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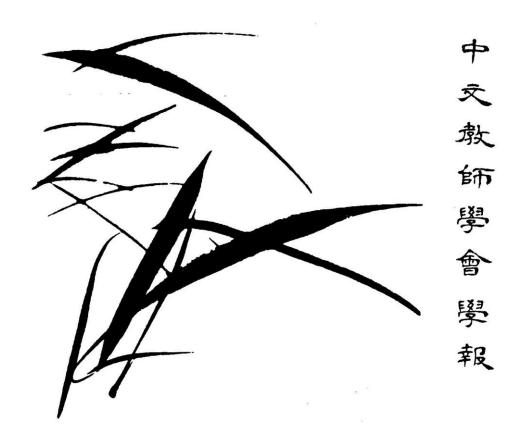
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Guest-Editor's Remarks

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude towards JCLTA editorial board and particularly, journal editor Professor Zheng-sheng Zhang for giving me the opportunity to guest-edit this issue focusing on Chinese pedagogical grammar research. There are five articles in this issue. The contributors are all well established linguists and experienced Chinese language teachers.

Professor Sun's article discusses two selectional constraints of the locative construction in Modern Standard Chinese (Putonghua) governing the uses between the locative preposition zai 在 and the localizers and spatial nominals such as shang 上, xia 下, li 里, shangmian 上面, waibian 外边, etc.

Professor Hu's article presents a new approach to the teaching of the *Ba*-construction in both textbook presentations and classroom instructions. That is, different from an "Agent-*Ba* Object-Action" approach as currently adopted in the field, a "Result-Causer" trace-back approach with an emphasis on the results of causation should be adopted.

Professor Huang's article argues when investigating verb reduplication, both verb and its object (if it is a transitive verb), not just the verb itself, should be looked into. The grammatical meaning of verb reduplication is the reflection of the uncertainty about an action in terms of quantity, or trying out something.

Professor Chu's article observes the 'Figure over Ground' conceptualization of motion and the corresponding saliency mapping of Figure and Ground on the syntactic structure of Chinese. Saliency mapping is a general principle guiding and governing the syntactic realization of the Figure and Ground of motion. In conceptualization, the Figure is more salient than the Ground; in language representation, the Figure has more precedence over the Ground in syntactic constituent assignment.

Professor Xing's article investigates the guiding principle and system in the development of teaching materials and teaching methodology of Chinese words. To improve students' vocabulary competence of different levels and to avoid "competence gap" among different levels, the Contrastive Analysis method and frequency of Chinese words should be used to identify teaching materials, the degree of difficulty and cross-language interference in the acquisition of Chinese words; then based on the results to develop teaching methodologies appropriate for different levels.

These five papers are done in different linguistic theories and approaches but they share two things in common. They all make contributions to the study of the Chinese language (本体研究) as well as to the pedagogical grammar of teaching Chinese as a second language (对外汉语教学语法). These, to me, are the goals and essence of research in Chinese pedagogical grammar.

Baozhang He College of the Holy Cross

现代汉语处所结构的两个限制

孙朝奋 美国斯坦福大学 北京语言大学

摘要 本文讨论现代汉语处所结构的两个限制,这两个限制管制介词"在"和后续的"上、下、里、上面、外边"等等方位词和空间名词的种种用法。作为处所介词的"在"不含英语介词 in, on, at, above, over, behind 所包含的方位语义概念,所以处所构式里的名词必须是多音节和具有方位义的空间名词。

关键词:处所构式、方位词、空间名词、选择限制、多音节限制

Abstract This paper discusses two selectional constraints of the locative construction in Modern Standard Chinese (Putonghua) governing the uses between the locative preposition zai 在 and the localizers and spatial nominals such as shang 上, xia 下, li 里, shangmian 上面, waibian 外边, etc. In relation to the semantic underspecification of the locative marker zai 在, Chinese nominals, or noun phrases, in a locative construction must be multisyllabic and contain spatial references that are signaled by English prepositions such as those in, on, at, above, over, behind, etc.

Key words: locative construction, spatial nominals, locative preposition, place names

1. 序言

近年来外语教学工作者越来越清楚地认识到,学习外语的成年人,为了达到用外语进行文化上有效的交际,必须掌握所学语言语法的各个方面。例如加利福尼亚州教育局 2009 年为公立学校设立的世界语言内容标准包括五个方面:内容、交际、文化、语境和结构,其中结构又含文字、语音、构词规则、句子结构的原则、每个语言的语义系统、以及这个系统和语用的关系。本文集中讨论现代汉语处所构式的两个选择限制在不同语境中,在语音、构词、句法、语义不同的层面上的相互作用。我还认为尽管初学者不必懂得语法的全部,只需要知道学习某构式最常用的部分,教师却需要有更多的、更全面的语法知识,不仅仅要知道在什么时候、什么场合该说什么,还要知道怎么对不同程度的学生把有关语法点说得恰到好处,有利于提高程度不同的学生的语言能力。

本文讨论的方位词是一个封闭性名词性类别,包括"上、下、里、外、内、中、前、后、上面、中间、外边、等等等等"。在现代汉语里,单音节的是附着词,必须与另一个语素组合成空间(spatial)名词短语,并为该短语的中心语,多音节的"上面、中间、外边"等等既可做附着词和别的普通名词构成空间名词短语,也可以单独作空间名词用。

在第二节讨论现代汉语的处所构式的句法分布特点,论证方位词为名词性成分。第三节和第四节为本文的中心,分别阐述处所介词"在"和后续名词的两个选择限制:处所名词短语限制和多音节限制。第五节用一个连续统来解释这两个限制在汉语语义系统中的相互关系。第六节论证作为语法化程度较高的附着词方位词和处所名词之间的重要区别。第七节为本文的总结,主要讨论汉语教学上相关的要点。

2. 现代汉语的处所构式

专家学者对例一中处所构式"在山上"有不同的分析和理解。有的说方位词为新出现的后置词(Li and Thompson 1981,Ernst 1988,吴 2005) ,意味着汉语正在由前置词语言变成后置词语言。

(1) 他在山上看风景

(2) *他在山看风景

还有的说处所词"在"和方位词"上"一起构成一个前后置词构式(刘丹青 2000),没有了方位词"上",例 2 不符合语法。本文将不详细讨论方位词历史上演变的过程(看 Sun 2009),本文将根据(Liu 1998,Sun 2008)的说法,把方位词看作是名词的附着词(clitic)。例 3 表明名词"山"是可以单独使用的名词,例 2 不符合语法是和前置词"在"连用时才会发生。

(3) 香港有山又有水,风景很漂亮。

但是,并不是所有的名词和"在"连用时都要有方位词,如例 5,处所名词"美国"后不可以直接加方位词"内",只能加处所名词"国内"。

- (4) 他在美国工作过。
- (5) *他在美国内工作过。
- (6) 他在美国国内工作过。

在语义上"在美国国内"和"*在美国内"所要表带的内容一致,为什么前者可以,后者却不可以呢?在例6中,处所介词"在"后面的中心语名词是"国内",而在例4中的中心语却是地点名词"美国",因此我们假设处所介词"在"后面必须用空间名词,"美国"和"国内"就是语法性质相当的空间名词,汉语中的地点名词不可以带方位词,只有非空间名词(即普通名词)在介词"在"后面必须用方位词。例7带方位词的名词"国内"和地点名词"美国"都可以作处所介词"在"的宾语,并同时用在同一个并列结构里"在国内和美国",这就进一步表明地点名词和带方位词的名词短语"国内"语法地位旗鼓相当,我们称后者为空间名词短语。

(7) 我们在国内和美国都工作过。

除此以外,更重要的是,方位词"内"是名词性成份,它和语素"国"组合成语法地位和地点名词"美国"相等的一个空间名词,因此,"内"决不是介词性的后置词。例 6 表明方位词不是和介词"在"组合成一个介词性的前后置词结构,因为"在美国"已经是一个空间名词,不需要带方位词"内",处所名词和地点名词都是空间名词。

3. 空间名词短语限制

上文提到带有方位词"内"的名词短语"国内"和地点名词"美国"的语法功能相同,都可以作处所介词"在"的后续名语。地名的方位明确,如"美国、中国、华盛顿、北京、上海、旧金山"等等都是语义明确无误的地名。相比之下,汉语的处所介词语义极其单薄,仅仅表示处所,没有明确的方位含义,所以它可以用来翻译含有不同方位义的英语介词"in, on, at, above, over, below, under, behind, in front of, etc."。事实上,现代汉语方位语义不是

通过介词而是通过名词性的方位词来表达的。汉语的这个特点其实在语言类型学上也不是绝无仅有,例如在马雅语言 Yukatec 里 (Levinson et al. 2003)也只有三、四个语义贫乏的处所介词,具体方位是通过空间名词(spatial nominal)来表达。汉语的单音节方位词在历史上其实都是具有明确方位的处所名词,如例 8 中的"上"和"下",在现代汉语中仅仅保留在某些成语或习语之中,它们现代汉语一般的用法,因为经过了语法化,已经失去了单独作名词的功能,虚化成了附着词(clitics),必须与另一语素共同组合构成一个空间名词短语。

(8) a. 上有天堂,下有苏杭

b. 一人之下, 万人之上

也就是说,在语言类型学上,我们可以看到英语和汉语的介词和名词属于两个不同类型的特点,英语的具体空间方位是完全由处所介词来表达,而汉语则属于另一类,同样的具体空间方位是由语义单薄的介词"在"和空间名词短语(含地名和处所名词)共同表达,这是本文所要说的第一个处所构式的选择限制:空间名词限制。空间名词由三个小类构成:处所名词、带定语的名词短语,带方位词的空间名词。处所名词类包括地名(美国等)、多音节的方位构式(上面等)和日常生活常去的地方(学校等)。处所名词的前两类由于具体方位极其明确,不可再带方位词。与日常生活关系紧密的一些名词,方位词可有可无。这些地方,由于每个人都要经常去,可以说它们的方位对生活圈里的每一个人来说可能都是明确无误的,与之相对应,这类名词后方位词的使用也就变成了两可,如"学校/学校里"等等。

(9) a. 处所名词:

美国、中国、华北、华东、北京、上海、广东、广西、台北、台中等等 上面、下边、前头、后面等等

学校(里)、图书馆(里)、邮局(里)、公司(里)、单位(里)

b. 带定语的名词短语:

第一页(上)、这个位置(上)

他在刚买来的房子(里) 搭了个阳台

c. 带方位词的空间名词短语:

山上、桥下、河里、国内、城外、舞台下、甲板上、城市里、等等

带定语的名词短语后的方位词,常常也是两可,这和定语的性质有关。带序数词和指示词的名词已经较清楚地把方位地点点明,此外,一些定语从句较轻楚地交待了名词短语的方位或地点,在这种情况下,方位词的应用也是两可的。否则,c是其他类,包括大部分普通名词和不含方位的语素,构成空间名词时,后面一般都必须带方位词。

4. 多音节限制

有了空间名词限制,汉语的处所构式到底是否还需要一个多音节限制呢?储泽祥(2004)通过对语料库语料的研究,发现以汉语为母语的汉人有时在处所介词"在"后面的普通名词后,可以省略不用方位词。这种省略多发生在列举和对比的语境里。如例 10 中的名词"电梯、超市"都是非空间名词,而且违反了空间名词限制,后面都没有带方位词。可见在特定的语境中,当具体方位对信息的处理无关紧要、不影响上下文理解的时候,空间名词限制的应用不是必然的。但是,我们从例 10b 和 10c 的对比可以看到,虽然多音节的非空间名词"黑板"后可以省略方位词,但是单音节非空间名词后的方位词是不可以省略方位词,如 10c 的"纸"不可以没有方位词"上"。

- (10) a. 她拍的广告在电梯、在超市都能看到。
 - b. 我在黑板写, 你在纸上写
 - c. *我在黑板上写,你在纸写

Sun (2008)说,汉语空间名词的来源与地名有关。在春秋前,中原地名大多是单音节。但是到了战国时代,中原的地名就大多是多音节的了,两汉以后,中原地名基本都是多音节,经过长时间的类推作用,元明以后,就形成了处所构式的多音节限制。中国地名的构成,大量使用方位/方向词。如"中国"中的"中","北京"中的"北","上海"中的"上","垓下"的"下","灞上"中的"上"。不难想象这样的组合经过类推促使对"境上、城下、桑下"这样的空间名词形成多音节限制。当代中国地名无一是单音节的,连外国单音节地名,翻译到汉语也都成了多音节地名,如太平洋的岛国 Guam 是"关岛"、德国的Bonn 是"波恩"等等,可见现代汉语处所构式有多音节的限制,是毫无疑问的。但是,在现代汉语里,多音节限制同样不是没有例外,例如"在家(里)、

孙朝奋

6

在这儿、在那儿"。有意思的是普通话中这三个仅有的例外不仅仅是方位非常明确,而且是属于最常用的词汇。在这最常用词汇中,上古无多音节限制的用法得到了保留。除此以外,惯用语和成语不受多音节限制管辖,如"上有天堂"中的"上"和"在野党、在朝"中的"野"和"朝"。

5. 处所构式两个限制的连续统

由于汉语的处所介词"在"不含方位意义,具体方位意义由空间名词或空间名词短语来表达,"*在山、*在纸、*在国"都是完全不符合语法的处所构式。虽然本文提出的两个选择限制具有非常大的强制性,方位不明确的非空间名词在处所构式里必须带方位词,但是为了准确地揭示方位词有时可有可无的特点,本文提出由两个选择限制组成的一个连续统,有了这个体系,我们就可以系统地说明这个看似不好理解的现象。

现代汉语处所构式两个选择限制的连续统



X=空间名词短语中心语

在这个连续统的两极分别为方位明确和不明确名词 Y,在左端为方位较明确的空间名词或空间名词短语,包括地名、三个多音节限制的例外(家、这儿、哪儿)、处所词(上面、学校、单位等)以及带有指示性定语的名词短语,除了方位明确无误的地名为 Y、不可带方位词以外,其他这类的名词为 Y 时,用不用方位词两可。处在连续统中央的非空间名词,毫无具体方位意义,一般都必须带方位词。处在右端的非空间名词用在特殊的语境之中,如对比和例举,具

体方位在这种语境中无关紧要,只要非空间名词符合多音节限制,方位词的使用又变成两可。这个连续统还原则性地揭示了两端存在两个选择限制例外的原因。首先,左端的例外是历史遗留下在现代汉语里的痕迹,上古并无多音节限制,三个仅有的例外是常用词"家、这儿、哪儿",它们的方位明确无误,用不用方位词都可以,如"家里、这里、那里"。右端是空间名词限制的例外,是非空间名词在现代汉语特殊语境中的特殊用法,但是它们必须遵守现代汉语的多音节限制。

6. 作为附着词的方位词和汉语的处所名词

学界里还有一个说法,单音节方位词是双音节方位词的缩写形式,如"上"是"上面、上边"的缩写(刘珣 2006),但是事实上它们之间的关系完全不是缩写这么简单。在现代汉语里,单音节的方位词是非独立语素,是名词短语的附着词,语义为较抽象的部分/整体关系或者是某个方面,并具有把非空间名词转变为空间名词短语的功能。多音节的"上面/上边"即可作处所名词,也可以作附着词。在做附着词时,其语义和功能与单音节的"上"一致,但是,在作处所名词(即空间名词)用时,其语义直指处所,没有单音节较抽象的含义。例如 11 中,11a 表示较抽象部分/整体关系的"上"和11b 语义相当的"上面"都是附着词,但是 11c 的"上面"之前有个关系助词"的",表明"上面"是处所名词而不是名词附着词,没有较抽象的部分/整体的语义,所以该句不符合语法。

- (11) a. 报纸上有条好消息
 - b. 报纸上面有条好消息
 - c. *报纸的上面有条好消息
- (12) a. 报纸上有支笔
 - b. 报纸上面有支笔
 - c. 报纸的上面有支笔

除此以外,单音节的"上"还可以表示较抽象的语义,如 13a 中的例子,"上"表示叫抽象的某个方面,13b 中与其相对应的处所词"上面"都不符合语法。

- (13) a. 理论上、实际上、时间上、世界上
 - b. *理论的上面、*实际的上面、*时间的上面、*世界的上面

因此,"理论"、"报纸"分别和"理论上"、"报纸上"不是一样的名词短语,而且语法性质不同,前者"理论、报纸"是普通名词,中心语为附着词"上",其组合关系见(14)。附着词为可以作短语中心语的语法词。

(14) [报纸 [上]附着词]名词短语

换言之,作为名词的"世界"和"报纸"与作为名词短语的"世界上"和"报纸"与作为名词短语的"世界上"和"报纸上"内涵不同,前者为非空间名词,后者为空间名词。

7. 结束语

综上所述,两个方位词的选择限制涉及到语音、句法、语义、和语用各个方面,比较复杂,汉语教师要是没有这方面的指示,只能根据语感,随意作个解释,或者告诉学生,不管懂不懂,反正必须这么说。老师在教学中总会遇到无语的时候,但不能不说这也是个遗憾。这就印证了加州教育局 2009年为公立学校而颁布的世界语言内容标准有关语言结构有关说法的正确性和重要性,要汉语初学者完全搞懂汉语方位词的种种用法,老师本身必须要有较高的语法知识。所以作为全文的总结,就汉语方位词两个选择限制与汉语教学的关系,再提出一些策略和方法,对语言不同程度的学生,讲不同程度的语法知识。

首先,在学生学习汉语处所构式时,我们必须要用一些成年初学者听得懂的语言,把对两个选择限制在连续统上的重叠部分一一讲清楚。目标是要每个学生都学会在处所介词"在"用作附加语(即用在主动词之前表示处所)时,在其后用多音节的空间名词。第二,虽然空间名词这个说法不一定是人人都能马上领会理解得到的语法概念,但是我们可以采取一些有效的策略和方法,深入浅出把语法讲清楚,如可以让学生比较汉语处所词"在"和英语的有关处所介词,让他们认识到汉语的通用处所介词"在"不含方位意义,英语没有这样的通用处所介词,英语的处所介词较多,并包含不同的方位意

义。在汉语里方位一意义一般是由名词来表达的。通过举例和练习,学生应该很快就懂得这个道理,并学会在普通名词后加方位词。这样学生就自然而然地知道汉语空间名词有多音节的特点。第三,老师还必须让学生知道,汉语所有的地名都是空间名词,后面不能再加方位词。因为地名是初学者最早接触到的词汇之一,是很容易理解的一个自然词类,应该没有特别的难度,应该能做到一点就明。第四,学生还要知道汉语中有一些常用处所名词,后面的方位词可有可无,特别是"家、学校、单位"等等,假如初学者一时对这一类名词没把握,我们可以建议他们在没把握的情况下,坚持使用方位词,反正两可,关键是要说得对。

有关带定语的非空间名词短语以及在特殊对比和例举语境中,方位词两可的情况,我们对初学者可以先不说,以免说多了反而引起混乱。只要同学不问,老师可以等这些同学达到了中级程度后,再跟他们讲,由于原理一样,都是和名词的方位明确度有关,同学也应该很快地就会理解了。最后,有关单音节"上"和多音节"上面"的区别,比较恰当的做法可能是保留到同学具有中高级水平以后再说,对汉语已经具有一定的语感时再说,以便同学领悟其中之细微差别。

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"把"字句教学的一种前溯流程

A Trace-back Approach to the Teaching of the Ba-construction

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摘要 与传统"处置"说(王 1947、Li 1974、Li and Thompson 1981)不同,胡(2005, 2010)认为"'把'字句句法结构'A 把 B+C'的语法意义是"与致使源 A 有关,'把'字宾语 B 处于 C 描写的致使结果状态中"。根据这一分析,本文就教材编写以及"把"字句课堂教学安排,提出一种与现行"施事-把字宾语-行为"处理全然不同的以结果义为重心的,从结果到致使源的前溯教学流程,认为围绕这一流程的的各种活动应该将重点应放在建立"把"字句结构与意义、语用的联系上,并对与此流程密切相关的语法点排序以及先期准备工作提出相应的看法,

关键词 "把"字句、前溯流程、教学语法

Abstract Hu (2005) argues that instead of "disposal" (Wang 1947, Li 1974, Li and Thompson 1981), the grammatical relationship reflected in the *Ba*-construction, "A *Ba* B+C" is that of causation in a sense that in relation with A, B is rendered in a resultative state described by C. Based upon this analysis, the current study argues for a new approach to the teaching of the *Ba*-construction in both textbook presentations and classroom instructions. That is, different from an "Agent-*Ba* Object-Action" approach as currently adopted in the field, a "Result-Causer" trace-back approach with an emphasis on the results of causation should be adopted. As such an approach, the sequencing in textbooks and classroom activities should be organized around establishing the relationship between the linguistic form of the *Ba*-construction and its grammatical meaning and pragmatic functions.

