

摘要

语言类型学作为当今三大语言研究范式之一,着眼于寻求人类语言背后所隐藏的共性规律。传统的从属连词研究局限于个体语言内部,类型学视野下的从属连词研究则关注跨语言的连词类型、语序和隐现特征,以及与其他参项之间的蕴含关系。本文以语言类型学的相关理论为指导,对汉语和英语中的状语性从属连词进行了系统的对比研究,讨论了它们在形态特征、句法功能、语义功能、隐现特征、关联模式、语序类型等方面的共性和差异,并对其背后的动因予以必要的阐释。

本文主要从如下五个方面展开讨论:

1) 进一步厘清类型学视野下从属关系的内涵以及跨语言的编码手段。在类型学看来,从属关系本质上是一种功能上的非对称性(asymmetry),这是人类语言在表达两个事件之间关系时所采用的普遍视角之一(Cristofaro2003)。此外,需要从断言性和自主性两个参项来理解非对称性,并将其作为判定从属关系的核心标准。从跨语言的角度看,从属关系主要有三种编码手段:从属连词、特殊动词形式和语序。最后,采用 Kortmann(1998)提出的标准分别界定了汉语和英语的从属连词作为本文的研究对象。

2) 用“倒置关系假说”(Inverse Relation Hypothesis)考察汉英从属连词的形态特征与句法、语义多功能性之间的相关性,并且总结两者的共性和差异。研究表明,汉英从属连词的句法多功能性符合该假说的界定,单元连词倾向于多种句法功能,而多元连词几乎没有。然而,汉英从属连词的语义多功能性不太符合该假说的界定。就汉语而言,不同的从属关系由不同的连词来标记,一个连词只能表达一种语义关系。就英语而言,少数连词出现了表达几种语义功能的情况。受此启发,本文基于小样本建构了从属连词的语义图,发现“时间”关系是从属连词语义多功能模式的基础和来源,在人类的概念认知体系中具有核心地位。

3) 摆脱“汉语从属连词倾向于隐、英语从属连词倾向于现”的思维定势,详细探讨汉英从属连词的隐现规律及其动因。实际上,汉英从属连词都存在必现、可隐可现和必隐三种模式,并且各自都有不同的使用条件。无论是汉语还是英语,从属连词可隐可现的条件是使用在常态语义关系和常态句法结构中,必现和必隐的条件是使用在非常态语义关系和非常态句法结构中。两者的差异在于,汉语从属连词必现的条件比英语更加复杂,而英语从属连词必隐的条件比汉语更加复杂。这种差异的背后是音节和韵律、认知、语用等层面的因素。而且,常态、非常态语义关系和句法结构对从属连词隐现的影响,在汉藏语系和印欧语系的其他语言中也有充分的体现。

4) 通过对汉语从属连词的关联模式特别是语序倾向性的考察,验证了 Greenberg(1966)提出的共性 13、共性 14 和共性 15。在对 LCMC 语料库和 FLOB 语料库进行统计的基础上,归纳出汉语和英语四种主要从属连词的语序倾向性。按照从属连词的前置倾向性为标准,它们表现出如下一致的等级序列:条件连词>让步连词>原因连词>目的连词。序列越往左,连词前置的倾向性越高;序列越往右,连词前置的倾向性越低。也就是说,无论汉语还是英语,条件连词前置的倾向性最高,目的连词前置的倾向性最低。而且,两者之间的共性和差异正好对上述三条共性给予了解释。

5) 从类型学的角度考察了从属连词的语序特征,特别以让步连词为个案讨论了从属连词与基本语序和介词语序之间的和谐性。首先在探讨让步句内涵和演化路径的基础上,阐明了让步连词的语义来源及其多维特征。然后,以让步连词为代表,深入考察来自印欧语系、汉藏语系、阿尔泰语系、南亚语系、南岛语系和乌拉尔语系等六大语系的 42 种语言(包括 SOV、SVO、VSO 三种主要的语序类型),以此分析从属连词的语序与基本语序之间的关系。研究发现,从属连词的前置和后置与 VO、OV 语序之间具有和谐性。此外,从属连词与介词语序也具有和谐性。联系项原则的制约、介-连兼类词的共时并存、介词和从属连词的历时演化,是两者语序和谐最重要的三个动因。

