitutes a fundamental part of the human language capacity. Imaginative conceptualizations, such as metaphorical projections, prototype and radial categorizations, windowing of attention, mappings between mental spaces, and conceptual blending are pervasive in language categories and constructions (see, for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 2000; Fauconnier 1997). Second, language categories and structures are schematic in representing things and events in the physical world. It is neither necessary nor possible for a conceptualizer to perceive, or for language to render, every detail of any referred thing or event in the real world. On the contrary, what the conceptualizer perceived and the language expressed is a schematized version of the thing or event. That is to say, the language speaker’s conceptualization is selective. It systematically selects certain aspects of the referent thing or event and overtly rendered with certain language categories and structures, while disregarding the remaining aspects (Talmy 2000, vol. I: 177; Langacker 1987: 68; Taylor 2002: 23). The schematization is based on our daily experience. Aspects that are prominent, repetitively recurring, or currently relevant in communication are prone to