Key words: Ba-construction, trace-back approach, pedagogical grammar

1. 引言

"把"字句长期以来一直是汉语作为外语教学的一个难点,其原因是多方面的。首先是其独特性, Sun (2006) 指出"there is not another language in the world that has a phenomenon similar to the ba construction"。 因为学生的母语中没有类似的结构,他们很难建立起由已知到未知的联系。 加之包括很多

一线教师在内的母语说话人也很难解释清楚"把"字句的形式与意义,及功能间的关系,因此学习者很难把握。从 Jin (1992)、Wen (2006, 2010) 的调查看出,尽管目前各汉语教材都在初级阶段,一年级或二年级初即开始介绍"把"字结构,但由于"把"字句使用上的结构、语意、语用方面的诸多制约,对母语为英语的学习者来说,尤其是在学习的初期阶段,很难掌握。

本文认为造成这一问题的重要原因之一是以传统"处置"说(王力 1947, Li 1974, 王还 1957, 1984, Li and Thompson 1981) 为基础的现行教学思维 没有能够真正反映"把"字句语法意义的关键,以及以这一思维为蓝本的"施 事->把 处置对象->处置行为"教学流程没能有效地帮助学生在形式与语法 意义以及相应的语用功能间建立有机的联系。 针对传统"处置"说在理论及 实际教学实践上的问题、胡(2005, 2010)提出了与"处置"说不同的观点, 认为"'把'字句'A 把 B+C'的语法意义是与致使源 A 有关,'把'字宾语 B 处 于 C 描写的致使结果状态中"。本文将基于这一分析,针对当前"把"字句教 学中由结构意义解释或理解不清楚而造成的一些问题,特别是低年级教学中 的问题,进一步提出与传统"施事->把 处置对象->处置行为"教学模式不同的 "把"字宾语所处致使结果状态-〉致使活动/致使事件->致使源"的前溯结构教 学流程。本文将提供与此流程配套的结构练习活动的一些例子。本文认为, 在汉语学习的初级阶段,除了相应的情景铺陈外,重点应放在"把"字句结构 与意义的关系上,以期学生对"把"字的语义、语用功能有一个初步的认识, 并在使用"把"字句的情况下避免一些不必要的错误,为以后中、高年级的学 习打下必要的基础。此外,本文还将就与"把"字句教学紧密相关的语法点排 序(sequencing)、以及相关语法结构,如"动补结构"和"话题句"的先期准备 提出自己的看法。

2.一些背景

从结构描述上看,"把"字句用公式来表述并不复杂1:

(1) A 把 B+C

其中 A 为"把"字句主语; B 为"把"字宾语, 由定指(definite)或专指(specific) 名词性成分组成; C 为谓语, 由可以与体标记"了"搭配表示 B 所处致使结果状态的动词或动补结构 (V+Complement)组成。"把"字句否定形式为"A Neg 把

¹ 公式来源于 Hsueh (1989)。

B+C"。然而在对这一结构的形式与意义之间关系上的分析上却有很多不同的看法。

"把"子句的早期研究以王力先生(1947)的"处置"说为代表。持这一观点的还有王还 (1957, 1984), Li (1974), (Li and Thompson (1981)。所谓处置说是对"把"字句结构语法意义的一种说明,其基本观点用王力的话概括如下:

处置式是把人怎么安排,怎样支使,怎样对付;或把物怎样处理,或把事怎样进行。

王力(1954)进一步指出:

把'字'所介绍者乃是一种做的行为,是一种实行 (execution),是一种处置,在中文里,我们把它称为处置式,......。

这一观点以后由王还(1957)进一步细化说明,并由Li(1974)、 Li and Thompson(1981)加以总结并介绍到海外。而今天,这一观点也就成为我们大多数汉语教材在"把"字句教学中所依据的主流理论基础。处置说,从上面的定义来看,基本上遵循的是一条"处置行为主体-〉处置对象,-〉处置行为"的关系主线,其重心在如何做上。

然而,处置说的问题也是十分明显的。其一,正如一些学者(吕 1942, 1953; Hsueh 1989)所指出的,这一解释不能涵盖很多常见"把"字句的现象,这里不谈"把个贼跑了"这样的例子,且看一下生活中常见的一些句子:

- (2) 这件事把我急死了, 你还笑。
- (3) 大风把我的作业吹跑了,我正着急呢。
- (4) 她把眼睛都哭红了。
- (5) 一不留神,我把他丢了。

从(2)-(5)的情况来看,用处置说来解释恐怕很困难。首先,这些例子中,并不都涉及教科书中普遍提到的"施事"者 (agent)。 再则,我们无法说 (2) 中的情况是"这件事"对处置对象"我"的处置行为是"急"或"急死"。同样的问题出现在 (3) 和 (4) 中,说"大风"如何处置我的"作业"也比较费解,而用处置义来解释 (4) 就有些滑稽了。如果说"处置"是"如何做",是一种"做的行为"的话,那么 (5) 就全然无法解释,因为谓语"丢了"根本就不是一种行为,你可能什么都没做,而是一种状态,意思是"找不到了",而汉语母语说话人都知道,这里"丢了"或"他丢了"绝非"我"的本意。

尽管处置说的初衷是对"把"字句结构构成上语法关系的说明(王还1984),但是对于汉语教学中的教师和学生来讲,"处置"或其英文翻译(disposal)一词本身固有的词汇意义会很自然地引起他们的误解,加上上述"处置"定义本身的陈述,人们的注意力不可避免地,下意识地落在行为本体上,并与此行为的施事者(agent)紧密联系而忽略了最重要的结果部分。这种理解的直接后果就是,学生很难理解(2)-(5)类"把"字句存在的合理性,在能够理解的"把"字句中,也很容易忽略其结果义的承载部分。其二,尽管很多学者,包括王力、王还以及 Li and Thompson 等都注意到"把"字句的构成对其结构成分的要求,如"把"字句的谓语部分常常含有各种复杂成分和情貌标记,或具体来说,"把"字谓语需要有表示处置影响的后续成分,如表示状态变化的"了",或补语成分,如:

- (6) 你把饭吃了。
- (7) 你把饭吃干净了
- (8)*你把饭吃。
- (9) 他把书放好了。
- (10) 他把书放在书架上了。
- (11)*他把书放。

但这些基本上都是从结构构成角度上谈的,只是涉及了"把"字句结构表现的表象,并没有揭示表象后面的动因。这样从纯结构上看,例(8)与例(11)不成立都是因为缺少补语,或教科书中所提及的"其他成分"。就我们的经验而言,这种形式与意义完全脱节的解释在教学中很难对学生有所帮助,其结果常常是教师在黑板上列公式,学生把成分一个一个地往里面套,很难在形式和这种形式意味着什么之间产生认识上的联系,更不用说将来怎样使用这一形式了。Yuan (in manuscript)从二语习得中语法形式显性教学意义的角度指出,学生很难掌握那些本语言中不存在的,而在形式和意义上联系不清楚的形式。

处置说长期以来在汉语教学中有着非常深刻的影响,这在教科书和与教学密切相关的语法参考书中表现最为明显。 以最近出版的 *Chinese Grammar Made Easy: A Practical and Effective Guide for Teachers* (Bai 2009)为例,该书涉及的第一个语法点就是"把"字句, 其表述将"把"字结构所需要的各种结构要求基本上作了穷尽的列举,并对"把"字句所传递的功能信息作了如下的陈述:

"主语+把+宾语+动词+其他成分"结构含有两层信息,一是主语 对宾语所作的动作和行为,二是宾语因主语所作的动作或行为而产 生的改变或结果。

如果说上述语法解释基本上把动作行为以及因动作行为而产生的结果平等对待,那么其所建议的"把"字句课堂练习导入流程中却似乎完全将意义重心放在了动词所表示的行为上。在其课堂操作程序中,该书有如下的导入建议:

(板书"主语+把+宾语+动词+其他成分")

老师: (课前准备好一小玻璃杯水,让学生能看到杯子里有没有水。带"把"字句时,先给学生看水,然后把水喝完)我做什么了?

学生: (可能会说错) 你把水喝。

老师: "你把水喝"不对。"喝"的后面应该有别的成分。

显然老师的预期是学生回答出"你把水喝了",因为黑板上的结构指示已经明确标示"把"字节构的各个必要组成部分。

但设想一下,如果在自然情况下,黑板上没有这样的结构提示,教师用 同样的导入方法,学牛会如何回答呢?很有可能是:"你喝水了。"连"*你把 水喝"这样不合格的"把"字句都未必说得出来。即使说出来,教师也很难说 明为什么这里非要加上"其他成分"不可,最多解释说,那是结构上的要求。 但这对学生来讲,很难有说服力,因为问句明明是"我做什么了"。第一,面 对这样的问题时,"你喝水了"是完美的答句,尽管老师之前作了把水喝完的 动作。其二,问句语义重心与预期回答中的语义重心,即其谓语中隐含的"喝 完了、喝干净了、喝得一干二净"的这一意义相去甚远,全然联系不上,造 成了形式与意义上的脱节,无法增强学生对"把"字结构功能的认识。此外事 实上,像"喝"这样的动词,本身并没有喝完的意思,在常态句中,就是同"了" 共用也没有这一层意思,如"他喝了汤了,可是没喝完",只有进入了"把"字 结构,这层意思才出来,因此不可以说: "*他把汤喝了,但是没喝完" (Tai 1984)。而对汉语中像"喝"这类动词的这种特点,作为初次接触"把"字句的学 生是不可能了解的。从这一例子可以看出,教学程序设计者完全是按照"把" 字句的"处置"义走向,即"施事->把处置对象->处置行为"思维的,尽管在结 构上意识到所谓"其他成分"存在的必要性,但是潜意识中并没有认识到这一 "其他成分"的存在实际上是"把"字句语法意义或其语义功能要求的表现。

再看一下 Integrated Chinese (Liu et al, 2009)中关于"把"字句的说明:

The basic construction is as follows:

Subject + 把 + Object + Verb + Other Element (Complement/了, etc)

In the 把 construction, what follows the position 把 and precedes the verb serves as both the object of 把 and the object of the verb. In general, a sentence in the 把 construction highlights the subject's disposal of or impact upon the object, with the result of the disposal or impact indicated by the element following the verb. (p.146)

看得出,Integrated Chinese 遵循的也是从处置者出发的一条如何处置的思路,不过在结构说明上,特别强调了代表处置结果的其他成分的重要性。但这还是一种结构上的说明,从给出的公式和说明中的"…with the result of the disposal or impact indicated by the element following the verb"这一部分可以看出该书基本上将"把"字句的结构关系意义看成各结构片段的意义叠加。应该说这在补语 (complement)明确存在时是这样,但是这显然不是"V了"的情况。与补语不同,"了"本身并不代表某种特定的结果。拿"洗"这个词和"了"的搭配来说,"我洗衣服了"指的是某事件,即"洗衣服",曾经发生;而"我把衣服洗了",在相应特定的语境下,其衍生的含义可以是"我的衣服洗了,所以它现在干净了";但是也可以是别的意思,如"所以这件衣服不在这里了"。具体结果是什么,完全要看"V了"整体在相应语境中衍生出来的意义。这对于初学者来说,由于中英文上的差异,要决定用哪一个动词加上"了"就可以有哪一种结果,或者可以在把字句中有结果,实在太难了。

此外,不少教材和教学辅助材料在处置说的影响下,常常试图用"what did somebody do to something/somebody"引出"把"字句。如网络辅助视频材料 Ba-Construction Learning Made Easy(Tian 2010)中的模板一,采用了影片《饮食男女》中做鱼的片断。在展现了一系列包括,洗鱼、切鱼等等的行为场景后,以"What did the man do to the fish?"提出一系列问题,其中第一个问题回答的英文提示是这样的:"He cleaned it."看得出这基本上是从汉语说话人的角度出发的。面对这样的问题,汉语说话人一定会说"他把鱼洗干净了"。但是初学者的母语是怎么说的呢,很可能是"他洗鱼了"而非"他把鱼洗干净了"?其实该辅助材料的英文提示已经清楚地告诉了我们,在英文的相应形式中,结果义并不像汉语那样显性地由某个句法成分来表现,也不需要特别的结构来表达。 在这种情况下让"把"字句的初学者能对我们预期的"把"字句形式和意义有所联系,并能进行使用,恐怕有些勉为其难。

在"把"字句教学的初期阶段(此时并不奢求学生能够在合适的场合自主

地应用此句型),学生常犯的一个错误就是无法把握"把"字句的结果语义中心,常常把表现这一结果中心的"其他"成分丢得精光,正如 Chinese Grammar Made Easy 中预见得那样。其根本原因是按照"处置"说"如何做,怎样做"的思路,很难在语法解释中和与其相应的练习设计上把学生注意力转到"把"字句的"结果"中心上来。

其实,在"把"字句的本体研究上,针对"处置"说在解释及理论上所存在的各种问题,不少研究已经开始重新考虑"把"字句结构与其语法意义和功能上的关系。如 Tsao (1989)、Hsueh (1987 1989) 分别提出各自的"话题-评论"说,尽管具体观点不尽相同,但都认为"把"字句结构中,"把"字宾语 B 同谓语 C间是一种话题-评论(Topic-Comment)的关系,而"把"后各成分所体现的语法特征表现均为这一关系的体现。如Tsao指出"把"字宾语的有定性(definiteness)就是这一关系的要求。而Hsueh 则认为,在"把"字句谓语中,语义重心落在行为或事件造成的结果上,而不是在导致这一结果的行为或事件上面;"把"字谓语中的动补结构所表现的核心是补语所代表的"状态(state)",而非动词表示的导致这一状态的行为或事件,动词的部分只是起到描述这种状态是如何产生的作用;因此"把"字句的实质是表现"把"字宾语因某事件所处的状态现状,而非关"处置"。按照这样的思路,我们看一下下面的这些例子:

- (12a) 他把脚硌坏了。
- (12b) 石头把脚硌坏了。

(12) 中,尽管 a、b 主语的情况各自不同,表现的意志性也很不一样,但是却都是表现"脚"目前现状的,也就是动词所代表的事件"硌"所造成的现实状态脚"坏了"。这里核心的部分是"某人的脚坏了"而非如何"硌"的。Hsueh 的这一观点得到 Tai (1984)、Sun (1995, 1996, 2006) 的支持。他们认为"把"字句是一种"高及物性"(High transitivity)结构,其语法意义的关键在于"把"字宾语所受到的"全面影响"(complete affectedness)。Sun 就其功能指出:"The primary function of the ba construction is to signal a change of state resulting from some activity."这一观点,在胡(2005, 2010)关于"把"字句语法意义的"致使"分析中进一步得到映证。胡指出,在"把"字句中,A 无论代表的是人是物,还是某一事件都承担着致使源的角色,B 为"把"字句描写的致使结果状态变化的对象,谓语 C 为致使结果状态的整体描写,其中"动补"中的"动"代表的是导致结果的致使行为或事件,"补"也就是很多教科书上提到的"other elements"标记致使结果,"把"为致

使方向标记²。按照这一致使分析,"把"句结构"A 把 B+C"中的关系为:与致使源 A 相关,"把"字宾语 B 处于 C 所描写的致使结果状态中。尽管上面这些论述的重点都是汉语本体的研究,但其中很多结论不乏对汉语教学实践的启迪,并为"把"字句低年级教学中的一种新的教学模式一前溯教学流程一提供了理论基础。

3."把"字句教学中的一种前溯教学流程

基于对"把"字句致使结果义的认识,本节将根据"把"字句的结构、语义重心表现、使用特点,针对初级阶段教学提出与传统从前向后程序不同的"把"字句前溯教学流程,以供大家参考。具体来说,前溯流程是:

从结果向造成这一结果的"把"字句主语,由后向前的教学程序,即,"致使结果->致使行为/事件->致使源"。

笔者认为,"把"字句初级教学的目的是让使学生熟悉"把"字句的形式、基本使用功能、以及形式与意义的联系。为了达到这一目的,使"前溯"教学流程能够在教学中得到合理安排,我们需要在教材编纂以及课程安排上有意识地对"把"字句推出做一些必要的预备性铺陈。下面在 3.1 和 3.2 中将就"把"字句教学的前期准备,包括语法点排序以及各语法点对"把"字句教学的重要性和前溯流程本身展开讨论。

3.1"把"字句语法点排序的思考

3.1.1 "动补"先行

从"把"字句的语义中心来看,谓语 C 在"把"字句结构中是一个十分重要的组成部分,起着对"把"字宾语状态的说明作用。前面说过,"把"字句谓语C由两部分组成,即动词和表示结果义的后续成分,如补语和表示结果义的体标记。在某些情况下,动词可以同体标记直接使用。我们这里用如下的形式来表述这一结构构成:

