



词汇语用过程新解

Revisiting Lexico-pragmatic Process

詹全旺 著



安徽大学出版社
ANHUI UNIVERSITY PRESS

本书为安徽省教育厅人文社会科学研究项目（2006sk019）
与安徽大学人才队伍建设项目的部分成果

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江苏工业学院图书馆
藏书章

安徽大学出版社
ANHUI UNIVERSITY PRESS

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

词汇语用过程新解/詹全旺著. —合肥:安徽大学出版社,2009.10
ISBN 978-7-81110-684-8

I. 词... II. 詹... III. 词汇—语用学—研究 IV. H03

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2009)第 190264 号

词汇语用过程新解 詹全旺 著

出版发行 安徽大学出版社(合肥市肥西路3号 邮编230039)
联系电话 编辑部0551-5108458 发行部0551-5108871
电子信箱 ahdxcps@mail.hf.ah.cn
书 号 ISBN 978-7-81110-684-8
印 刷 合肥现代印务有限公司
开 本 710×1000 1/16
印 张 11.25
字 数 254 千
责任编辑 朱丽琴 赵光莹
封面设计 孟献辉
定 价 18.00 元
版 次 2009 年 10 月第 1 版
印 次 2009 年 10 月第 1 次印刷

如有影响阅读的印装质量问题,请与出版社发行部联系调换

序

在语言研究领域,一个新理论、新语言观的出现往往会掀起波澜,会使各方学者以这个新的理论或观点重新审视再熟稔不过的语言现象,重新审视他们已经取得的研究成果。我们对语言的认识也就是在这个过程中不断深入,不断拓展的。语言学家对词汇所作的传统研究统称为词汇学。但是,至上个世纪末,浏览各种书名大致为《词汇学》或《英语词汇学》的专著或教材,总觉得内容大同小异,对英语词汇的研究好像已走到了尽头,似乎已不可能有新的发现,更不要说突破了。但语用学的突起,以及一系列相关理论,如关联论、顺应论的产生,则如同给包括词汇研究在内的一些语言研究分支打了一剂强心针,使这些貌似已步入暮年的老学科青春焕发。且不管“词汇语用学”这样的冠名是否得到学界的一致承认,但毋庸置疑,近年来国内外学者应用语用学及相关理论对词汇进行的研究纷纷涌现。本专著便属其一。

几年前,当詹全旺表示他打算把词汇语用研究作为他的学位论文选题时,我不无担忧,只怕这个题目体现不出新意,无法让他充分施展才能。结果当然证明我多虑了。光阴似箭,一眨眼,詹全旺完成他的博士学业已三年有余。在此期间,詹全旺一方面兢兢业业地尽一个教师的职责,但同时依然不忘在他已经开辟的这块科研田地上施肥浇水。一年前,他又进了南京大学外国语言文学博士后流动站,获得了更多良师的指导、更新的资料和前沿信息、更多的和国内外同行交流和合作的机会。这本专著便是在此条件下孕育并产生的。不言自明,它基于他的博士论文但又高于他的博士论文。

在他的专著中,詹全旺提出了一对与词义紧密联系的重要概念——类型概念和实体概念,并区分了词的语言意义和交际意义。词的语言意义是指词汇的内在、静态的意义,而词的交际意义则是词汇受语境影响的、动态的意义,其动态性体现于它在话语理解过程中的在线建构。这个



建构过程即词的语言意义的语用调整过程。词汇语用过程有五种可能的结果:零调整、语用收窄、语用扩充、语用叠加和语用转移。而对于词汇语用过程是怎么发生的,詹全旺则应用关联理论进行了统一而又合理的解释。

本专著的理论价值无需多说,国内对词汇进行语用研究的论文不少,但专著并不多见。詹全旺的这一专著无疑有助于这一方向研究的深入和拓展,具有范例的作用,对其他研究者也具有很大的参考价值。此外,本专著的实用价值也是显而易见的,它对于翻译、外语教学,尤其是词汇教学具有十分重要的指导意义。所以,我想无论是语言的研究者还是语言的实践者都将从中得到裨益。

