

摘要

本文从当代语言类型学的视角，对比分析了英汉两种语言中时间主从句的语序分布及其背后的“动因竞争”模式。其主要内容可分为如下三个部分：

第一部分，基于英、汉口语语料库，考察了英汉两种语言中主从句语序分布的倾向性并验证了（扩展后的）等级序列假设。研究显示，在等级序列方面，两种语言基本都符合 Diessel（2001）的等级序列假设；但是，在倾向性方面，英语从句倾向于后置，而汉语倾向于前置。此外，两者的条件、让步、时间和原因从句在前置性程度方面存在显著性差异。

第二部分，结合三个不同层面的对比研究，即：基于英语原文与其汉语原文、英语原文与其汉语译文、汉语原文与其英语译文，探讨了英汉两种语言中时间主从句语序分布的异同。

第一个层面，以英、汉口语语料库以及英、汉话剧文本中的对话部分为分析语料，对比了英汉时间主从句语序分布在倾向性、等级序列以及“时序象似性”程度等方面的异同。研究显示：1）英语时间从句倾向于后置，而汉语强烈倾向于前置；2）英语时间从句的前置性等级序列为：表先时>表同时>表后时，而汉语为：表先时/表同时>表后时；3）英语中前置的时间从句比后置的时间从句具有较高的“时序象似性”程度，而汉语中后置的时间从句比前置的时间从句具有较高的“时序象似性”程度。

第二和第三个层面，通过量化分析话剧文本中英语时间主从句在汉语中的对译以及汉语时间主从句在英语中的对译，从句法结构、语序分布、语义关系以及从属连词的位置和形式四个维度揭示英汉时间主从句的特征，旨在进一步验证两者在语序分布及相关方面的差异。同时，研究有助于我们认识翻译过程中的“简化”、“显化”和“范化”等翻译共性特征。

第三部分，主要参考 Diessel（2005），引入“动因竞争”概念，基于“时序象似性原理”，通过对具体实例的分析，探讨了英汉两种语言中时间主从句语序分布的“动因竞争”模式及差异性解释。主要理论意义有两点：其一，注意到在某些特定情况下，“篇章信息功能动因”可以驱动主句而非从句前置，比如，当

主句而非从句是旧信息时，或当主句而非从句与上文保持着连贯性或连续性时；其二，除了 Diessel (2005) 指出的三个动因之外，研究还注意到句法因素、词汇因素、主句作为事后追补语等语用因素也会影响时间主从句的语序分布，这些因素之间形成了不同的“动因竞争”模式。

在此基础上，通过对其他 VO 型语言的考察，初步验证了“复句中状语从句的位置应该默认跟单句中状语的位置一致”这一相关性假设，并进一步指出“状语位置”这一因素与“动因竞争”模式的共同作用，导致汉语中表先时、同时从句的前置性高于英语，以及在整体语序方面，英汉两种语言有不同的前后置倾向。

关键词：时间主从句；语序分布；等级序列；动因竞争；状语位置

Abstract

The thesis contrasts, from the perspective of linguistic typology, ordering distributions of main and temporal clauses in Chinese and English and their patterns in competing motivations. There are three parts in the thesis:

First of all, the thesis examines ordering distributions of main and adverbial clauses and the broadening Hierarchy of Diessel (2001) in Chinese and English. Using corpus data from spoken Chinese and English, it is shown that both two languages in general conform to Diessel's Hierarchy. The major difference between the two languages lies in that adverbial clauses usually follow the main clause in English, whereas they tend to precede the main clause in Chinese. And the analysis finds that, in Chinese, conditional, concessive, temporal and causal clauses precede the main clause more often than in English.

Secondly, based on three different comparative principles (including English-Chinese, English-Chinese translations, Chinese-English translations), the research contrasts ordering distributions of main and temporal clauses in Chinese and English.

Based on the first comparative principle, it is found that there is a clear correlation between clause order and iconicity of sequence: temporal clauses denoting a prior event precede the main clause more often than temporal clauses of posteriority both in Chinese and English. However, in Chinese, temporal clauses denoting a prior and simultaneous event precede the main clause more often than in English. It is also shown that complex sentences with initial clauses are more often iconic than complex sentences with final clauses in English, whereas complex sentences with final clauses are more often iconic than complex sentences with initial clauses in Chinese.

At the same time, based on the Chinese translations of English temporal clauses and on the English translations of Chinese temporal clauses, the research attempts to reveal the difference that mentioned above and their characteristics, as well as the translation universals, such as simplification, explicitation, normalization and so on.

Thirdly, following the line of Diessel (2005), by investigating the effect of the iconicity of sequence on the (temporal) complex sentences generated from the spoken

corpus and the conversation genre of dramas, the study has argued and presented evidences that, not only initial occurrence but also final occurrence of temporal clauses are motivated by discourse pragmatic forces. Specifically, it is shown that the main clause tends to precede the temporal clauses when it is the given information or keeps the cohesion of discourse.

What's more, it is shown that, except the motivations proposed by Diessel (2005), the positioning of temporal clauses is also motivated by other factors involving syntax, pragmatics and lexicon. Specifically, the different positional patterns are motivated by different patterns in competing motivations and the interaction of factors. Lastly, by the investigation of other VO languages, it is preliminary deduced that the position of adverbial clauses is in general consistent with the position of their adverbials, which is an important factor of resulting in different positional patterns (pre- or pos-) of temporal clauses in Chinese and English.

Keywords: ordering distributions of main and temporal clauses; hierarchy; competing motivations; the position of adverbials