$(13) V + R^3$

其中"V"代表动词,"R"代表结果。这一表述,与很多现行教材中的

² 详细论述请参见胡(2005, 2010)原文。

³ R 指英文的 Result。

"V+Complement"或"V+other elements"有所不同。这里的R除含传统的"结果 补语":如"完"、"好""懂"、"坏"、"死"、"住"、"上"、"干净"、"清楚"等,"趋 向补语",如"出来"、"进去"、"上来"、"下去""来"、"去"、"走"等,以及由"得" 引出的"程度补语",也包括由介词"在"、"到"等构成的动后成分。 当然,R 还包括由体标记与谓语动词组合后产生的结果。但是,本文认为,在"把"字 句教学的初始阶段,应该着重使用前两类R作为示范,而避免使用光杆动词 的"V 了"形式。 原因一,以显性的动补结构呈现,在教学初期容易较为明 澈地建立形式与意义的联系: 原因二, "V 了"所表现的结果义常常较为抽 象,并受语境,动词本身词汇语义及整句在特定场合下表现的时段语义 (verbal semantics)⁴ 的制约。对母语为英语的初学者来说相对不容易掌握。如 "洗了"是什么意思?是"洗干净了"还是"洗的事件业已发生,还是被"洗"客体 发生了某种预期的或非预期的状态变化"?此外,很多教科书都提到,"把" 字句中的 V 必须是及物动词,其后必须有其他成分,或所谓"complement"。 在初级教学中,这样处理不能说不对,但要注意的是并非所有及物动词都可 以用于"把"字句,而必须是那种与表示结果的"了"搭配在相应语境下能够产 生致使结果义的动词。正如 Chief, Lim, Shen (2010) 所指出, 同是及物动 词的"买"就存在这样的问题。在通常情况下,即使有"了"也不行,一般不能 说:

(14)*我把这辆车买了。

但是,这并不绝对,只是语境提供得不够充分,请见:

(15) A: 我们让小张准备聚会,他办得怎么样了? B: 他只把酒买了,可乐什么的还没着落呢。

例(15)说明光杆动词与"了"搭配受到的语境因素制约远远比显性的动结结构复杂。从信息传递上看,(15) 不仅说明"他"只通过"买"达到"买到酒"这一结果目的而没有完成预期任务的全部,而且还在"酒"和"可乐什么的"评述客体之间体现出明显的对比意义。"买"的情况只是"V 了"情况复杂性的代表之一,类似的情况还有不少,此处不一一列举。 本文认为,对于承载如此复杂语义内涵的"V 了"形式,在初级教学阶段应该避免,至少应该推后介绍,并在教学中对于每个动词的用法,语义和语境作出明示。否则,在语法点解

⁴ 关于时段语义的论述请参考 Vendler (1967)和 Dowty (1979)。

释时,仅仅泛谈结构要求,而例句示范又是难以掌握的光杆动词,然后在练习或作业中要求学生能够根据有限的例句对其他光杆动词举一反三,实在有点强人所难。

至于很多教材提及的"其他成分",对初学者来说,显性地给出补语远比抽象的"了"容易掌握;至于这一点,不要说学生,就是不少老师当看到"V 了"时都因为找不到"complement"而困惑。 其根本原因在于不了解"其他成分"和"complement"的存在是为"致使结果"服务的。"把"字句中,对于光杆动词来说,"了"的存在是必需的,因为它表示了状态的变化,即一种新的状态出现,也就是致使结果状态。但是,这种致使结果状态的体现不可简单地看成是动词与"了"各自意义的叠加,即V代表致使行为或事件,"了"体现结果,而应看成"V 了"整体在"把"字结构中的意义表现。所以说,所谓,"V+Other elements"其实不仅是形式上的,更是语义上的要求,即所谓"other elements"的存在是为致使结果义的体现服务的。要提请注意的是,现代汉语中光杆及物动词一般并不表示结果。这对母语为英语的学习者而言,常常极为困惑,因为汉语与英语在时段语义上有着概念结构的差别。Tai (2003) 认为:

Chinese has only state, activities, and result, lacking accomplishment and achievement categories. The latter two categories are expressed mostly in action-result verb compounds (V1-V2).

很多英语中"accomplishment"是由动词本身加时态表达的, 比如经典例子 "kill" 的情况:

(16) John killed Joe.

这里Joe必死无疑。但是汉语中"杀"就未必,虽然从生活经验中得来的周遍知识(global experience)告诉我们,常态下,

(17) 张三杀了王老五.

王老五肯定死了,但这并不意味"杀"本身包含此行为的必然结果"死"。如:

- (18) 张三杀了王老五三次,都没杀死。
- (19) 张三杀了王老五三回,均不成功。

但是,一但进入"把"字结构,情况就发生了本质性的变化:

(20)*张三把王老五杀了,但是王老五没有死。

这可以说是"把"字句特有的"高及物性",或致使结果义强化的结果。 其实,Tai (1984)就指出:

...while accomplishment verbs in English necessarily imply an attainment of the goal, their seeming equivalents in Chinese do not necessarily so imply.

虽然我们无意在此就汉语的时段语义开展一次讨论,但是上面的几个例子却能给我们的"把"字句教学中"V-R"结构教学的操作提供两点思考。 第一,这种中、英时段语义上的差别实际上反映了两种语言在"行为-结果"的认知概念结构上的不同。 第二,对母语为英文的学习者来说,其母语中的"行为一结果"的表示正如Tai指出的,多数为V本身加上时态,并不需要什么表现结果的补语或其他什么特殊结构来体现这一功能。 对处于这种结果中的客体的描写更不存在与"把"字句相应的句式。对于学生而言,仅凭其有限的汉语知识和母语的思维,怎么能知道光杆动词"杀"有时可以表示杀死了,有时并没杀死,而进入了"把"字句就一定杀死了呢?

综上所述,本文认为,"把"字句教学中,不能不把中、英文的这一时段语义差别的影响考虑进来。相对来说,明确地用"动补"给出例句,对于学习者来说比"V 了"形式容易掌握。 学生在初次接触"把"字句时,不必为哪个光杆动词可以用,哪个不能用而乱猜,语义与形式的结合也相对明显。这也是为什么笔者不赞同在初次介绍"把"字句时使用只含"V 了"谓语的"把"字句做示范,即使在后期逐步引入"V 了"形式时也应该特别注意交待相关动词以及与其配套的成分和其在不同场合下可能产生的语义,以免学生滥用。

结果义是"把"字句语法意义的核心部分,对体现这一动结义的动补结构的了解,以及相关结构的掌握就成了"把"字句学习的关键之一。此外,除了在"把"字句中的语法和意义的地位外,动结义本身的句法结构表现及其语法意义也在整个汉语句法中占有极其重要的地位。Tai(1984,2003) 曾指出"结果"义是汉语中的一种基本"时段语义 verbal semantics"。因此对于这一层语义表达方式的掌握不仅对"把"字句的掌握来说是教学上必要的前提,而且对汉语其他语法形式,如所谓"话题-评论"(Topic-comment)句等掌握及使用也是如此。

在教学上,包括教材编写中的语法点排序上,以及教学课程顺序安排上,

应该先做好"把"字句中动补部分的的铺垫工作,包括先期介绍动补结构及其语法表现形式和使用、各类体标记的用法及其语法意义。这样不仅使学生在接触"把"字句之前,对所涉各种内部结构先期有所了解,并且在一定程度上熟悉其构成和使用环境与特点,避免在刚接触到"把"字句这样一个全新而又陌生的结构时,一下面对其涉及的结构、语义、功能诸多方面的问题不知所措。

其实这一整体思路在哈佛大学一年级教材《汉语基础》(何宝璋等2005)的语法点陈铺上已经有所体现。这本教材中"把"字句的正式介绍出现在第二十八课,而早在第九课就从程度补语开始逐步介绍并扩展各种补语的用法。到十六课、二十三课结果补语、趋向补语等各类补语的基本结构与用法均已涵盖,而且其间完成了与体标记"了"、"着"相关结构的介绍。这样,后面"把"字句的推出已经是水到渠成。

3.1.2 "话题-评论"结构随后

除了动补结构与体标记教学的先期安排,"话题-评论"结构的前期介绍在"把"字句教学的铺垫工作中也是至关重要的。Hsueh (1989) 就提到,大多数的"把"字句,在没有"把"及"把"前成分的情况下依然成立,余下结构的关系是"话题"和"评论"的关系。这一观点可以从下面的例子得到说明5:

- (21) 我把这件事情交代清楚了——〉这件事情交代清楚了。
- (22) 我把衣服洗干净了——〉衣服洗干净了。
- (23) 他把我炒的饭吃完了——〉我炒的饭吃完了。
- (24) 我把这些字写了十遍——〉这些字写了十遍。
- (25) 他把椅子搬出去了——〉椅子搬出去了。
- (26) 我把这些书放在这儿了——〉这些书放在这儿了。
- (27) 我把今天的作业交给老师了——〉今天的作业交给老师了。
- (28) 我把洗干净的鸡肉切成丁了——〉洗干净的鸡肉切成丁了。
- (29) 她把"太"写成"大"了——〉"太"写成"大"了。

要知道,在所谓"话题-评论"这一结构中,"评论"的部分本身表现的就是"话题"所涉及事物的某种状态,而在"把"字结构中,这种"评论"均表现为"致使结果状态"。上例(21)说的是因为"交代"而"清楚",(22)是因为"洗"而"干净",(23)则是因为"吃"而"完"等等。教学中若设计这种"话题-评论"结构的

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⁵ 此处例句大多数来自白(2009)并由笔者根据此处说明需要略加变化而来。

先期练习,可以让学生对"把"字句谓语与"把"字宾语的关系与内部结构预先 熟悉。

另外,这类练习有助于学生建立"把"字宾语有定性的认识。从词序上看,汉语在没有特意标记的情况下,存在着这样一种倾向,即谓语动词前的名词性成分一般为有定,而位于动词后的名词性成分一般为无定 (De Francis 1963, Chao 1968, Li and Thompson 1975),如:

- (30) 妈,来人了。
- (31) 妈,人来了。

例(30)与(31)中名词"人"因为在句中相对动词"来"的位置不同,其定指性也很不一样;(30)中的"人"是非定指的,也不是说话人专指的,而(31)中的"人"却是定指的,即说话人认为对话双方共知的那个人或那些人。关于汉语名词性成分词序上的这一现象,Light (1979) 进一步指出,汉语动词后宾语除了原有自身意义外,并没有因其词序的关系而产生什么特殊的意义,而前提的宾语因词序的变化则产生了一种此宾语所代表物体与其他可能物体间的对比意义,而这种对比意义本身包含了"有定"性,虽然并不只限于"有定"性。汉语母语说话人都知道,下面两句的语义区别:

- (32) 吃了饭了。
- (33) 饭吃了6。

其中 (32) 说的"饭"仅仅是指"饭" 这一类,而 (33) 在不同场合下可以有不同的意思。一是话语环境中对话双方共知的那顿饭,而不是什么别的饭; 二是在下面的场合下,可以有不同的理解:

(34) 饭吃了,但是茶没喝。

此时的"饭"不但指的是话语双方共知的"饭"而且将这个"饭"所属的类别与另一类"茶"形成对比,有强烈的排他性。汉语中这种名词成分由于词序变化而带来的语义变化常常使谓语动词前位置成为对比性焦点。 这里的对比,与听话人共享信息无关,但同说话人的主观信息表达意向有关。关于这一点应该同"定指"性有所区别。很多学者都注意到上述现象是汉语词序语法意义的一个特点。可惜的是,这样一种规律很少在我们的教科书中提及,或刻意

⁶ (33) 中的"了"应是我们通常说的动词"了"与句末"了"的叠加,见(马 1983)。

地有所体现。如果我们的教材,或教学课程安排上,能够对这一部分因为名词次序安排不同而语义不同的现象加以介绍并组织一定的练习,可能会对后来的"把"字句教学有不少帮助。

前文提到,"把"字句结构中"把"后结构关系是一种"话题-评论",那么用通俗的话来说,通常要评论的事物是说话人认为听话人已知的,或心有所指的,这实际上也是理解所谓"有定"和"专指"的关键。这样的解释在教学上远比抽象的句法语义分析,或让学生生背限定规则来得实际。

关于"话题-评论"结构的学习对"把"字掌握的促进作用,Jin (1992), Wen (2010)均有提及。但是要特别注意的是,这里"话题-评论"指的是什么。Chao (1968), Hsueh (1987, 1989), Tsao (1989) 谈到"话题-评论"时,都是指汉语中主谓结构的语法意义,并非特指某一句法结构,也就是说,汉语中所有的主谓结构都是话题评论关系,如:

- (35) 花红, 柳绿
- (36) 这衣服穿着很好看。
- (37) 小张学了三年的中文。
- (38) 小张卖掉了他的那辆车子
- (39) 他的那辆车子卖掉了。
- (40) 小张把那辆车子卖掉了。
- (35) 中"花"和"柳"是话题,"红"和"绿"是评论;(36) 中"这衣服"是话题,"穿着很好看"是评论;(37)、(38) 中的"小张"是话题,余下的部分是评论;(39) 中"他的那辆车子"是话题,"卖掉了"是评论;(40) 中,"小张"是话题,余下部分为评论,在这一评论中,"那辆车子"又是话题,"买掉了"是"那辆车子"的评论。

然而这好像并不是大多数教师理解的"话题-评论"。 通常教师们在课堂中所说的"话题-评论"指的是(39)这样的结构,而非其中表现的语法意义。这主要受了 Li and Thompson (1981) 观点的影响。他们认为汉语中,除了主谓关系外,还存在一种"话题评论"关系,以解释汉语中大量的没有办法用传统"施事-动-受事"与"主-动-宾"照应关系说明的结构。但我们需要注意的是,并不是所有Li and Thompson 所指的"话题-评论"句都与"把"字句有关,如:

- (41) 鱼,我喜欢吃黄鱼。
- (42) 书,我喜欢看鲁迅的。

此类句子教学中应该排除在外。在"把"字句教学中,本文认为,在具体教学环境下,不妨将(39)这一类句称为"话题句",或"受事话题句"(刘、潘、故 2001)。 教学中发现,学生很容易把所谓"主语"和"宾语"与"施事"和"受事"等同起来,而很多教师也不一定能够分清这本是两个不同层次上的关系,加上在英语中表示行为的句子中,主、宾的确也在多数情况下同施事、受事存在照应关系。若在教学中引入"话题句"概念,可以帮助学生区别在此之前已经接触过的以"主-动-宾"形式出现的主谓结构句。

要特别指出的是,(39)这类话题句的谓语表现一种致使结果状态,整个动补结构对话题成分形成一种因某事件或行为而造成的致使结果状态描写,或者说话题成分必须受到某种状态变化的影响,尽管这种影响未必是客观上的影响⁷。换言之,须具备"高及物性"。与(39)同类的还可以有如下的例子:

- (43) 这件衣服洗干净了。
- (44) 我的车修理好了。
- (45) 椅子坐坏了。
- (46) 我的书弄丢了。
- (47) 书放在桌子上了。
- (48) 脏衣服放在洗衣机里了。
- (49) 那张桌子搬出去了。
- (50) 桌子搬到外边去了。

此外还要注意动补结构与体标记的搭配。因为"把"字句谓语不能与"过"搭配,要注意排除。再有,含"着"的"把"字句句子结构以及应用环境较为复杂,初级教学阶段最好避免。上述例句中,(43)-(46)均表现为话题成分所代表的事务因为动词所代表的事件或行为而处于某种相应的结果状态中,而(47)-(50)都是说明话题成分代表的物体因某事件或行为产生了某种位移。事实上,"把"字句应用最多的也正是涉及到这种物体位移的情况。有关这一点,张旺熹(2001)的调查研究显示,表示位移的"把"字句在实际应用中占了很大的比例。在其调查的2016个"把"字句中,就有1121个是表示位移的。因此他认为:"典型的'把'字句表现一个物体在外力作用下从甲点转移到乙点的位移过程"。胡(2010)进一步指出,这种位移不仅涉及物理上的时空关系,而且涉及程度范围的抽象位移,即不同状态程度间的位移,当然这也可

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⁷ 详细论述见胡(2005)。

以看成是时空关系的一种延伸,如:

- (51)日元升值从宏观到微观正在把日本经济带入了非变革不可的境地。
- (52)世界主要国家都在把主要注意力转向发展经济,提高综合国力。

"把"字句在实际应用上的这一特点应该可以给我们的教学与教材编纂上提供一些启示。是否应该在"把"字句介绍之前,以及介绍过程中,加强有关位移句子的先期准备和练习,这样可以使我们的教学更贴近语言应用实际,另外与其他"动结"结构一样,表示位移的结构,无论在"把"字句中,还是在相应的"话题-评论"结构中结构与意义的照应相对明晰,便于学生理解形式与意义两者的关系。

3.1.4 有关"把"字句教学排序的小结

综上所述,我们现在可以对"把"字句教学以及前期准备作出这样的排序;

体标记"了"——〉 动补结构 (包括各类必要动补形式)——〉"受事话题-评论"结构 ——〉"把"字句

本文认为,这样的排序反映了"把"字句结构自身语法意义表达必要的形式载体在教学中先后出现的顺序,为"把"字句的教学铺垫了一条循序渐进的道路。体标记"了"是动补结构与"话题-评论"以及"把"字句 中的重要语法标记,必须最先介绍;动补结构是"话题-评论"结构和"把"字句致使结果义重要表现形式,应先于后两者推出以做教学上的铺垫;至于"话题-评论"教学的作用前面已经谈了很多,这里不再赘述。在这条道路上,每一后面的步骤都建立在前一阶段学习的基础上。这样学生不至于一下面对一个全新的结构而不知道怎么办。

3.2. "把"字句教学结构前溯流程步骤

前面讨论了"把"字句教学前期准备排序问题,本节将集中说明"把"字句结构本身教学流程。

3.2.1 切入点的考虑

首先是教学切入点问题。这里将(43)-(50) 稍加改动得到:

(53) 他把这件衣服洗干净了。

- (54) 他把我的车修理好了。
- (55) 他椅子坐坏了。
- (56) 他把我的书弄丢了。
- (57) 他把书放在桌子上了。
- (58) 他把脏衣服放在洗衣机里了。
- (59) 他把那张桌子搬出去了。
- (60) 他把桌子搬到外边去了。

例(53)-(60)基本代表了目前大多数教材中涉及的两大类"把"字句的用法: (53)-(56) 描写的是"把"字宾语所代表的自身事物因某事件或外力所发生的状态变化;而 (57)-(60) 描写的是"把"字宾语因某事物或外力而发生的位移,尽管这种位移本身可以看成是一种状态变化。前面已经指出,这一类是一种最典型的"把"字句的用法。因此笔者建议,在把字句初级教学阶段应从牵涉物体位移的"把"字句入手,一来贴近汉语中"把"字句实际应用,二来由于这类"把"字句中的"动结"部分语义分工明确,便于学生在形式与意义间建立联系。再则,可以强化学生对汉语中因为某人某事件,某物体从甲地位移至乙地这一现象的描写必须使用"把"字句的概念。