詹全旺给我的印象是一个踏实、认真、求实的人。他的这些品格已经在他的学术成就上得到体现。我希望在他未来的人生道路上这些可贵的品格能得到更多、更大的体现。

上海外国语大学 何晓熊

2009年8月

前言

2003年12月17日至19日,我有幸参加了在广东外语外贸大学举行的中国语用学研究会成立大会暨第八届全国语用学研讨会。会议期间,我聆听了国内外诸多语用学专家富有启发性的发言。其中,英国伦敦大学学院 Deirdre Wilson 教授做的题为“关联、词义与交际:词汇语用学的过去、现在和将来”的主题发言,给我留下了尤为深刻的印象,并激发了我对词汇语用学浓厚的研究兴趣。

从那时起,我就开始通过各种渠道收集国内外词汇语用研究方面的文献资料。仔细研读这些文献后,我发现词汇语用学是一门特别年轻的学科。1996年春季,美国人工智能协会在斯坦福召开了会话含义研讨会,“词汇语用学(Lexical pragmatics)”这个术语就是由德国的 Reinhard Blutner、Annette Leßmöllmann 和荷兰的 Rob van der Sandt 三位学者在这次研讨会上一篇题为 Conversational implicature and lexical pragmatics 的论文中首次提出的。之后,Blutner 在新格莱斯理论框架下对形容词的语用属性、词汇阻遏和语用异常等问题进行了研究,并取得了开创性的成果。

鉴于新格莱斯理论不能对词汇语用现象做出统一的解释,Deirdre Wilson 和 Robyn Carston 开始尝试采用关联理论对词汇语用问题进行研究。她们率先申报的科研项目“A Unified Theory of Lexical Pragmatics”(2003年9月—2007年3月)得到了 The Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) 的基金支持。她们对过去文献中的收窄(narrowing)、概算(approximation)和隐喻延伸(metaphorical extension)等不同的词汇语用过程做出了统一的解释,并把词汇语用过程的结果分为两类:收窄(narrowing)和扩充(broadening)。毫无疑问,关联理论学者在词汇语用研究方面取得的成果使词汇语用学往前跨跃了一大步。然而,我们发现这些研究成果也还存在一些不足之处。其一,他们采用的关键词之一“临时概念(ad hoc concept)”只是指出了其“临时”特征,而没有揭示其本质,也就是



说没有回答“‘临时概念’到底是什么”这个本体论问题。其二,词汇语用过程的结果远非收窄和扩充两方面所能概括。其三,把隐喻解释为“范畴延伸的极端情形”,不能令人满意。

针对以上缺陷,我们对词汇语用问题进行了重新思考。在哲学家 Peirce(1931—1958)、Grice(1969)、Kripke(1972)、Davidson(1980)和语言学家 Lyons(1977)、Hutton(1990)、Davis(2003)关于“类型(type)”和“实体(token)”论述的基础上,我们提出了一对与词义紧密联系的重要概念——类型概念和实体概念,为词汇语用研究提供一个新的动态视角。我们认为,在人们的思维中存在着类型概念和实体概念。类型概念是从具有相似特征的一组实体中抽象出来的,是对事物或者现象本质特征的概括;实体概念是类型概念的实例。类型概念总是以抽象的形式存在,具有稳定的特点;实体概念以具体的形式存在,具有不稳定的特点。实体概念是动态的,其动态性体现在话语理解中的在线建构。在实体概念的在线建构中,听话人从长期记忆中提取与类型概念相联系的语境独立信息、被语境激活的语境依赖信息、被交际目标激活的目标相关信息,以及经验相关信息,并把这些信息融入到正在建构的实体概念当中。

在此基础上,我们区分了词的语言意义和交际意义。词的语言意义是由该词编码的类型概念所提供的意义。这类意义是语言系统所固有的,因而是独立于语境的,也是长期稳定的。词的交际意义是语用推理过程的产物,是听话人在关联期待的引导下结合语境信息对词语所编码的类型概念进行调整所获得的实体概念所提供的意义。这种意义并不内嵌于语言系统,因为语用推理过程除摄取语言信息外,还广泛摄取语言外信息,如从知觉过程中所获得的信息、从长时记忆中所获得的与语境相关的信息等。

我们认为,词汇语用过程有五种可能结果:零调整、语用收窄、语用扩充、语用叠加和语用转移。在零调整的情况下,一个词的交际意义与它的语言意义相同;在语用收窄的情况下,一个词的交际意义比它的语言意义更加具体;在语用扩充的情况下,一个词的交际意义比它的语言意义更加宽泛;在语用叠加的情况下,一个词的交际意义与它的语言意义部分重叠;在语用转移的情况下,一个词的交际意义从它的语言意义中完全转移出来。