关键词: 从属连词; 类型学; 关联模式; 语序; 隐现特征

Abstract

As one of the three major approaches in language research, linguistic typology aims to seek some universal principles behind human languages. Traditional studies on adverbial subordinating conjunctions are mainly confined to individual languages, while typological studies pay more attention to cross-linguistical lexical types, word order tendencies and their characteristics of emergence and omission, as well as their implications on other grammatical forms. This dissertation, based on relevant theories and principles from linguistic typology, gives a thorough exploration of Adverbial Subordinating Conjunctions (“conjunctions” hereafter) in Chinese and English. It especially focuses on morphological features, semantic and syntactic functions, collocation patterns as well as word order tendencies of conjunctions, attempting to figure out the similarities and peculiarities in both languages. Besides, some relevant motivations have been amply explored to explain and enrich the research results. Generally speaking, this dissertation mainly covers these five aspects.

The concept of subordination and its coding strategies have been given a further discussion from the prospective of linguistic typology. Subordination can be typologically defined as “a situation whereby a cognitive asymmetry is established between linked state of affairs” (Cristofaro2003). This functional definition can be applicable in almost every human language and effective in typological study. Besides, this kind of asymmetry should be understood from the point of assertiveness and autonomusness, which serve as the core criteria in defining subordination. Cross-linguistically, subordination can be coded by subordinator, special verb forms and word order. Finally, we adopt the criteria suggested by Kortmann(1998) to select proper conjunctions from Chinese and English languages as our research objectives.

Inverse Relation Hypothesis is applied to testify whether, as for adverbial subordinating conjunctions in Chinese and English, the morphological features have some kind of relevance with the semantic and syntactic functions. It is revealed that the syntactic multifunctionality basically follows this hypothesis while the semantic multifunctionality does not. As for Chinese, different semantic relations are marked by different conjunctions, which means one conjunction has only one meaning. As for English, some conjunctions can convey more than two meanings. From these facts, we construct a semantic map about conjunctions and come to a conclusion that TIME is the basis and origin of other semantic relations, playing a central role in human’s

cognitive system.

Breaking away from the traditional idea that Chinese conjunctions are prone to be omitted while English to emerge, we systematically probe into their principles and motivations in the process of omission and emergence. In fact, both Chinese and English conjunctions have three patterns in their omission and emergence, with different conditions behind them. As for the similarity, conjunctions in both languages *may be omitted* in normal semantic relations and syntactic structures, and *must be omitted or must emerge* in abnormal ones. As for the peculiarity, Chinese conjunctions *must emerge* in more circumstances while English conjunctions *must be omitted* in more circumstances. This kind of disparity results from rhythmic, cognitive and pragmatic elements behind the languages. Furthermore, the influence of normal or abnormal semantic relations and syntactic structures on the conjunctions' utilization can be seen as well in Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European language families.

Researches on the collocation patterns and word order tendencies of Chinese and English conjunctions have once again testify Universal 13, Universal 14 and Universal 15 proposed by Greenberg (1966). On the basis of comparable corpuses LCMC and FLOB, we make an overall investigation into the word order tendencies of four major types of conjunctions in Chinese and English respectively. If a conjunction tends to appear in the first clause of the complex sentence, we can regard it as pre-position, otherwise as post-position. From the prospective of pre-position, they can form a common sequence: conditional conjunctions > concessive conjunctions > causal conjunctions > purpose conjunctions. That is to say, conditional conjunctions have the greatest possibilities to occupy a pre-position in the sentence, while purpose conjunctions have the lowest possibilities. The similarities and peculiarities in collocation patterns between Chinese and English conjunctions have given an adequate explanation toward those three universals mentioned above.

A typological approach is adopted to probe into the word order characteristics, especially on the word order harmoniousness between concessive conjunctions and basic word order or preposition word order. To begin with, the definition of concession and its two possible evolving routes are briefly discussed, and then attention is shifted to the semantic origins and morphological features of concessive conjunctions. Furthermore, we carry out a survey about the word order of concessive conjunctions in 42 languages from six different language families which include Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Altaic, Austroasiatic, Austronesian and Uralic. It is shown that

conjunctions are harmiously in accordance with the word order of VO or OV. Besides, the word order of conjunctions and prepositions also demonstrate a strict uniformity. Subsequently, we safely present three most important underlying motivations namely Principle of Relator, preposition-conjunction conversion words and diachronic evolvement between preposition and conjunction.

Key words: adverbial subordinating conjunctions; linguistic typology; collocation patterns; word order; characteristics of omission and emergence