其实这也正是《汉语基础》在"把"字句教学上所作的处理,该课本初次介绍"把"字句的相关语法点的解释中四个例句中有三个是位移描写的句子:

- (61) 他把书放到书架上去了。
- (62) 我们可以把桌子搬到门口去。
- (63) 你把这些药吃下去,病就会好。

其相关课文也以物体位移描写为主,这里只引其中叙述部分以作说明:

从搬进来的那天起,大卫和他的同屋乔治从来没有收拾过他们的宿舍。……今天大卫和乔治决定一起收拾屋子。他们先把书放回书架上去,再把衣服从地上捡起来,把干净的放进衣柜里,把脏的放在一起,准备去洗。他们很快就把房间收拾干净了。

3.2.2 前溯流程操作

与以往"施事->把 处置对象->处置行为"的处理不同,本文提出一种"把"字宾语所处致使结果状态-> 致使活动/致使事件->致使源"的前溯流程。其操作过程是这样的,以(61)为例,在具体教学过程中不要急于关心谁做了什么,

而是从结果开始。对学生的启发,可以用书的实物,也可以用图像等等。关键是让学生清楚书的位移,即由于外力从甲地到乙地的位移。当然前提是学生已经熟悉可以导致位移的动词,如"放"、"搬"、"拿"等等,并对前面提到的与"把"字句相关的各结构做过先期教学与训练:

(64) (准备:相应课件、可用动词提示:放、搬、等等、相应课堂活动)

结构提示:

B <u>V</u> R A 把 B V R

(情景显示:某人把书从某处放在了书架上)

A 老师: 现在书在哪了? ——>

B 学生: (现在) 书在桌子上了——>

C 老师: how? 提示加入V成分——>

D 学生: 书放/摆/.....在桌子上了。——>

E 老师: Who did that? (指向"把"前成分并要求用整句回答)

F 学生: 你/他/她把书放在桌子上了。

我们可以清楚地看到,其实 D 的回答,就是前面所说的"受事话题"句。因此,只要对"受事话题"句的前期铺垫工作做得充分,对学生来说,进而导入 F并不困难。这就是先期训练"话题-评论"句的意义所在。

这里要注意的是,关于C中的V,老师应避免用"是…的"结构来提问,如"怎么"在/到桌子上的",因为这样做会破坏原有组成成分,并且增加一层复杂性。至于是否一定要用英文,也不一定,授课老师可以采取各种方法引出相应动词即可,此处只是给出其中一种可能。 同理,对F的处理,授课老师完全可以根据具体情况决定。这一前溯流程的显著优点在于从程序上避免了学生丢失所谓"其他成分"的情况,而且在"把"字结构与其自身致使结果义间在初始阶段就建立了有机的联系。 此外,学生对动词前名词的定指性也由于场景本身设计的原因(课件书是老师同学共同关注的物件)而得到了保障。在对位移描写的"把"字句作了相当的练习后,可转入 (53)-(56)类的训练。方法与前面并无二致,依然采取前溯流程,以(53)为例, 改写为(65):

(65) 他把这件衣服洗干净了。

脏衣服——〉干净衣服 这件衣服——干净了——〉 这件衣服洗干净了——〉 他把这件衣服洗干净了。

从上面 (64)、(65) 的例子不难看出,其各自可以利用词汇替换,动补结构变换、场景修订扩展出各式各样不同的"把"字句。教师可以通过类似的练习强化学生在初级阶段对"把"字句的认识。 这里要强调的是,在一、二年级初级阶段,这一教学流程追求的并非是学生对"把"字句的全面掌握,而是在一开始就为以后更为复杂的"把"字句形式与使用的学习奠定一个形式意义相结合的基础。这一流程的思路在某种程度上与《实用汉语语法》(刘、潘、故 2001)的看法有相似之处。在谈到"把"字句与受事话题句区别时,他们指出,"把"字句与受事话题句,如 (43)-(50)这一类的不同在于:

……"把"字句叙述或谈论"把"的宾语经过动作后发生什么变化,有什么结果。而主语也是不可缺少的,它表示引起这个变化,造成这个结果的人或事物。

从这点上看,这里建议的前溯流程正是这种由结果而致使源的追溯全程。注意,虽然在实际话语交际过程中,"把"字句主语常常因为交际场景明确而在形式上省略,但这并不意味其不存在。因此在初级阶段应该由整句训练开始逐步过渡到省略形式,并且应该确认学生能够根据相应的交际环境补出"把"字句主语。相对于"施事->把处置对象->处置行为"的教学顺序,前溯流程不仅仅只是简单地颠倒了次序,重要的是这一流程把语句的重点放在了"把"字句语义重心—结果上,从而确保学生的注意力从"如何做、怎样做"转移到"什么结果"上,也为以后中、高年级接触到更为复杂的,如(51)、(52)那样的"把"字句的理解和使用奠定基础。

应该说明的是,这一流程并非笔者纯粹纸上的推导,2001-2004年间哈佛大学一年级的教学就已经开始使用这一流程, 尽管当时是从 (53)-(56)类的句子开始的,而非本文主张的,以位移句为起点。但据当时主课老师反馈与笔者现场的观摩印象,效果相当明显。当然,这一流程提供的只是一种语法教学框架,还有许多需要完善的地方,而且这一流程是否具有"把"字句教学的普遍意义,尚待有心同仁进一步考察与验证。

4. 余论

本文基于各家近年来对"把"字句结果义研究成果及胡(2005)对"把"字句语法意义的分析,提出了有别于传统"施事->把 处置对象->处置行为"处置思维的"把"字句结构前溯教学流程,认为这一流程将有助于开启"把"字句教学语法上不同角度的思考,最终摸索出一条相对有效的教学路子。本节将对上述讨论中尚未重点涉及但又有关"把"字句教学的一些问题,谈一下自己的看法。

首先就是祈使句的问题。"把"字句教学中,很多老师和教材喜欢用祈使句,认为"把"字句在祈使句中用得多。当然从方便教学的角度上看,这么做并没有什么不对,但是提请注意的是,这好像和"把"字句实际语言应用有所出入。本文虽然并没有进行过科学的统计,但是在前期"把"字句语法意义研究过程中,曾粗略观察了北京大学汉语语言学研究中心《现代汉语语料》和《北京话口语语料》(人民大学 2001)中"把"字句使用的情况,发现大多数都是关于已然事件的描写句,如在《现代汉语语料》含有"把"的句子中,抽出前50句,排除个别与"把"字句无关的句子,真正是祈使句的不超过四、五句。正因如此,本文中的例子给的都是已然情况的句子,而非祈使句。我们在教学中是否也应如此,这样从一开始就可以使学生练习更接近语言实际,并熟悉"把"字句对已然事件描写的应用,如果以后教他们相应的祈使形式,也相对容易,只要对语境和句子组成成分稍加改动即可。

再有就是"把"字句教学的后续教学问题。虽然"把"字句是汉语教学中最为难学的结构之一,但是,现在大多数的教科书,在初次介绍"把"字句以后,基本上就与这一结构永别了,从此停止了相关"把"字句的后续教学。 但这并不意味"把"字句不再出现在教材中,恰恰相反,自第一次介绍后,各种各样的"把"字句会时不时地冒出来,而对其用法又没有任何解释。如像(51)、(52)那样的,含"正在"和"在"的"把"字句,在报刊、政论性质的文章中可以说比比皆是,这些句子涉及的已经不是简单物理空间上的位移,而是抽象地从某一状态转向另一状态的位移。此外,还有含有"着"的"把"字句⁸,如:

- (66) 他把桌子靠墙摆着。
- (67) 他把挂历反过来挂着。
- (68) 他把画册卷着交给老师。

^{8 (69)-(71)} 均选自史金生、胡晓萍 (1998)。

这些都是生活中常见的句子。但是,就目前现有的中,高年级教材而言,似乎很少有教材在"把"字句教学后续安排上涉及到这些句子。针对这种状况,本文认为,我们的中、高年级教材,以及中、高年级教学应该在合适的阶段对"把"字句有进一步的后续循环教学,给学生进一步复习扩展提高的机会。

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也谈动词重叠¹ Reanalysis of Verb Reduplication

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摘要 关于汉语动词重叠的研究,自上个世纪 50 年代以来,汉语语法学 界发表的论著已经超过百篇(部)。但是,无论是关于动词重叠的条件 还是动词重叠的语法意义,时至今日,仍旧是莫衷一是,有的甚至是相 互矛盾,比如,有的认为动词重叠表示时量短,有的则认为表示时量长。本文依据收集到的语料,提出讨论动词重叠必须结合所带宾语来进行 (如果是及物动词),而不能只是孤立地看动词本身;动词重叠的语法 意义是或表示动作行为的一定量 (不确定),或表示尝试。文章并对在 对外汉语教学中应该引进哪些动词重叠的内容提出了建议。

关键词: 动词重叠、形式、条件、宾语、语法意义、时量、尝试

Abstract Since the 1950s, research on the reduplication of the Chinese verb has resulted in hundreds of published papers/books. Despite all the efforts, however, there is still no consensus, with oftentimes contradictory results instead. For example, some believe that when the verb is reduplicated it implies a shorter length of time, while others believe the opposite is true. Based on the data we collected, this paper argues when we talk about verb reduplication, we need to look at both verb and its object (if it is a transit verb), not just looking at the verb itself; the grammatical meaning of verb reduplication is the reflection of the uncertainty about an action in terms of quantity, or trying out something. The paper will also suggest what should be covered by lessons concerning verb reduplication in order to better Chinese learners to know how to use verb reduplication.

Key words: verb reduplication, form, condition, object, grammatical meaning, amount of time, try out

1. 引言

汉语动词重叠的研究,自 50 年代以来,发表的论著已经超过百篇(部),涉及到动词重叠的很多方面,包括:(1)重叠的形式有哪些?(2)哪些动词可以重叠?(3)重叠式的语法意义是什么?如表示尝试、随意;另外,

¹本文曾于 2010 年 4 月在 the 18th Princeton Conference on Chinese Language Instruction 宣读。

有短时、少量说, 也有延续、多量说。

遗憾的是,时至今日,这些研究成果仍不足以让对外汉语教师教会学生正确地运用动词重叠,甚至常常让教师无所适从,自然学生还是会经常犯错。

本文将以典型的 3 类动词重叠形式为对象,以"汉语检索通(个人版)"和"留学生中介语语料库"中出现的动词重叠的例子为语料,来检视当下的研究结论,力求寻找动词重叠的语法意义和使用条件,以期研究的结果可以更好地为对外汉语教学服务。

2. 动词重叠的形式

关于动词重叠的形式,以往的学者在他们的论著中意见不尽一致。比如,有的人认为"看一看"是动词重叠的形式之一,有的认为不是。概括起来,既往文献所涉及到的动词重叠的形式包括以下几类:

- (1) AA式:看看、听听、说说。
- (2) AABB 式: 练习练习、讨论讨论、研究研究。
- (3) AAB 式: 聊聊天、唱唱歌、跳跳舞。
- (4) A一A式: 看一看、听一听、说一说。
- (5) A一AB式: 聊一聊天、唱一唱歌、跳一跳舞。
- (6) AABB式:说说笑笑、吵吵闹闹、吃吃喝喝、来来往往。

对于(1)和(2)是动词重叠,不存在分歧。(3)是人们常说的离合词,或者说 V-O compound. 其重叠形式和(1)可归为一类。请看下表:

形式	AA 式	AAB 式
特征		
轻声的位置	第二个音节 (kànkan)	第二个音节 (liáoliao tiān)
"了"的位置	AA 之间	AA 之间
	(看了看)	(聊了聊天)
主要句法功能	动词谓语、主语	动词谓语、主语

另外,(1)加上名词宾语以后,形式和功能上即跟(3)完全相同,如"看看书"、"听听歌儿"。因此,我们认为(3)毋须自成一类。

- (4)和(5)中的"一A"可以看成是表示A的量的补语,我们在本文不加讨论。
 - (6) 形式上很像形容词重叠,如"漂漂亮亮"、"开开心心"。 功能上有

人认为更多地是用来描述一种状态而不是动作行为,因此,应归入形容词重叠。其实,(6)和双音节形容词重叠显然不尽相同。看两个例子:

- (7) 甭管哪台节目,一律是主持人大呼小叫,嘉宾吵吵闹闹,再加上现场观众不断摇动花束,给人的感觉是"太吵了"。
- (8) 奇怪的是,就在收费现场几米外的地方,停着一辆当地警车,里 面坐着三个交警正在说说笑笑。
- (7) 是陈述主持人、嘉宾、观众分别在节目中做什么,很难说"吵吵闹闹"不表示动作行为。(8)的"说说笑笑"前面甚至可以加上(1)、(2)两类动词重叠式前面都不能加的"正在",而"正在"显然是只能加在动作性很强的动词前边的。

但是,到底哪些形式属于动词重叠,哪些不属于动词重叠,不是本人讨论的重点。本文只以典型的没有争议的(1)、(2)、(3)类动词重叠为对象。

3. 动词重叠的语法意义

3.1 既往研究概述

动词重叠的语法意义是汉语语法学界有关动词重叠研究着力最多的问题。早在 20 世纪 50 年代的词类问题大讨论中,吕叔湘、胡附、文炼等就曾提出动词重叠是动词的形态标志之一。王力(1954)认为动词重叠的语法意义是表"短时貌"。俞敏(1954)最早指出动词重叠式的语法意义属于"量"。 尔后,从 60 年代开始,出现了专门讨论动词重叠的论文。其中,王还(1963)认为动词重叠是表示动作的多次发生,李人鉴(1964)认为动词重叠是表示动作发生的次数不确定,范方莲(1964)则认为动词重叠是表示动作的次数少。

70 年代以来,研究汉语动词重叠的论文应该不下百篇。吕叔湘(1979,1980)把动词重叠的语法意义总结为"短时态"(尝试态)。朱德熙(1982)认为"动词重叠式表示动作的量"。动作的量既可以从动作延续的时间长短来看,也可以从动作反复的次数来看。前者是时量,后者是动量。而动词重叠式是兼表时量和动量的。

(9) 他退休以后,平常看看书,下下棋,和老朋友聊聊天,倒也不 寂寞。"看看书"、"下下棋"都表示时量短,等于"看会儿书"、"下 会儿棋"。

- (10) 下午两点去听报告。
- (11)晚上想看看电视。

前一句的"听"不能换成"听听",因为"听听"是说"听一会儿"。电视可以只看一会儿,报告就一般情形说,不能只听一会儿。因为动词重叠式表示时量短,所以用在祈使句里,可以使口气显得和缓一些。

动词重叠式除了表示时量短以外,有时还表示动量小。

- (12) 他伸伸舌头说:"真危险"。
- (13) 我该去理理发了。

这些重叠式都不表示时量,"伸伸舌头"、"理理发"不是说伸了一会儿舌头,理了一会儿发,而是说"伸了一伸舌头"、"理一次发".这种表示动量小的重叠式常常表示尝试。

朱氏的分析影响很大,后来的学者有很多都是按照朱氏的思路,认为动词重叠式"VV"相当于"V一会儿"、"V一下"或"V一V",并将其语法意义描述为时量短、动量小、尝试、使语气轻松、随便等等。这些有关动词重叠式的表述相当流行,以至被大多数对外汉语教科书编写者在介绍动词重叠时所采用。

随着对这个问题进一步的研究,也有一些学者逐渐发现动词重叠式有的时候甚至可以表示"时长量多"。李宇明(1996)把学者们对动词重叠的语法意义的研究结果归为 4 类:

A 表量少时短;

- (14) 你先坐一会儿,我去去就来。
- (15) 他在我这儿没待多久,主要是为了躲避躲避家里的客人,客人一 走,他就离开了。
- B 表轻微或尝试:
- (16) 你叫他喝喝,看他还说这茶不苦!
- (17) 你穿穿这件衣服,看合适不合适。
- C 表量多时长:

- (18) 今天有时间, 咱就好好切磋切磋吧!
- (19) 你妈年纪大了,身体又不好,你应该常去看看她。
- D 表惯常动作,有"轻松、随便"义。
- (20) 假期里, 他每天跟朋友逛逛街、买买东西什么的, 倒也不觉得闷。
- (21) 经常跑跑步、打打球、锻炼锻炼对身体是有好的。

3.2. 基于所搜集语料的再思考

3.2.1 动词重叠式"VV"到底是否可以用"V一会儿"、"V一下"来替换呢?