在本书中,隐喻不是 Wilson 和 Carston 所声称的“范畴延伸的极端情



形”,而被看成是词汇语用过程中发生的语用转移。在隐喻理解过程中,创新性使用的词语编码的类型概念的外延先被扩充,形成一个外延较大的过渡实体概念,继而该过渡实体概念的外延又被收窄,最终被构建成表达说话人思想的实体概念,其外延从词语编码的类型概念的外延中完全转移出来。

该研究在三个方面弥补了 Wilson 和 Carston 在词汇语用研究中的不足。首先,该书把“实体概念”定义为“在具体言语交际过程中,听话人在关联期待的引导下,把类型概念的语境独立信息以及语境激活的语境依赖信息从长时记忆中提取到工作记忆中的临时构建体”,指出了实体概念的本质属性,解决了 Wilson 和 Carston 在词汇语用研究中的“临时概念”的本体论问题。其次,与 Wilson 和 Carston 讨论的词汇语用过程的两重结果——收窄和扩充相比,该书讨论的词汇语用过程更加全面系统,有五种可能结果——零调整、语用收窄、语用扩充、语用叠加和语用转移。另外,该书讨论的语用转移对隐喻理解提供了一种新的解释。

该书主要从脱口秀中收集语料,因为脱口秀为词汇语用研究提供了日常会话中的真实话语。对语料的细致分析表明,零调整、语用收窄、语用扩充、语用叠加和语用转移能够用来解释英汉两种语言中的词汇语用过程。这意味着对词的语言意义进行语用调整的五种可能结果具有普遍性特征,如果不具备绝对的普遍性,至少具有一定程度的普遍性。

该研究不仅对词汇语用学这门新兴学科做出了进一步的贡献,而且对词义变化研究也有重要启示。另外,该书的研究成果对于词汇教学和翻译也都具有应用价值。

在此,我首先要感谢我的博士生导师何兆熊教授。接到我的书稿后,何老师花了大量时间通读了书稿,在很多地方提出了建设性的修改意见,认真细致的程度令我万分感动。另外,何老师还欣然为本书作了序,热情的鼓励和殷切的希望浸透在字里行间。同样,我要感谢南京大学外国语言文学博士后流动站的陈新仁教授。在站期间,我参加了陈老师组织的语用学研讨会。在向陈老师咨询书稿中的有关问题时,他热情地给予了指点,并提出了中肯的修改意见。在书稿定稿之际,我忘不了引我走进语言学之门的朱跃教授,感谢他一直以来在我学术成长道路上给予的帮助和对本书稿写作的关心。该书的出版还得到了安徽省教育厅、安徽大学、安徽大学外语学院以及安徽大学出版社的大力支持,在此表示衷心的感谢。



感谢。

另外,我还要特别感谢我的妻子,是她对我学术发展的极大支持,让我才能够倾注更多的时间和精力在书稿的写作上,最终使这本书稿得以在这丹桂飘香的金秋时节出版。

当然,该书还可能因为本人的原因存在不少疏漏和谬误,恳请各位老师和同仁不吝赐教。

詹全旺

2009年8月

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

<i>A</i>	Audience
<i>C</i>	Old information
<i>CP</i>	Cooperative Principle
<i>GCI</i>	Generalized Conversational Implicature
<i>p</i>	utterance
<i>P</i>	New information
<i>PCI</i>	Particularized Conversational Implicature
<i>q</i>	speaker's intended meaning
<i>RT</i>	Relevance Theory
<i>S</i>	speaker
<i>U</i>	utterance / utterer
<i>x</i>	utterance / gesture
<i>+ ></i>	implicate

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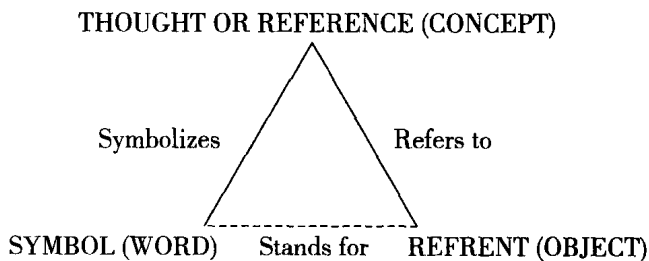
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Introduction

1.1 The study of word meaning

Word meaning has been what philosophers and linguists are concerned with and interested in, and the study of word meaning has been one of the most important tasks the linguists have conducted.