我们先来看几个例子。

- (22)。原以为要在这里玩玩,殊不知连马都不得下,照张相就算 到此一游了。
- (23) 愿更多的家庭,休闲之时也上文化阅览室去读读书,看看报!
- (24) 人们不禁要问:成克杰为什么会在犯罪的道路上越走越远?看看成克杰几十年的经历,可谓一帆风顺。
- (25) 有一次,一个当地有名的老板提着 10 万元现款悄悄来到支队长李勇办公室,提出弄两副武警车牌"玩玩"。话未说完就硬把钱往柜子里塞。
- (26) "六一"是全世界少年儿童的节日,看看生活在中国改革开放大时代的孩子们,多么幸福、快乐,
- (27) 问小姐能否再找一件稍宽松点的,得到的仍是"没有"!看看无望, 我只好放弃这张优惠卡了。
- (28) 如果村上办起"文化大院",每到农闲季节夜幕降临,村民们就来 听听农业科普讲座,看看地方小戏,唱唱卡拉OK,或读书看报, 下棋打球。......
- (22) 到(28) 这7个例子反映了动词重叠式的4种不同情况:
- a. "VV"可以用"V一会儿"和"V一下"替换,如(22),(23)。
- b. "VV"可以用"V一下"替换但不能换成"V一会儿",如(24),(25)。
- c. "VV"既不可以换成"V一会儿",也不可以换成"V一下",如(26)-(27)。
- d. "VV"可以用"V一会儿"替换但不能换成"V一下",如(28)。

那么,这4种类型中以哪种为多呢?请看我们用替换法对"汉语检索通(个人版)"中第1-40个重叠式"看看"的考察结果:

替换情况	例子数目	所占比例
a 类	8	20%
b 类	27	67.5%
c 类	4	10%
d 类	1	2.5%

3.2.2 通过我们对搜集语料的分析,我们可以初步得出以下几点:

- 第一, 单纯表时量短的动词重叠式几乎没有。D类仅有1例,即(28)。第二,动词重叠式并不表示时量短。为什么这样说呢?
- 1)例 22中的"听听"、"看看"、"唱唱"虽然在语法上可以分别用"听一会儿"、"看一会儿"、"唱一会儿"去替换,但是替换以后,意思已经跟原式并不一样:原式显然并不一定表示只是听/看/唱一会儿,也就是说,(28)中的重叠式并不一定表时量短。
 - 2) 不能换成"V一会儿"的动词重叠式(即b类)占67.5%。
- 3) 虽然 a 类仍占 20%,但是绝大部分 a 中的"VV"换成"V 一会儿"以后,意思同样发生了变化。如上面的例(23)和下面的(29)。
- (29) 今天人们来到基布兹参观, 定会去看看由电脑控制的滴灌、喷灌, 看看沙漠中那块块人工开创的"绿洲"。
- 4) 当然,也有一些句子中的动词重叠式"VV"换成"V 一会儿" 后似乎意义不会发生改变,像上面的例(14)、(15):
- (14) 你先坐一会儿,我夫夫就来。
- (15) 他在我这儿没待多久,主要是为了躲避躲避家里的客人,客人一 走,他就离开了。
- (14)中的"去去"可以换成"一会儿"。可是这是因为前面有"坐一会儿",后面又有"……就……"。同样,(15)中的"躲避躲避"可以换成"躲避一会儿",也是因为前有"没待多久",后有"一……就……"。也就是说,表时量短的"一会儿"的确定是来自上下文,而不是动词重叠本身。

第三,动词重叠式也不表示时量长。看两个例子:

- (30) 像小张有时候来这里多坐坐, 你就老大不高兴。
- (31) 这件事还得好好想想。

如果说两例中的动词重叠式是表示时量长,同样是来自它们前面的修饰语"多"和"好好"。如果我们将两例稍作改动,变成下面的例子:

- (30a)像小张有时候来这里稍坐坐,你就老大不高兴。
- (31a) 这件事我还得想想。

显然,例(30a)中的"坐坐"不再表示时量长,例(31a)中的"想想" 也很难肯定就是表示时量长。

那么,动词重叠式的语法意义和"量"到底有没有关系呢?回答是肯定的。

3.2.3 动词重叠式的语法意义之一: 表"量"

这里的"量"是指某种不确定的量,只有在上下文或语境提供了足够信息的前提下,它才可以明确地显示是表时量短还是时量长。

- 第一,一般的动作动词只有在表示动作正在进行时才不可以带上表示时量的词语。
- (32) 我看了一个小时/一会儿电视。 我看电视看了一个小时/一会儿。
- (33) 我(每天)看一个小时/一会儿电视。 我(每天)看电视看一个小时/一会儿。
- (34) 我(在他家)看过一个小时/一会儿电视。 我(在他家)看电视看过一个小时/一会儿。
- (35) 我会看一个小时/一会儿电视。 我会看电视看一个小时/一会儿。
- (36) 我正在看电视。 *我正在看一个小时/一会儿电视。
- 一个动作动词加宾语(V + O)自然可以带上一个时量词语以表示其延续的时量,除非"V+O"正在进行,因为"正在进行"和"延续时量"无法相容。

这正是为什么(32)-(35)都可以成立而(36)的"我正在看一个小时/一会儿电视"却不行的原因。

- 第二, 动词重叠式"VVO"无论在何种情况下,后面均不能出现表示时量的词语。
- (37)*我看看了一个小时/一会儿电视。 *我看看电视看了一个小时/一会儿。
- (38)*我(每天)看看一个小时/一会儿电视。 *我(每天)看看电视看一个小时/一会儿。
- (39)*我(在他家)看看过一个小时/一会儿电视。 *我(在他家)看看电视看过一个小时/一会儿。
- (40)*我会看看一个小时/一会儿电视。 *我会看看电视看一个小时/一会儿。
- (41)*我正在看看电视。 *我正在看看一个小时/一会儿电视。
- 1)如上所述,表"动作延续"的时量与动作正在进行是不相容的,而(41)表明,动词重叠式与表动作进行的"正在"无法相容。
- 2)从例(37)-(40)不成立,我们可以推出:动词重叠式"VVO"本身含"量", 因此不能再带一个时量。否则,又怎么来说明"看电视"和"看看电视"两组句 子的不同?

正因如此,我们说动词重叠式的语法意义是表示一个不确定的量。

3.2.4 动词重叠式的语法意义之二: 表"尝试"。

我们在搜集语料的过程中也发现,并不是所有动词重叠式都表量,如 上面的(16)和例(17)。

- (16) 你叫他喝喝,看他还说这茶不苦!
- (17) 你穿穿这件衣服,看合适不合适。
- (16) 是要他尝试一下茶以使他知道这种茶很苦(结果),(17)是要人试 穿一件衣服以察看结果(合适不合适)。更多的例子还有:
 - (42) 我这样做是想看看自己离开父母还行不行?
 - (43) 好吧, 我答应你去说说, 结果如何可不能保证。

(44) 你让她生生孩子,就能体会做母亲的甘苦了。

这些例子中的动词重叠都是表示尝试,其前面都可以加上"试着"而不会导致语义发生变化。我们同意陈素玲(2009)对"尝试"的解释:尝试是动作主体为了察看某事的结果而有意识从事某种活动上表现出来的语法意义。因为是动作主体想通过自己有意识的行为来察看某种结果,因此,很多似乎平常语法书说不能重叠的动词都可以重叠了。关于这一点,我们将在下节具体讨论。

4. 动词重叠的条件

关于动词重叠的条件,综合过去的研究,大致可以概括如下:

- 1) 能重叠的动词必须是动作动词。判断动词、系动词、趋向动词、心理感知动词不能重叠。
- 2) 动作动词还必须是自主动词,像"死、病、醉、下雨"等非自主动作动词不能重叠。带有结果意义或表示存现的动词也不能重叠,如"看见、发现、出现、消失"。
- 3) 必须是表示正面意义/褒义的动词,表示反面意义/贬义的动词不可以重叠,如"爱护"可以重叠,而"包庇"就不可以重叠。
- 4) 动词重叠必须用于肯定而不能用于否定。
- 5) 能重叠的单音节的动词比能重叠的双音节的动词多。《动词用法词典》中共收集 2117 个动词,有重叠用法的约 612 个,约占总数的 35%,其中单音节动词 378 个,约占可重叠动词的 60%,双音节动词 234 个,约占可重叠动词的 40%。

根据以上所列的条件,一般的语法书和语言教科书都认为"看、写、买、建立"等动词可以重叠成"看看、写写、买买、建立建立",例如我们可以有例(45)-(48)这样的表达式:

- (45) 我喜欢周末去看看电影。
- (46) 我写写汉字。
- (47) 去买买东西。
- (48) 先跟他建立建立感情。

可是,我们同时发现下面的例(49)-(52)却很难成立。

- (49)*我喜欢周末去看看《红高粱》(一电影名)。
- (50)*我写写我的名字。
- (51)*去买买《新英汉词典》。
- (52)*建立建立法律关系。

这也就是说,在对外汉语教学中,像我们现在这样只是告诉学生哪些动词可以重叠,学生仍可能说出或写出我们难以接受的句子。因此,如果动词可带宾语,讨论动词重叠不能单纯就动词本身来进行,而是必须结合所带宾语来进行。只有这样,我们才能解释为什么(45)-(48)可以接受而例(49)-(52)不能接受。

那么, "V+O"变成"VV+O"的条件究竟是什么呢?

- 1) 动词必须是自主动词,"非自主动词 + O"不能变成"VVO"。例如, 上面的例(52)。 再如:
- (53)*迷失迷失方向
- (54)*获得获得成功
- (55) *看见看见他

"迷失"、"获得"、"看见"都不是说话人能够自主控制的动词。

- 2) "V+O"还必须是可能持续、重复的动作行为。如果是一次性的动作行为,则不可以重叠。(45)-(47)中的"看看电影"、"写写汉字"、"买买东西"都是可能持续、重复进行的动作行为,所以能重叠。(49)-(51)之所以感觉不能接受,是基于下列常理:一个人一般不会周末都会重复看同一部电影,不会一次一次地写自己的名字,也不会一次一次地去买同一部词典。但是,假使有一个人就是很特别,他会一次次地重复看《红高粱》,一次次地写自己的名字,不断地买《新英汉词典》,(49)-(51)就可以成立。动词重叠的这个条件是与它表示不确定量的语法意义相对应的。
- 3) 如上所述,动词重叠式的另一个语法意义是表"尝试"。因此,当某个动作行为是表示尝试时,即使不能满足条件 2),也可以重叠(一般认为不能重叠的动词都可以重叠)。以(51)而言,如果将其置于下列语境以使它变成一种尝试行为,同样也可以接受:
- (51b)(上次去书店买《新英汉词典》,没买着,我想今天再)去买买《新英汉词典》)

再如,"醒"、"病"、"生(孩子)"(见上面的例 38)、"知道(我的厉害)"等,一般认为不能重叠,但是下面的(56)-(58)却可以让人接受:

- (56) 你醒醒,快到上课时间了。
- (57) 你病病,就知道是什么滋味了。
- (58) 他不是谁也不怕吗?我想要他知道知道我的厉害。

5. 动词重叠的教学

在对外汉语教学初、中级阶段,关于动词重叠,应该引进哪些内容呢? 第一,只引进典型的"VV"式(不及物动词)和"VVO"式(及物动词)。 当动词是及物动词时,不能单纯从动词本身来判断它能不能重 叠,而必须结合宾语来进行。

第二, 动词重叠的语法意义

- 1) 或表示动作行为的一定量(不确定),用于说话人无法预知、 或者有意模糊动作行为量之时。
- 2) 或表示尝试。

第三, 动词重叠的条件

- 1) 自主动词。
- 2) "V"(不及物动词)或"V+O"(及物动词)还必须是可能持续、 重复的动作行为。
- 3)或者,"V"(不及物动词)或"V+O"(及物动词)可以用来表示尝试。

第四, 动词重叠的用法

- 1)与动词相比,在句法功能上,动词重叠不能用来做名词修饰语(/定语)。
 - (59) * 这不是我想看看的电影。
- 2) 不能用于表示动作正在进行,因此也不能用在"正在"或"在" 后。
- 3) 不能用于表示两个动作同时进行的结构之中,如不能说"一边听听音乐,一边做做功课"。
- 4)后面不能带表示动作量的词语。
- 5)表示已然的动词重叠式必须加"了",即"V了V"或"V了VO"。 (60)昨天上海边**走了走**。

(61) 昨天去**看了看**朋友。

- 6)"过"、"着"不能用于动词重叠式。
- 7)除了少数特别的情形,动词重叠式前面不能用否定词"不"或"没"。所谓特别的情形,是指在动词重叠可以出现在"不……就不……"或者含"不"的反问句式之中。例如:
- (62) 不亲口尝尝,就不会知道它的滋味。
- (63) 你也不想想他为什么会对你这样?

第五, 动词重叠的语用功能: 或缓和语气, 或表轻松随意。

6. 结束语

动词重叠是汉语语法研究的一个重要课题,也是对外汉语教学的一个难点。尽管过去的研究很多,但是由于研究所依据的语料还主要是随意举例型而缺少在有限范围内对语言事实的穷尽考察,再加上常把不同层次的意义混杂在一起(如把动词前修饰语的意义当作动词重叠本身的语法意义),因此,一些本该注意到的语言现象(如及物动词能否重叠与所带宾语相关)并没有很好地发掘或被忽视,于是直接影响到得出结论的可靠性。实际上,关于动词重叠的研究,无论是其性质、形式、范围,还是意义、条件、功能、甚至历史等等,都还值得更加深入科学地加以研究。本文只是基于观察到的语言事实,就部分问题进行了初步探讨。希望会有更多学者和教师能关注这个课题。

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Saliency Mapping of Figure and Ground of Motion in Chinese ¹

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Abstract This article observes the 'Figure over Ground' conceptualization of motion and the corresponding saliency mapping of Figure and Ground on the syntactic structure of Chinese. It demonstrates that saliency mapping is a general principle guiding and governing the syntactic realization of the Figure and Ground of motion. In conceptualization, the Figure is more salient than the Ground; in language representation, the Figure has more precedence over the Ground in syntactic constituent assignment. Specifically, the following default precedence order of assignment is observed in Chinese: Subject > (BA-complement >) Direct Object > Complement of Directional PP / Specifier of NP / Oblique Object. While the 'Ground over Figure' arrangement is not impossible, it is subject to certain conceptual and pragmatic constraints and thus is a marked case.

Key words Motion, Figure, Ground, movability effect, saliency mapping

提要 位移体和参照物是位移事件中的两个内在关联成分。在人们对位移事件的认知中,位移体通常比参照物得到更多的关注,因此具有更高的认知显著度。本文考察"位移体显著于参照物"这一观念认知特征在现代汉语句法表达中的映射情况。文章显示,汉语通常遵循"认知显著度与句法排位的优先顺序相对应"的映射原则(简称"显著度映射"原则),在表达位移体和参照物时,根据"主语>(介词"把"的宾语>)直接宾语 > 趋向动词的补足语/名词性短语的定语/间接宾语"这一句法槽层级序列,优先安排位移体,然后才是参照物。汉语中也有"参照物优先于位移体"的句法安排,但那种安排是有标记的,受到一些特别的认知和语用条件的限制。

关键词 位移事件、位移体、参照物、可移性效应、显著度映射

1. Introduction

Motion is a type of pervasive human experience that involves a change of location of an object with respect to other object(s) successively from one point to another along a spatial extent. The object that moves and changes location is the Figure of the motion, and the object(s) that serves as the reference entity for conceptualizing the Figure's moving is called the Ground (Talmy 2000, vol. II: 26). In the motion event expressed in 松鼠爬到了树上 'The squirrel climbed

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up the tree,' 松鼠 'the squirrel' is the Figure, and 树 'tree' is the Ground. Because of the fundamental role that motion plays in human cognition and its corresponding language organization, motion conceptualization and linguistic representation has drawn considerable attention in cognitive science and cognitive linguistics over the past decades (Miller and Johnson-Laird, 1976; Radden, 1988; Choi and Bowerman, 1991; Talmy, 1975, 2000; Slobin, 1996, 2009; Chu, 2008, 2009, among many others).

Within the framework of cognitive linguistics, this paper investigates the ways in which Figure and Ground, the two paired conceptual components of motion, are configured and realized in the surface structure of Chinese. It also explores the cognitive reasons involved in the linguistic realization of Figure and Ground configuration and shows how conceptual properties function in guiding and constraining Figure and Ground representation in Chinese.

2. 'Figure over Ground' in Cognition

In Chu (2007), it is illustrates that entities in the world form a conceptual hierarchy in terms of their capacity for movability (i.e., being movable or not). The more volitional, self-controllable, and physically independent an entity is, the more movable it is. In contrast, the more dependent, less self-controllable, and less volitional an entity is, the less movable it is. In terms of their movability, entities in the world can be roughly grouped into six distinct categories, forming the movability hierarchy, as shown in Table 1:

RANK AND CATEGORY	EXAMPLES	PROPERTY (IN
		MOTION)
1. Human and animals	I, John, father,	
	squirrel, bee, ele-	Volitional movers
	phant;我、小王、	
	爸爸、松鼠、蜜蜂	
2. Transportation vehicles	train, plane, car,	Non-volitional,
	tank;	but can undergo
	汽车、火车、飞机、	self-controlled
	坦克	motion
3. Natural autonomous mov-	rain, wave, river,	Neither volitional
ers	sweat, smoke; 雨,	nor
	海浪、小河、汗	self-controlled,
	水、烟雾	but movement is
	/4·· / [5]	an intrinsic ten-

		dency governed
		by nature's laws
4.Non-autonomously-movable	cup, desk, rock;	Usually movable
but independent inanimate	杯子、 桌子、 石	but subject to ex-
	<i>头、书</i>	ternal causal
		agents
5. Dependent but detachable	house, guidepost,	Normally re-
entities	tree;	maining in the
	房子、 路标、树	same location, but
		can be moved
		under strong ex-
		ternal forces
6. Dependent and	beach, valley, park,	Inseparable part
non-detachable entities	Hawaii, Pacific	of another entity;
	Ocean, face,	remaining perpe-
	(computer) screen;	tually in a fixed
	海滩、山谷、公园、	position
	夏威夷、脸、(电脑)	
	屏幕	

Table 1: Movability Hierarchy: Categories and Ranks

The movability hierarchy exercises a strong influence, referred to in Chu (2007) as the 'Movability Effect,' on the Figure/Ground assignment in motion event conceptualization. Specifically, the six ranks of entities in the movability hierarchy have six different levels of probability for assignation as the Figure of motion. The Figure role is regularly assigned to the entity standing higher in the movability hierarchy, while the Ground is assigned to the entity with the lower movability rating. As (1)-(4) below show, in the hierarchy, the highest ranked 'human and animal' entities, such as 张先生 'Mr. Zhang,' can fill the Figure role in all autonomous, self-controlled, and volitional motions. The second ranked 'transportation vehicle' entities, such as 汽车 'car,' can be the Figure in autonomous and self-controlled motions, but not in volitional motions. The third ranked 'natural autonomous movers' such as 洪水 'flood,' can be assigned as the Figure for the autonomous motion primarily controlled by the gravity, but not volitional and self-controlled motions. The 'non-autonomously-movable but independent inanimate' entities, such as 石头 'rock', are frequently engaged in translational motion events as the Figure, but they are typically moved by an external agent in a caused-motion and not by themselves. The fifth rank 'dependent but detachable entities' are rarely conceptualized as the Figure of a motion unless they are caused by a strong external power in a caused-motion, such as 教堂 'church' in (4). Elements of the last category composed of 'independent and non-detachable entities,' whether the motion is caused-motion or not, are normally incapable of being a Figure in a motion event, such as 山谷 'valley' in (4).

(1) Autonomous motion:

'The car is coming.' c. 洪水 来

c. 洪水 来 了。d. ?? 石头 来 了。flood come LE rock come LE 'The flood is coming.'

"?? The rocks are coming."

e.* 教堂 来 了。
f.* 山谷 来 了。
church come LE
valley come LE
'* The church is coming.'

"The valley is coming."

(2) Self-controlled motion:

 a. 张
 先生
 到
 哪儿
 去
 了?

 b. 汽车
 到
 哪儿
 去
 了?

 Zhang Mr.
 to
 where go
 LE

 $^{^2}$ This article adopts the following abbreviation conventions: BA for pretransitive marker 把, CF for classifier, DE for the Mandarin attributive particle 的, LE for perfective aspect 了, NP for noun phrase, PP for prepositional phrase, and ZHE for continuative aspect marker 着.

car to where go LE 'Where did Mr. Zhang go?'
'Where did the car go?'

c.* 洪水 了 ? 到 哪儿 去 去 d.* 石头 哪儿 了 ? 到 where go LE flood to to where go LE rock "* Where did the flood go?" "* Where did the rock go?"

了? e.* 教堂 到 哪儿 f.* 山谷 到 哪儿 去 了 ? where LE church to go valley to where go "* Where did the church go?" "* Where did the valley go?"