Ogden & Richards (1923: 9 – 11) state in their book *The Meaning of Meaning* that words mean nothing by themselves. It is only when they are used that they stand for things, or, in a sense, obtain meaning. Besides the referential use, words have the emotive function. What is well-known to word meaning researchers is that they have established a triangular model between thoughts, words and things, which are related to each other.



**Figure 1.1 The indirectness of the relations
between words and things**

(Ogden & Richards, 1923: 11)

Between a thought and a symbol (a word) exist causal relations. When we



speak, the words we use are caused by the reference we are making, on the one hand, and by our own attitude, on the other hand. When we hear what is said, the words cause us both to carry out an act of reference and to assume an attitude which is almost the same as or similar to the speaker's attitude. Between the thought and the referent there is also a relation; either there is a direct relation, as when we think about a flower we see, or there is an indirect relation, as when we think of or refer to Aristotle, in which case there may be a very long chain between the thought and its referent. Between the symbol (word) and the referent there is an indirect relation, in which the word is used by someone to stand for a referent. In other words, the word and the referent are not connected directly but only indirectly along the two sides of the triangle.

The essential assumption of their symbol theory is its subordination of the word-thing relationship and, thus, the priority is given to the role of thought and, more generally, mind. They argue that the word-thing relationship should be regarded as subordinate because it is an indirect one, different from the relationships that hold between thought and symbol and between thought and referent. But Ogden & Richards consider the construction of the relation between word and thing completely as a thought process (a mental act of the individual), and they see meaning embodied purely in symbols and language, not in material things in the physical world. This makes them unable to answer the question of where thought, symbols and language originate.

In terms of word meaning, R. H. Robins (1964) holds a different view from Ogden & Richards. He points out that in much of the history of semantic studies, the investigation of word meaning has been concerned with the referential use of a word, and that excessive emphasis has been put on that part of word meaning which can be stated easily in isolation and treated either as a two-term relation between the word and the referent (the thing meant), or as a three-term relation between word, speaker (or hearer), and referent. He argues that, for the goals of linguistics, it is better to study meaning by a more comprehensive treatment. Robins says that

... we learn new words and extend and increase our knowledge
of the words we already know, as we hear and see them in fresh



utterances and used slightly differently from the ways which we are accustomed to. The meaning of a word, therefore, may be considered as the way it is used as a part of different sentences.

(Robins, 1964: 17)

According to Robins, words have meanings by virtue of their employment in sentences. The meanings of words are better dealt with in linguistics in terms of how they function than exclusively in terms of what they refer to. The different kinds of reference are included as part of the function performed by certain words in the sentences in which they are used. Although R. H. Robins' research into word meaning is undertaken in the sentence, his research is confined to the static word meaning.

In D. A. Cruse's (1986: 16) view, the meaning of a word is fully reflected in its contextual relations; in fact, the meaning of a word is constituted by its contextual relations. In other words, the meaning of a word can be taken as a pattern of affinities and disaffinities with all the other words in the language. Affinities can be classified into two types—syntagmatic and paradigmatic. A syntagmatic affinity is established by a capacity for normal association in an utterance. For instance, there is a syntagmatic affinity between *horse* and *neighed*, *wolf* and *howled*, *duck* and *quacked*, because the sentences *The horse neighed*, *The wolf howled*, and *The duck quacked* are normal (詹全旺, 2003: 72). A syntagmatic disaffinity is exposed by a syntagmatic abnormality, which, however, does not violate grammatical rules, in other words, is grammatically acceptable. For example, the grass sneezed. Paradigmatically, the greater a semantic affinity between two grammatically identical words is, the more congruent their patterns of syntagmatic normality. In his *Lexical Semantics*, D. A. Cruse establishes in a principled and disciplined way the descriptive and generalizable facts about lexical relations.

The three representative views on word meaning mentioned above are to a great extent different from each other, but there is something in common: these studies of word meaning are all within the boundary of traditional semantics, which is a static study chiefly concerned with lexical items and their semantic features and semantic relations.