(3) Volitional motion:

- a. 张 先生 打算 到 哪儿 去 ? Zhang Mr. intend to where go 'Where does Mr. Zhang want to go?'
- b. * 汽车 打算 到 哪儿 去? car intend to where go '* Where does the car want to go?'
- c. * 洪水 打算 到 哪儿 去 ? food intend to where go 'Where does the flood want to go?'
- d.* 石头 打算 到 哪儿 去? rock intend to where go '* Where does the rock want to go?'
- e. 教堂 打算 到 哪儿 去 ? church intend to where go 'Where does the church want to go?'

f. * 山谷 打算 到 哪儿 去 valley intend to where go '* Where does the valley want to go?'

- (4) Caused motion:
 - a. 教堂 搬 到 哪儿 去了? church remove to where go LE 'Where was the church moved to?'
 - b. * 山谷 搬 到 哪儿 去 了? valley remove to where go LE 'Where was the valley moved to?'

The Movability Effect is also observed in the case of 'subject/object alternation': The subject/object alternation does not change the Figure/Ground assignment in conceptualization. The entity that stands higher in the movability hierarchy is always understood as the Figure, such as 蜜蜂 'bee' in (5), no matter it takes the slot of the subject or the object in the clause. Conversely, the entity with a lower movability rating can only be conceptualized as the Ground, such as 后院 'backyard' in (5):

- (5) a. 蜜蜂 飞 进 了 后院。 bee fly enter LE backyard 'The bee(s) flew into the backyard.'
 - b. 后院 飞 进 了 蜜蜂。
 backyard fly enter LE bee
 'As for the backyard, a/some bee(s) flew into it.'

(6) a. 孩子 追 上 了 狗。 child chase up-with LE dog 'The child caught up with the dog.'

The existence of the movability hierarchy of entities of motion, as systematically manifested in the movability effect in Figure/Ground assignment, suggests that participants of a motion scene are not equally prominent in conceptualization. The Figure entity is more salient in the speaker's attention than is the Ground entity, establishing the 'Figure over Ground' prototypical understanding of motion in human cognition.

3. The 'Figure over Ground' Mapping in Chinese

Motivated by the prototypical 'Figure over Ground' conceptualization of motion in general human cognition, the linguistic representation of Figure and Ground demonstrates a default order of precedence regarding their occurrence in hierarchically organized syntactic structures, as Talmy (2000, vol. I: 334) proposes:

In their basic form, the Figure has syntactic precedence over the Ground.

Specifically, Talmy points out,

For nominals in a single clause, this precedence consists of expression along a case hierarchy. In a nonagentive clause, the Figure is subject and the Ground is (oblique) object. In an agentive clause, where the Agent is subject, the Figure is direct object and the Ground is oblique object.

In other words, there is a general mapping relationship between the saliency of motion elements in human awareness and the precedence of role assignments in syntax. The more salient in awareness an entity of motion is, the more precedence it will have in syntactic constituent assignment. Clearly, this is a typical case of 'saliency mapping',³ and can be referred as a 'Figure over Ground'

³ Two points can be made here regarding the nature of 'saliency mapping'. On the one hand, 'saliency mapping' is a more general principle guiding and restricting the linguistic representation of human conceptualization and the 'Figure-over-Ground' principle can be viewed as a typical instantiation of 'saliency mapping'. On the other hand, 'saliency mapping' should also be regarded as an 'iconicity' phenomenon linking human conceptualization and language expression (cf. Haiman,

mapping and represented formulaically as in (7):

Now we investigate the realization of the 'Figure over Ground' mapping in Chinese. Talmy summarizes the case hierarchy as 'Subject > Direct Object > Oblique Object' in which syntactic roles are assigned according to the order of precedence specified in (7).⁵ However, a hierarchy of syntactic roles for assigning motion event elements in Chinese should include more specifics, as suggested in (8).

(8) Subject > (BA-complement >) Direct Object > Complement of Directional PP / Specifier of NP / Oblique Object

(8) differs from Talmy's 'subject > direct object > oblique object' hierarchy in two major respects. The first is that a language-specific BA-complement is presented and it is the second most prominent constituent in the syntactic role hierarchy in Chinese. BA ("担") with its complement (usually an NP) appears preverbally in a clause. BA clauses are frequently used in caused-motion expressions. In traditional Chinese grammar, BA-complements are analyzed as objects of a strong 'disposal' expressed by the main verb, with BA as a special preposition marking this kind of 'disposal' (see, e.g., Wang L., 1943, Wang H., 1984). In recent years, much research points to the conclusion that the BA-construction expresses a resultative action or process, or in Vendler's (1967) sense, an achievement or accomplishment. In a process expressed by a BA-construction, three elements are obligatorily involved. They are a certain agent/causer of the process, a known experiencer of the process (i.e., the BA-complement), and the final (and new) state or location the experiencer reaches at the end of the process. The meaning of the BA-construction can be expressed as:

A certain causer initiates an action on a known entity or brings about a process involving that entity, leading the entity to change to a different state or location at the end of the action or process.

⁴ In this formula, I enclose 'agent' in parentheses to indicate that it is irrelevant in self-motion events.

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⁵ See Talmy's statement cited above in this section.

⁶ Zhang B. (2000) and Zhang W. (2001) present statistics for the BA-constructions used in their corpora which show that no less than half of the BA expressions render motion events.

Since the BA-complement represents both the experiencer of the process and the entity that changes, it stands out from all other NPs in the preverbal preposition phrases, standing even higher than the direct object of the main verb in the clause. Thus, BA-complements are assigned a prominent role secondary only to the clause subject (typically the agent or causer) in (8).

To return to our discussion of motion, because of the specific constructional meaning it bears, the BA-construction is frequently used to represent caused-motion in Chinese. Since the subject of a BA-construction is normally the causer, the BA-complement typically represents the Figure of the caused-motion, and the Ground is represented by a lower level role in (8).

The second point about (8) is that there are several options for the lowest role in the hierarchy: complement of a directional PP (itself a right-branching or left-branching complement to the main verb), specifier of an NP, or oblique object of the clause. These roles are low in the syntactic hierarchy, and are regularly filled by the Ground.⁹

We have now identified the conceptual saliency hierarchy of the Figure and Ground in (7) (together with Agent in caused-motion) and the syntactic role prominence hierarchy in Chinese in (8). Prototypically, the saliency mapping from (7) into (8) follows the precedence order suggested in the two hierarchies. The higher a conceptual element stands in (7), the higher the syntactic role it is assigned in (8). For the Figure and Ground, the principle of mapping is 'Figure over Ground'.

3.1. The Case of Autonomous Motion

The saliency mapping relationship between (7) and (8) has a variety of instantiations in Chinese. Let us consider autonomous motion first. The saliency mapping typically has the Figure as the subject of the sentence; the Ground typically occurring in one of the three possible positions: as direct object of the main

⁷ Tsao (1987) argues that the BA-complement should be regarded as the 'secondary topic' of the clause, the subject of a BA-clause being the primary topic. This argument supports from a functional perspective the arrangement of BA-complement in (8). Interesting discussions of the prominence of BA-complement can also be found in Li (1974), Hsueh (1989), Cui (1995), Zhang B. (2000), and Hu (2005, 2010).

⁸ Of course, autonomous motion does not involve an external agent or causer, thus a BA-construction is not needed. Even for expressing caused-motion, BA-constructions are not the only alternative in Chinese (see examples later). For this reason, the BA-complement in (8) is put in a bracket to indicate its optional nature.

⁹ If fact, besides the oblique object that Talmy mentions, English makes use of complements to express the Ground element as well, such as 'from Italy' in *The paintings from Italy were shipped to New York'*

verb (or of a main verb with a directional complement), as complement of a preposition phrase which is a left-branching or right-branching complement of the main verb, or as specifier of the subject (i.e., the Figure). The following examples illustrate these configurations.

The Figure as the subject, and the Ground as the direct object:

- (9) 青林 五月 间 去 了 趟 李各庄。 Qinglin May during go LE CL Li-village 'Qinglin went to Li Village once in May.' [Figure: 青林 *Qinglin*; Ground: 李各庄'Li Village']
- (10) 火车 缓缓 穿 过 了 山洞。
 train slowly go-through pass LE mountain-tunnel
 'The train slowly went through the mountain tunnel.'
 [Figure: 火车 'train'; Ground: 山洞 'mountain tunnel']

The Figure as the subject, and the Ground as the complement of a left-branching PP to the verb:

(11) 王二奎 从 青海监狱 越狱 逃跑 了。 Wang Erkui from Qinghai Prison break-out-of-prison escape LE 'Wang Erkui escaped from Qinghai Prison.' [Figure: 王二奎 Wang Erkui; Ground: 青海监狱 'Qinghai Prison']

The Figure as the subject, and the Ground as the complement of a right-branching PP to the verb:

(12)女青年 (拎 着 高跟鞋) 冲 向 门口。 Young-lady (carry-with-hand ZHE high-heeled-shoe) rush toward doorway '(With high-heeled shoes in hands), the young woman rushed toward doorway.' [Figure: 女青年'young women'; Ground: 门口'doorway']

The Figure as the subject, and the Ground as the specifier of the subject:

(13) 后院 的 蜜蜂 飞 走 了。 Backyard DE bee fly away LE 'The bees in the backyard flew away.' [Figure: 蜜蜂 'bee(s)'; Ground: 后院 'backyard']

In some situations, more than one Ground component of motion is mentioned in a clause, as shown in (14) and (15):

(14) 王二奎 从 青海监狱 越狱 跑 到 了 新疆。

Wang Erkui from Qinghai Prison break-out-of-prison run to LE Xinjiang 'Wang Erkui escaped from Qinghai Prison to Xinjiang.'

[Figure: 王二奎 Wang Erkui; Ground: Component 1—青海监狱 'Qinghai Prison', Component 2—新疆 Xinjiang.]

(15) 后院 的 蜜蜂 飞 进 了 厨房。

Backyard DE bee fly enter LE kitchen

'The bees in the backyard flew into the kitchen.'

[Figure: 蜜蜂 'bee(s)'; Ground: Component 1—后院'backyard',

Component 2—厨房 'kitchen'.]

In contrast to the situation above, the Ground element is gapped on the surface of the sentences in (16) and (17). In such cases, the Ground is implied by the context and can be clearly understood by the speaker and the listener.

(16) 汽车 来 了。

car come LE

'The car is coming.'

[Figure: 汽车 'car'; Ground: implied by the deictic motion verb 来 'come'; usually it is the place where the speaker is located.]

(17) 蜜蜂 飞 走 了。

bee(s) fly away LE

'The bees flew away.'

[Figure: 蜜蜂 'bee(s)'; Ground: implied in the context, must be a Location clearly mentioned in the previous discourse, such as 后院 'backyard'.]

Clearly, whether the Ground has more than one component expressed, as in (14)

¹⁰ The number of Ground elements presented and their order of appearance in the sentence involve other cognitive operations that will be discussed later.

and (15), or whether it is completely unmentioned, as in (16) and (17), the 'Figure over Ground' precedence order is followed.

In the Beijing vernacular and some other northern Chinese dialects, there is a unique syntactic configuration of Figure and Ground. In this type of configuration, both the Figure and the Ground appear postverbally as double objects of the verb, with the Figure as the direct object and the Ground as the oblique object. (18) and (19) are examples of this type, as reported in Ma (1992: 116-7).

- (18) 刚 进 屋 两 个 人。 just-now enter room two CL people 'Just now two people entered the room.' [Figure: 两个人'two people'; Ground: 屋'room']
- (19) 爬 您 身上 一 个 蚂蚁。
 climb you body-on one CL ant
 'An ant is climbing on you.'
 [Figure: 一个蚂蚁'one ant'; Ground: 您身上'your body']

This type of double object realization of Figure and Ground of motion is not acceptable to many Mandarin speakers from the southern parts of China. Nevertheless, with the Figure being the direct object and the Ground the oblique object, this realization still follows the 'Figure over Ground' principle. ¹¹

3.2. The Case of Caused Motion

Now we turn to the saliency mapping and the configuration of Figure and Ground in caused motion clauses in Chinese. Motivated and constrained by other cognitive and communicative factors, caused-motion can be expressed with or without the BA-construction. We first consider instances of caused-motion not expressed with the BA-construction.

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¹¹ One point needs to be made clear here: in saliency mapping, the principle of 'Figure-over-Ground' means that the Figure is typically assigned a more prominent syntactic role than the Ground. It does not mean 'Figure-before-Ground' in word order arrangement of a clause, though that is usually the case. Thus, in (18) and (19), Ground as the oblique object precedes the direct object Figure. Similarly, in (13) discussed above, the Ground 后院 'backyard' as the specifier appears before the Figure 蜜蜂 'bee(s)', the head of the NP 后院的蜜蜂 'the bee(s) in the backyard' and stands higher syntactically than its specifier.

¹² Other factors guiding the choice of expressing caused-motion with or without the BA-construction will be discussed later in this study.

In (20) below, since the subject slot is filled by the agent, the Figure is the direct object, and Ground is the complement of a left-branching PP to the verb:

(20) 王元 从 包 里 拿 出 两 盒 中华烟。
Wang Yuan from bag-inside take out two CL Zhonghua(-brand) cigarette 'Wang Yuan took out two packs of Zhonghua cigarettes from the bag.'
[Figure: 中华烟 'Zhonghua cigarette'; Ground: 包里'(inside of the) bag']

In the next example, since the subject is the agent, the Figure is the direct object, and Ground is the complement of a right-branching PP to the verb:

(21) 前锋 飞快地 传 给他 一 个 高抛球。 forward quickly pass to he one CL fly-ball 'The forward quickly passed a fly ball to him.' [Figure: (高抛)球 '(fly) ball'; Ground: 他'he']

In (22) below, with the subject slot again being filled by the agent, the Figure is the head of the direct object, and Ground is the specifier of the direct object:

(22) 伙计 取下墙壁 上的 一 块 乌黑油腻 的东西。 clerk fetch-down wall on DE one CL pitch-black greasy DE object 'The clerk took down a greasy black object from the wall.' [Figure: 东西 'object'; Ground: 墙壁上 '(on the) wall']

In certain caused-motion expressions, a serial-verb construction is used, as in (24):

(23) 宁科 (不在,)送 孩子 去 姥姥 家 了。 Ning Ke (not in) send child go grand-mother home LE 'Ning Ke (is not in. She) is out sending her child off to her mother's home.' [Figure: 孩子 (and 宁科) 'child (and Ning Ke)'; Ground: 姥姥家 'grand-mother's home']

In this case, the Figure is generally the direct object of the first verb, and the Ground is the object of the second verb. ¹³ In some situations, the agent itself is

¹³ As we see here, the 'Figure-over-Ground' principle is realized as 'Figure-before-Ground' in the serial-verb construction.

also accompanied by the Figure of the motion event, as with 宁科 Ning Ke in (23).

Corresponding to (18) and (19) above, in the Beijing vernacular and several other northern dialects, the Figure and the Ground of a caused-motion can appear together post-verbally as double objects of the verb, with the Figure being the direct object and the Ground the oblique object. (24) is an example of this type, which is also from Ma (1992:116).

(24) (他) 倒 缸里 一 桶 水。
he pour vat-inside one bucket water
'He poured a bucket of water into the vat.'
[Figure: 水 'water'; Ground: 缸里 '(inside of the) vat']

Examples (20)-(24) illustrate the syntactic realization of 'Figure over Ground' order in expressing caused-motion events without using a BA-construction. Below are instances in which BA-construction occurs.

As noted earlier, when a BA-construction is used, the agent/causer of the caused-motion is typically the subject, and the Figure is represented by the BA-complement. As for the Ground, it has several possible roles in realization, including that of the complement of a post-verbal PP, as in (25), the complement of a preverbal PP, as in (26), the direct object, as in (27), and the specifier of the BA-complement, as in (28).

- (25) 高 个儿 警察 把 我 的 证件 拿进了 办公室。 High-body-height police BA I DE ID take into LE office 'The tall policeman took my ID into the office.' [Figure: 我的证'my ID'; Ground: 办公室'office']
- (26) 我 把 证件 从 衣兜儿 里 掏 出来。
 I BA ID from pocket inside take-out hither 'I took out the ID from my pocket.'
 [Figure: 证件 'ID'; Ground: 衣兜儿 'pocket']
- (27) 请 你 把 证件 搁 这儿。
 please you BA ID put here
 'Please put (your) ID here.'
 [Figure: 证件 'ID'; Ground: 这儿 'here']

(28) 我 把 衣兜儿 里 的 证件 掏 出来。
I BA pocket inside DE ID take-out hither
'I took the ID out of my pocket.'
[Figure: 证件 'ID'; Ground: 衣兜儿 'pocket']

As with the autonomous motion shown in (14) and (15) above, more than one Ground component of a caused-motion event may occur in a clause, as we can see in (29):

(29) 范广 把 妻子 从 乡下 接 到 城 里 来。 Fan Guang BA wife from countryside pick-up to city-inside come 'Fan Guang took his wife from the countryside to (live in) the city.' [Figure: 妻子'wife'; Ground: 乡下'countryside', 城里'city(-inside)']

The Ground may be implied by the context:

(30) 他 把 我 的 证件 拿 走 了。
he BA I DE ID take away LE.
'He took away my ID.'
[Figure: 证件 'ID'; Ground: implied by the directional complement 走 'away', should be a place that has been clearly mentioned in previous discourse.]

So far, we have seen typical realizations of the saliency mapping of both self-motion and caused-motion events in Chinese. As all the examples (9)-(30) above show, the typical configuration of the Figure and Ground of both self-motion and caused-motion follows the 'Figure over Ground' principle of mapping. 'Figure over Ground' is the default order of precedence in both cases.

3.3. The Reversed Configuration

As further evidence of the 'Figure over Ground' order of mapping, let us consider two paired examples in which the Figure/Ground configuration is reversed. The first pair of examples is (31):

(31) a. 大象 朝 小 松鼠 走 去。 elephant toward little squirrel walk thither 'The elephant walks toward the little squirrel.' b. 小 松鼠 向 大象 跑 来。 little squirrel toward elephant run hither 'The little squirrel is running toward the elephant.'

Both (31a) and (31b) express autonomous motion. In (31a), 大象 'elephant' is the Figure and thus occupies the subject position; 小松鼠 'little squirrel' is the Ground. Thus it appears as the complement of the preverbal PP. But in (31b), the Figure/Ground assignment is reversed, i.e., 小松鼠 'little squirrel' becomes the Figure and 大象 'elephant' is the Ground. As a result, the syntactic roles of the two elements are reversed: 小松鼠 'little squirrel' in (31b) becomes the sentence subject, and 大象 'elephant' is moved to the position of the PP complement to the verb. 大象 'elephant' and 小松鼠 'little squirrel' belong to the same category ('human and animals') in the movability hierarchy posited in Section 2. The switch of their syntactic roles in (31a) and (31b) can only be understood as a result stipulated by the 'Figure over Ground' principle of mapping. In the same fashion, contrast between (32a) and (32b) below reflect the mapping of 'Figure over Ground' order in caused-motion expressions.

- (32) a. 我 把 书 放 在 词典 底下。 I BA book put at dictionary underneath 'I put the book underneath the dictionary.'
 - b. 我 把 词典 放 在 书 底下。
 I BA dictionary put at book underneath 'I put the dictionary underneath the book.'

The contrasts shown in (31) and (32) further attest that saliency mapping of 'Figure over Ground' is a general principle guiding and governing the syntactic realization of Figure and Ground of motion.

3.4. About Subject/Object Alternation

We have observed so far pervasive manifestations of the 'Figure over Ground' mapping. In conceptualization, the Figure is more salient than the Ground; in language representation, the Figure has precedence over the Ground. Nevertheless, such prototypical mapping discussed so far does not represent the full picture. In addition to the default 'Figure over Ground' configuration, there is in Chinese a reverse situation in which the Ground element appears more prominently than the Figure in the syntax. We have seen examples of such reversion

in Section 2 and referred it as subject/object alternation as represented in (5), copied here as (33):

(33) a. 蜜蜂 飞 进 了 后院。 bee fly enter LE backyard 'The bee(s) flew into the backyard.'

> b. 后院 飞 进 了 蜜蜂。 backyard fly enter LE bee 'As for the backyard, a/some bee(s) flew into it.'

In (33a) and (33b), 蜜蜂 'bee(s)' is the Figure and 后院 'backyard' is the Ground. But the 'Figure over Ground' mapping is only realized in (33a). In (33b), the Ground element 后院 'backyard' takes the sentence initial slot, and presents a counter instance to the proposed saliency mapping. However, as we have seen in Section 2, this kind of subject/object alternation is under one conceptual constraint: The Figure element must be a member of a high ranked category and the Ground is ranked low in the movability hierarchy. This conceptual condition can be referred as the 'movability difference condition'. In (33), the Figure 蜜蜂 'bee(s)' is an entity of the first category of the movability hierarchy, while the Ground 后院 'backyard' belongs to the forth rank in the hierarchy. And thus the movability difference condition is satisfied. ¹⁴

In contrast, when the Figure and Ground are of the same rank in the movability hierarchy and the 'movability difference condition' is not met, the subject/object alternation is not licensed in the syntactic surface. As a result, the reversion of their syntactic position will cause the reversion in Figure/Ground assignments:

(34) a. 孩子 追上 了 狗. child chase up-with LE dog 'The child caught up with the dog.'

 $^{^{14}}$ In fact, the 'Ground over Figure' configuration in (33b) is also governed by certain pragmatic condition of Chinese. Specially, it must be in a context that requires the Ground entity 后院 'backyard' to serve as the topic of the sentence. In literature, such kind of topicalization is discussed as a typological feature of Chinese, and the Ground element is not recognized as the 'subject' (but just 'topic') of the clause (cf. Li & Thompson, 1981). I this article, I focus on the aspect of the cognitive reasons of the relevant syntactic mapping, and will not go into details of the relevant pragmatics.

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b. * 狗 追上 了 孩子.
dog chase up-with LE child
'As for the dog, the child caught up with it.'

c. 狗 追上 了 孩子. dog chase up-with LE child 'The dog caught up with the child.'

(34) clearly suggests that the 'Figure over Ground' order is strictly followed if the two elements are of the same rank in the movability hierarchy. The Subject/Object Alternation in (33), which assigns a more prominent syntactic role to the Ground than the Figure in Chinese, is only possible when the Ground element ranks lower than the Figure in the movability hierarchy. And even if the Ground element ranks lower than the Figure in the movability hierarchy, the typical configuration in syntax is still 'Figure over Ground'. Therefore, it is still valid to state that the 'Figure over Ground' mapping is the unmarked and prototypical configuration in motion event expressions.

4. Closing Remarks: Saliency Mapping and Chinese L2 Teaching

In this article, we have observed the saliency mapping of 'Figure over Ground' in the motion event conceptualization and linguistic representation. Entities in the world form a movability hierarchy in general human cognition. The movability hierarchy exercises a strong influence, referred to as the 'movability effect' in the Figure/Ground assignment in motion event conceptualization. We regularly assign the Figure role to the entity that stands higher in the movability hierarchy, and assign the Ground to the entity with the lower movability rating. Figure is more prominent than Ground in the conceptualizer's attention. In general, there is a saliency mapping in the representation of Figure and Ground of motion in Chinese: In conceptualization, the Figure is more salient than the Ground; in Chinese representation, the Figure has precedence over the Ground. While the default syntactic configuration is 'Figure over Ground,' the 'Ground over Figure' arrangement on the syntactic structure is not impossible. But the latter is a marked case and it is subject to conceptual constraints imposed by the movability hierarchy and other cognitive operations. The observations and findings presented in this article clearly point to the basic tenets of cognitive linguistics, which views language as an experientially-based product of the human mind, and a reflection of how speakers of a language structure their perceptions of reality (cf. Tai, 2002, among many others).

Compared with the presentation of arbitrary rules, cognitive accounts of grammar facilitate learning and understanding in second language classrooms (cf. Taylor 1993, Robinson & Ellis 2008, Littlemore 2009). While it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the details of the relevant second language pedagogy, the elaboration of the saliency mapping of "Figure over Ground" of motion in Chinese is directly relevant to the instruction of Chinese as a Second Language. It affords insights into the motivations of Figure and Ground expressions for Chinese teachers and learners, and thus facilitates both teaching and learning. For Chinese teaching, the framework can serve as a theoretical basis for teachers to introduce the grammar of relevant motion expressions in a coherent and systematic way. The description of typologically specific properties of Chinese provides the possibility for teachers to tailor the pedagogical grammar of Figure and Ground of motion and focus on Chinese-particular patterns or idiosyncratic expressions in their teaching, thereby raising the learners' consciousness of phenomena peculiar to those forms. Furthermore, cognitive characterization of the conceptualization of Figure and Ground of motion offers easily accessible explanations of the ways Chinese represents the conceptual contents at issue as well as intuitively plausible analyses of learners' acquisition discrepancies. As being widely recognized in recent literature (Langacker, 2008; Tyler, 2008; Littlemore, 2009, among others), for second language learners, especially adult learners, plausible and readily comprehensible accounts of conceptual motivations underlying grammar are especially important.

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对外汉语词汇教学法初探

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提要 在对外汉语教学研究领域中,词汇教学和研究与汉字教学、语音教学、语法教学相比一直是一个比较薄弱的环节。本文试图从教学内容和教学方法两方面探讨词汇教学的指导方针和教学体系。研究表明要让不同程度的学生掌握预期的词汇能力,避免出现"断层"的现象,必须首先科学地、有系统地开发教学内容,对词汇进行排序,把学生母语和汉语的词汇进行对比分析,并找出习得中跨语言干扰的种种因素;然后根据不同等级的词汇教学内容设计适宜的教学方法。

关键词:词汇教学、汉英对比分析、教学排序

Abstract In the field of teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language, there have been fewer studies of the pedagogy and acquisition of Chinese vocabulary than those of Chinese characters, pronunciation, or grammar. The current article aims to investigate guiding principles or a system in the development of teaching materials and methodology of Chinese vocabulary. It provides evidence to show that to improve students' vocabulary competence across different levels and avoid "competence gaps" between different levels, two elements must be incorporated into the design of a Chinese curriculum: the Contrastive Analysis Method and sequencing of vocabulary in teaching and learning. By doing so, we should be able to identify teaching materials, the degree of difficulty and cross-language interference in the acquisition of Chinese words and subsequently develop teaching methodologies appropriate for different proficiency levels.

Key words: Vocabulary pedagogy and acquisition, contrastive analysis, sequencing of teaching Chinese vocabulary

1. 引言

在过去几十年中,汉字一直是对外汉语教学中一个非常重要的环节。由于汉字的书写形式与字母(alphabetical)语言不同,加之声调是辨别字义的主要成分,汉语在西方被当作跟阿拉伯语一样难度最大的一种外语。也正是这个原因,多年来在汉语教学界一直不断地探讨汉字教学的问题,而且出现了不少有

关的论文和专著(如:黄沛荣 2003, 孙德金 2006 等)。 相比之下, 探讨词汇教 学的研究到近几年才引起学者们的关注(参阅崔永华1997,孙德金2006,张博 等 2008)。同时,我们还发现,在美国设有中文课的系所里,很多高年级(三年 级和三年级以上)的汉语学生对词汇的掌握和使用仍然停留在低年级(即:一、 二年级)的水平上,无论是听说,还是读写,高年级的学生都很难在词汇方面 达到高级汉语的水平,也就是说,学生到了三年级,他们在用汉语沟通的时候 (包括听、说、读、写) 使用的词汇没有什么深度。尽管他们的课本里有一些 层次比较高的词汇,像表示抽象、色彩、生动、高雅等意念的词汇,但是学生 因为某种原因就是不用,或不会用。这里,我们把高年级的低级词汇水平叫做 词汇的"断层"现象。本文将围绕着"词汇断层"这个问题展开讨论。首先, 我们调查、研究导致词汇断层的原因,然后根据其原因探讨教师如何帮助学生 解决或者缓解词汇断层的问题。 那么,要追究词汇断层的根源,笔者认为有必 要先搞清楚汉语词汇教学的等级(即:一、二年级学生学哪些词汇:三、四年 级学哪些词汇)以及不同等级词汇的特点。其次则是通过对比分析不同等级的 汉语词汇和学生母语词汇的结构、语义、语用的差异来辨识两种语言在词汇上 的不同功用。最后再调查、分析学生母语词汇的哪些特点会对汉语词汇学习造 成干扰。通过这三个步骤的研究和分析寻找词汇断层的原因。至于如何帮助学 生缓解词汇断层的现象,我们知道这个问题的性质和寻求断层的根源不同,因 此本章后一部分将根据词汇教学的现状,参考词汇断层的原因,以寻求能帮助 学生提高词汇能力的可能有效的方法。

2. 词汇的排序

词汇的排序应该是教材编写首当其冲要解决的问题。近年来这个问题也引起了不少词汇学、应用语言学、对外汉语教学等相关领域学者的关注,更可喜的是到目前为止已经有几部关于现代汉语词频的专著,如:北京语言学院王还主编的《现代汉语频率词典》(1985),国家语委和国家教委编的《现代汉语常用字表》(1988),中国对外汉语教学学会(以下简称汉办)主编的《汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲》(以下简称"汉语词汇等级大纲")(1992),以及国家语委发布的《现代汉语常用词表》(以下简称"绿皮书")(2008)。这四个常用字表、词表代表着不同类型的字、词排序,虽然这些字、词频表在使用时各自都有不少问题,但是它们从不同的角度为对外汉语教材的编写和教学提供了第一手参考资料。北语的频率词典综合统计了四种体裁和题材的语言作品(报刊政论文体、科普书刊、剧本和日常口语、各种文学作品),包括8,000多个常用词;国家语委和教委的常用字表共收集了3,500个常用汉字(包括2,500常用字,1,000次常用字);20年后国家语委发布的绿皮书就是在语委和教委的常用字表基础上

进一步收集的平衡词表,共有 5,144 个字,56,008 个词;国家汉办的《汉语词汇等级大纲》在国内现有的字、词频率统计、分析的基础上共收集 8,822 个词(2,905 个汉字),包括 1,033 个甲级词汇(800 个字),2,018 个乙级词汇(804 个字),2,202 个丙级词汇(601 个字)和 3,569 个丁级词汇(700 个字)。这个词汇等级大纲完全是为对外汉语教学统计、整理、排序的;它跟前面提到的三个字、词频表不同的另一个特点是它有等级的分配,而不只是按照字、词频率排序的。根据《汉语词汇等级大纲》序的介绍,这个大纲的等级是按照下面 8个基本原则设定的(参阅大纲 7-10 页):

- i. 常用性原则[即:按照词频决定一个词是否具有常用性]
- ii. 均匀性原则[即:确定一个词是否常用要考虑词频和词的分布状态]
- iii. 科学性原则「即:从语义和语用的角度对词进行切分]
- iv. 规范性原则 [即: 考虑词的规范化,不收方言词汇]
- v. 实用性原则[即:如果一个词有两种用法,就把两种用法都标出来,如:在(动、介))
- vi. 联想性原则[即:从一个常用词联想到跟它有关的词,如:"春天"-"秋天"]
- vii. 包容性(节省性)原则[即:词汇形式的节省,如:竹子(竹)]
- viii. 序列性(等级性)原则[按照频率分配等级,如:刀(甲级), 刀子(乙级)]

从上面的八个原则看,等级大纲比较周全地顾及了词汇排序所涉及的各种主要因素,因此这个大纲为不同等级的教材编写和语言等级测试提供了具体的内容。但是值得注意的是这是一个词汇等级大纲,而不是词汇教学大纲,要编撰词汇教学大纲的话,除了考虑词频和等级的排序,还须考量另外两个教学的主要成分:第一,词汇语义、语用功能的排序,也就是说,当一个词有两个或两个以上的语义、语用功能(或义项)时,应该先教/学哪个功能,后教/学哪个功能。第二,跨语言干扰的问题,就是当学生学习汉语的词汇时会受到母语词汇的干扰,这时候干扰小的词汇是否应该先教,干扰大的后教。

另外,《汉语词汇等级大纲》里面的四个等级(甲、乙、丙、丁)跟国外汉

语普通班 的四个年级(或者说三个等级:初级汉语、中级汉语、高级汉语)的词汇教学内容不太一样。通过对比、统计,我们发现等级大纲里甲和乙级词汇(共 3,051 个词含 1,604 个字)基本上都出现在国外一、二、三年级的课本里(如:《中文听说读写》、《今日台湾》、《乐在沟通》、《变化中的中国》等),部分丙级词汇也出现在二、三年级的课本里,大部分丁级词汇和另一部分的丙级词汇出现在国外的四年级或高级汉语课本里面。总的来说,国外的一年级(普通班)学生学不完或学不了所有的甲级词汇,二年级也学不完或学不了所有的乙级词汇,这样以此类推,就形成了国外学生的汉语水平比国内词汇大纲等级设定低的趋势,这就是为什么国外(如:美国)学生上了三年的中文以后,达不到或通不过《汉语水平考试》的三级,甚至二级测试的原因。

对汉语的词汇等级有了比较明确的认识后,编教材的老师们就可以把不同等级的词汇拿来编写不同年级的教材。不过考虑到汉语词汇的特点,即很多词都有两个或两个以上的义项,而且很多词都有近义词或同义词²,因此需要考虑哪个义项先教,哪个义项后教的问题;如果同时把某个词所有的义项在某一课里全教/学,大概不太现实。因此如何排序多义词、近义词、同义词便是我们需要解决的问题。笔者认为词汇排序跟语法或者句法的排序一样应该有一些基本原则,而且词汇的排序原则应该和句法的排序原则一样,就是从它们的使用频率、语义功能、语用功能、跨语言干扰四个方面考虑(关于句法的排序问题可参阅邓守信 2003,2009;邢 2009)。下面是我们提出的四个词汇排序的基本原则:

规则一: 若 A 的频率高于 B, 则 A 在 B 之前

规则二: 若 A 的语义功能比 B 简单,则 A 在 B 之前

规则三: 若 A 的语用功能比 B 简单,则 A 在 B 之前

规则四: 若 A 的跨语言干扰比 B 小,则 A 在 B 之前

第一个规则可以把那些同一个等级的词汇,但是在语义、语用功能方面毫无相关的进行排序,因此使用规则一的方法很简单,只要参考国家语委的绿皮书《现代汉语常用词表》就可得知哪个词频率高,应该先教;哪个频率低,应该后教,如表一所示。要是一词多义或近义词/同义词,比如:动词 "看",形容词"老"、"小",名词"经验"、"经历"等,上面提出的四个排序规则都需要

¹ 国外的普通班一、二年级每学年(30 个星期)授课时间为 150 学时左右(一般每星期为五个小时,每天一小时),三、四年级的学生的授课时间一般比一、二年级每星期少一到两个小时。

² 本书对"近义词"和"同义词"不作进一步区分;把它们看作同类词。一般来说近义词居多,同义词比较少。

才能决定他们的前后排序。下面我们先看看如何使用规则二为近义词和多义词排序。规则二的主要问题是检测哪个近义词或同义词的语义简单,哪个复杂,下面我们参考吕叔湘先生的《现代汉语八百词》(1980)和《现代汉语词典》(1988)先列出一些词的主要义项或语义功能。

(1)(助)动词:

看:用视线接触、看望、诊治、观察/认为

会:有能力做、擅长、有可能

能:有能力做、善于做某事、有可能、许可

(2) 形容词:

老: 存在了很久/陈旧、经常、名词前缀

够:数量/标准/程度上的满足、达到某种程度/某个地方

足够: 达到应有的程度、满足

同样:相同

一样:同样、相似

(3) 名词/代词:

人: 能制造工具和进行劳动的高级动物

人们: 泛指许多人

经历: 亲身见过/做过

经验:由实践得来的知识或技能、经历

家:家庭、房子、掌握專門學術的人

(4) 副词:

还: 仍然、更加、不到预想的程度、没想到如此

又:某个动作的重复或两个动作的继续、几种情况的同时存在、转折、强调

再:某个动作的重复或继续、两个动作的次序、更加、另外

突然:情况在短促的时间内发生/出乎意外

忽然:情况在短促的时间内发生/出乎意外

从(1)-(4)里面所列的7对近义词/同义词的语义功能(或义项)看,有四对彼此的语义功能是一样的,另外三对不一样,根据上文谈到的词汇排序规则二,我们知道语义功能少的应该先教,语义功能多的应该后教,语义功能一样多的先教哪个、后教哪个没有关系。在下文表一中,规则二所给的就是那7对同义词/近义词按照他们语义功能多少排序的结果。对多义词来说,用规则二排序的方法跟近义词/同义词的稍有不同,从上面给的四个不同词性的多义词的

语义功能看,每一个至少有三个语义功能,因此需要考察的是哪个语义功能简 单,哪个复杂。要这样做,首先我们需要给"语义功能的简单/复杂"作明确的说 明。我们知道多义词的各种功能一般都是从这个词的基本义(即:本意)通过 隐语或转喻引申出来的(对语义引申有兴趣的读者可参阅有关语义演变和语法 化论文和专著), 基本义一般用来表示比较具体的、容易感知的事物或行为动作, 引申义虽然还带有基本义的某些语义特征,但是也有一些抽象成分,只是还不 像抽象义那样完全表示抽象的意思。介于这些语义之间的关系和特点,而且考 虑到教学上由简入繁、循序渐进的理念,我们把每个词的多义功能分成三种:"基 本义"(basic meaning)、"引申义"(extended meaning) 和"抽象义"(abstract meaning), 如(5)所示。(5a)中的"看"表示用眼睛看,是看的基本义;(5b)中的 "看"虽然也是用眼睛看,但是跟(5a)的"看"不一样,它不是表示要看"你的父 母"是什么样的,而是"看望"他们,促进一下看的人和被看得人的人际关系,因 此它是"看"的引申义。(5c)和(5d)中的"看"已经跟原有的表示用眼睛看的语 义有了相当的距离,一个表示"诊治"义,一个表示"观察"义。我们知道诊治疾病 涉及多项程序(如:挂号、检查、化验、付款、买药等),绝不是基本义和引申 义所能涵盖的,同样的,"观察"某种情况或问题也要涉及不同的行为动作,如: 各方面考察,思想(包括推理)等,也脱离的"看"的基本义,所以我们把看的"诊 治"义和"观察"义看成是它的抽象义。

- (5) a. 我很喜欢**看**电影、电视,但是不喜欢**看**书。
 - b. 如果星期天不下雨,我想去**看看**你的父母。
 - c. 我的头疼让王大夫给**看**好了。
 - d. 我看这个问题不好解决。

由于抽象义来源于引申义,引申义来源于基本义,我们把基本义当作最简单的语义功能,其次是引申义,最复杂的是抽象义。有了这些指导原则,我们就可以给多义词的不同语义功能排序了。这样排序的结果注明在表二的规则二下面。

现在我们再看规则三,跟规则二一样,在排序前,有必要先明确如何界定"语用功能的简单与否"。借助于认知语言学的研究,本文 把"无标"(unmarked)的语用功能,也就是常用的、没有特别限制的用法,当作简单的功能,把"有标"(marked)的,即有某种语用限制的功能,当作复杂的功能,请对比(6)里面"人"和"人们"的用法。

- (6) a. 人都喜欢听好听的。
 - b. **人们**都喜欢听好听的。
 - c. 今天我们家的**人**都来了。

- d. *今天我们家的人们都来了。
- e. 我是**人们**眼中的幸运儿。
- f. *我是人眼中的幸运儿。
- g. 如果我不能实现这个目标,**人们**就会把我当成失败者。
- h. *如果我不能实现这个目标,人就会把我当成失败者。
- i. 他们都是北京人。
- j. *他们都是北京人们。
- k. 你找**人**把自行车修修。
- 1. *你找人们把自行车修修。

从例(6)中"人"和"人们"的用法看,它们都可以用来泛指人(6a-b),主要的不同在于"人们"必须泛指"很多人",而"人"没有"很多"这个语用要求和限制,这是为什么例(6)中带星号的句子都不能接受。这里我们说"很多"这个用法是有标的功能,是复杂的功能,因此它跟"人"按照规则三排序时应该放在后面。用同样的方法分析"会"和"能"的语用功能,我们发现它们都能表示"有可能"、"有能力"和"会某种技能",但是如果要表示某种能力的效率时,只可以用"能",不可以用"会"(如:他能(*会)一口气吃十个包子。),这个区别使得"会"的语用功能比较简单,因此按照规则三排序时应该先于"能"。我们再来看如何为多义词"家"的三个语用功能排序,大家都知道"家"指"某人的住处"还是"某人的家庭"语义不同,但是在语用上没有明显的标记(如:我有一个温馨的家。),因此我们说这两种用法的语用难易度相当,但是"家"的"专家"(即:后缀)用法是有标的用法,特指有某种专长或技能的人,因此这个功能相对比较复杂。其他几对近义词/同义词和多义词就不再这里一一介绍了。按照规则三排序的结果标注在表一、表二规则三的下面。

排序规则的最后一个是用来检测同义词/近义词和多义词跨语言干扰大小的问题。我们知道早期的外语习得研究提出使用跨语言差异预测外语学习的难易度(参阅 Lado 1957),后来这种说法进一步发展出跨语言干扰学说,也就是说跨语言干扰越大越难学(参阅 Brown 1980, James 1980)。在这个基础上,只要我们能够量化跨语言干扰的大小问题,就可以使用规则四给同义词和多义词排序。在调查跨语言干扰的问题时,我们发现学生在学习汉语的词汇(A)时跟他们的母语(这里指英语)(B)接触的情况可分成下面几种:

- I. A 比 B 的用法广(如: 例(7)"笑"与"smile")
- II. A 比 B 的用法窄(如:例(8)"旧"与"old")
- III. A 跟 B 有相同的用法也有不同的用法 (如:例(9)"去"与"go")
- IV. A 跟 B 的用法完全一样(如:"电脑"与"computer")

- V. A 跟 B 没有相对应的用法(如:例(10)"咱们"、"走后门儿")
- (7) a. 他一开始笑,就止不住了。(英文: smile/laugh/giggle/chuckle)
- (8) a. 这些家具太旧了。(英文: The furniture is really **old**.)
 - b. 我们都老了。(英文: We are all old.)
 - c. 你今年多**大**? (英文: How **old** are you?)
- (9) a. 他去了中国。(英文: He went to China.)
 - b. 我们去看电影吧。(英文: Let's **go** to see a movie.)
 - c. 我给他去过两封信。(英文: I sent him two letters.)
 - d. 他把那本书拿去了。(英文: He took (away) that book.)
 - e. 黄瓜应该先去皮。(英文: Cucumbers' skin should be first **peel**ed.)
 - f. I must be going now. (中文: 我得走了。)
 - g. This car can **go** 50 miles per gallon. (中文: 这车一加仑油能**跑** 50 英里。)
 - h. My headache is **gone**. (中文: 我得头疼**好/消失**了。)
 - i. The first place **goes** to Columbia High School. (中文: 哥伦比亚高中**获得**第一名。)
 - j. We **are going to** write a report. (中文:我们**要**写一个报告。)
 - k. The meeting went well. (中文: 会议进行得很顺利。)
- (10) a. **咱们(包括听话人)** 吃意大利饭。 (英文: **We** go to eat Italian food.)
 - b. **我们(不包括听话人)**吃意大利饭。

(英文: We go to eat Italian food.)

比较上面提到的五种跨语言干扰的情况,我们可以把跨语言干扰的大小设定为下面四个等级:零级,如果 A (汉语词) 跟 B (学生母语词)的用法完全一样(如:"书"与 book)或者学生的母语中没有 A 相对应的用法(如例(10)所示),那么我们说学生学 A 时没有跨语言的干扰。第一级:如果 A 的用法比 B 的广,就是说汉语某个词的用法相当于学生母语(这里指英语)几个词的用法,如例(7)所示(汉语的"笑"可翻成英语的 smile, laugh, chuckle, giggle等),那么我们说学生的母语对汉语学习的干扰不太大。第二级:如果 A 的用法比 B 窄,就是说汉语几个词的用法相当于学生母语某个词的用法,如例(8)所示(英语的old 可翻成汉语的"老"、"旧"、"大"等),那么学生的母语对学习汉语相对的词就有一定的干扰,至少比第一级的干扰要大,因为学生容易混淆"老"和"旧"的用法。第三级:如果 A 跟 B 的用法相比,有的用法相同,有的不同,如例(9)所示,学生的母语对学习汉语相对的词造成的干扰会很大。尽管学生学习相同用法时比较容易,但是在学习其他各个不同用法的时候就很容易混淆用法与用法之间

的差异,而且同一个词有的不同用法越多,干扰就越大。我们可以把这四个跨语言干扰的等级简化为:

零级: 没有什么干扰 (零干扰),指 $A \rightarrow B$ 的用法完全一样或者完全不一样 (A=B 或 $A\neq B$)

第一级: 干扰很小 (小干扰), 指: A 的用法多于 B 的用法 (A>B)

第二级:有一定的干扰(中干扰),指A的用法没有B的多(A<B)

第三级: 干扰很大 (大干扰),指 $A \cap B$ 有一样的用法,也有不一样的用法 $(A \approx B)$

在词汇排序时,小干扰先教,其次是中干扰,大干扰后教,零干扰什么时候教都可以。由于零干扰跟测量干扰大小没有关系,因此它不是规则四考量的范围。按照刚才讨论的衡量跨语言干扰大小的方法和其教学排序的关系,为多义词、同义词/近义词排序的结果在表一、表二列为规则四。

表一: 同义词、近义词的排序

最早教	规则一	规则二	规则三	规则四	总序
人	12 前	一样	前	前	前
人们	112 后	一样	后	后	后
能	29 前	后	后	一样	后
会	35 后	前	前	一样	前
又	30 前	一样	一样	一样	前
再	80 后	一样	一样	一样	后
一样	224 前	后	一样	后	后
同样	748 后	前	一样	前	前
经验	343 前	后	前	后	前
经历	1054 后	前	后	前	后
突然	741 前	一样	前	一样	前
忽然	1977 后	一样	后	一样	后
够	1816 前	一样	前	一样	前
足够	3437 后	一样	后	一样	后
最晚教					

表二: 多义词的排序

最早教	规则一	规则二	规则三	规则四	总序	
家 1 (house)		前	前	中	前	
家 2(family)	78	中	前	后	中	
家 3 (suffix: -ist)		后	后	前	后	
老1 (old/outdated)		前	前	后	前	
老2 (always)	132	后	中	中	中	
老3 (prefix: senior)		中	后	前	中	
还1 (still)		前	前	前	前	
还 2 (even)	550^{3}	中	中	中	中	
还 3 (unexpectedly)		后	后	后	后	
看1 (see)		前	前	前	前	
看 2(visit)	. 1660	中	中	中	中	
看3 (medical care)	1000	后	中	中	后	
看4 (believe)		最后	后	后	最后	
最晚教						

表一、表二中,列在"规则一"下面的指数代表词汇的"频序号"(参考《现代汉语常用此表》);数字越小,使用频率越高,所以在表一列的7对同义/近义词里,"人"使用频率最高,应该在这几对词中最先教。由于'人'和"人们"是近义词,虽然"人"的使用频率比"人们"高,也不能只看这一点就决定"人"比"人们"先教,还要通过其他三个规则来检测,才能最后决定哪个词先教。从表一给的结果看,"人"的语用和跨语言干扰都比"人们"简单一点,因此最终的排序还是先教"人",后教"人们"。其它的规则测试的方法也一样,都用"前"(先教)、"中"(其次)、"后"(后教)表示排序的结果。但是有一点需要说明一下:当用四个规则检测两个词的排序结果为二比二时(如"经验"和"经历"),就要看这两个词的使用频率,频率高的先教(前),频率低的后教(后),也就是说规则一的比重在排序中比其他三个规则要大。

按照上面探讨的四个排序规则为对外汉语教学词汇排序的结果跟《汉语词汇等级大纲》相比主要的区别在于前者不仅参考每个词的使用频率,更重要的是包容了对外汉语教学、习得的特点,考虑到语义、语用功能的复杂度,以及跨语言干扰的问题。这里举两个比较简单的例子,我们先看"能"跟"会"如果不考虑他们的语义和语用功能,就很难知道先教哪个、后教哪个,但是如果了

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³ 国家语委发布的绿皮书《现代汉语常用词表》没有把动词"还 huán"和副词"还 hái"分开来排列,因此这里引用的"频序号"不是单指副词的用法。

解了这两个词的排序原则二和三,知道为什么先教"会"、后教"能",就能科学地提高教学质量和效率。我们再看"够"在《汉语词汇等级大纲》中列为甲级词汇,但是"足够"完全不在等级大纲的四级词汇里面,显然专家们在划分词汇等级的时候没有考虑到跨语言干扰的问题,因为我们知道当学生学"够"的时候,他们通常会知道这个词的意思相当于英文的 enough,如果老师不明确说明中文的"够"不等于英文的 enough,学生就会犯"*我有够的钱"这样的错误,所以笔者认为要教"够"就应该在适当的时候教"足够"。另外,由于《汉语词汇等级大纲》并没有把同一个等级的词进行排序,本文作词汇排序的时候参考的是国家语委发布的绿皮书《现代汉语常用词表》。但是后者也有不少问题,比如它并没有把多义词分开来计算词频度,因此,我们无法用它来为多义词的用法排序。表二在总排序时没有参考规则一的结果。

3. "识字"与"学词"

早在大约两千年前,大语法家、词汇学家许慎就清楚地告诉我们识字的过程 跟造字的过程是截然不同的。清代有名的汉学家段玉裁在《說文解字注》 (1981[1807]:764)一书中是这么解释许慎关于造字和识字的观点:

"圣人之**造字**,有义以有音,有音以有形。学者之**识字**,必审形以知音,审音以知义。"

从上面的这段话里,我们知道造字的过程是人先想要表达某个意念或意思,然后找到某个声音跟那个意思匹配,最后再找跟已有的义和声匹配的书写形式。但是识字的过程则是先看一个字的书写形式,然后根据字的形式来辨认它的发音和意思。我们把这两种不同的程序归纳为下面两个简单的公式:

造字的过程:义=〉声=〉形 识字的过程:形=〉声=〉义

也就是说在造字和识字过程中,形、声、义三者的先后顺序不同: 造字是先有"义"后有"形"; 识字是先有"形"后有"义"。这里需要思考的问题是,我们是否可以把造字的过程看作是说话、写作的过程, 把识字的过程看作是阅读的过程? 因为一个人要说话或写作总是先有某个想法或意念要表达, 然后再想想看用什么方式来表达, 而不是反过来。相较于阅读时, 总是先看写好的文字(即:形式), 然后辨别那些语言形式的意思。由于"听"只涉及"声"和"义",我们这里暂且不予讨论。如果刚才我们分析的形、声、义和说、写、读的关系

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正确的话,那么,我们是否可以说,对外汉语教学中最常使用的是识字教学,不是造字教学。 这里为了更适应于讨论教学问题,我们有必要把"造字"改称"学字",意思是说如果老师/学生是先教/学书写形式(即:形),就是识字教学;如果先教/学语义功能(即:义),就是学字教学。测验这种说法的正确与否很容易,就是先看看学生每学一课,是先学生词表、还是先听录音。如果是前者,学生就是先学形;如果是后者,就是先学义,因为义和音的关系密切(即:有义以有音),听懂了声就等于听懂了义,这一点无论是第一语言习得还是第二语言习得都是一样的;而知道意思或会写某个汉字不等于知道怎么发音,需要审形才知音。等到学生学了一年中文以后,测验一下他们的听、说、读、写的能力时,老师会发现使用识字方法的学生,他们的阅读能力比其他三种能力都强;而使用学字方法的学生,他们听、说、读、写的能力基本上是一致的。这说明识字教学主要帮助学生提高阅读能力;而学字教学可以提高听、说、读、写四种能力。

鉴于汉语初级教学的特点,即:注重听说,我们建议无论是编教材还是课堂教学,都应该使用学词的方法,而不是认字的方法。当然如果课程的主要目的是为了提高学生的阅读能力,识字法应该是自然的选择。

4. 汉语的词汇

孙德金(2006:3)指出"构词和词义研究与对外汉语词汇教学关系密切,只有充分了解汉语词的结构和语义特点,教学中才能有的放矢。"赵金铭(2006:13)也提醒我们"其实,在掌握了汉语的基本语法规则之后,还应有大量的词汇作基础,尤其应该掌握常用词的不同义项及其功能和用法,唯其如此,才能真正学会汉语,语法也才管用,这是因为词汇是语言的唯一实体,语法也只有依托词汇才得以存在。"以上这两位学者从词汇在对外汉语教学中的不同侧面道出了词汇教学的重要性。此外,赵金铭先生还进一步阐明了词汇教学和语法教学的关系:把句法看成是语言的框架,把词汇看成是替补这些框架的内容。这里也许我们可以说在对外汉语教学中,框架和内容在初级阶段应该同期并进,到了高级阶段,学生已经掌握了基本的语法规则,所以他们可以把精力集中在学习词汇的各种语义、语用和篇章功能上面。

除了词汇的功能,汉语词汇的结构特点以及它们跟学生母语的构词特点的异同也是词汇教学另外一个特别值得考量的问题。我们知道现代汉语的词汇有两大特点:第一,百分之八十以上的汉字都是形声字;第二,百分之八十以上的词都是复合词。由于汉语大部分的词都有这两种特点,因此他们自然成了词汇教学的重点。如果我们把这两个特点跟印欧语或者东亚的一些语言相比,我们发现大部分印欧语的词汇是通过词缀形成具有不同语法、语义功能的词。就拿

英语来说,百分之八十以上的词和词缀是从古拉丁、希腊和其他语言借来的外来词(loan words),只有大约百分之二十的词是从古英语沿袭下来的。即使是日语和韩语,这两种曾在历史上借代了许多汉语词汇的语言,它的词汇结构和语义特征跟汉语也有很多差异。所以我们在词汇教学的过程中,不得不考虑跨语言干扰的问题,否则就会跟其它层次(语音教学、句法教学等)的教学一样事倍功半。下面我们先简单地说明一下汉语构词的特点,然后对比分析汉语和英语的构词差异。

4.1. 汉语词汇的特点

汉语的词汇主要有三个特点:第一,复合词很多;第二,一词多义的词很多;第三,不少词有重叠的功能。比较起来第三个特点要比第一和第二个特点简单得多,所以这里我们先简单介绍一下重叠的问题。按照刘月华(2002)和 Li 和 Thompson (1981)的说法,现代汉语里面有三种词类有重叠使用的功能:动词(如:看看、说说、走走看看、认认真真、高高兴兴、),亲属名词(如:爸爸、爷爷、公公、嫂嫂)和形容词(如:红红的、快快地、好好地、小小的)。一般来说,只要把重叠词的语义、语用功能和它们与不重叠的区别给学生讲清楚了,学生还是比较容易学的。我们可以对比一下"看"和"看看"、"认真"和"认认真真"、"红红的"和"红的"、"奶奶"和"奶"在下面几句话里的区别:

- (11) a. 我明天要去**看**一个电影。(*我明天要去看看一个电影。)
 - b. 我明天要去**看看**你。
- (12) a. 你看,他们都复习得很**认真**。(*你看,他们都复习得认认真真。)
 - b. 要考试了,大家一定要**认认真真**地复习。
- (13) a. 太阳现在**红红的**。(*太阳现在红的。)
 - b. 太阳现在是红(红)的。
 - c. 那件衣服**红红的**很漂亮。(*那件衣服红的很漂亮。)
 - d. 那件**红**衣服很漂亮。 (*那件红红衣服很漂亮。)
 - e. 那件**红红的**衣服很漂亮。
- (14) a. 他的**奶奶**现在哪儿? (*他的奶现在在哪儿?)
 - b. 你**爷爷**今年多大岁数了? (*你爷今年多大岁数了?)

显然上面四组句子里面的重叠和相对不重叠词的功能很不一样:例(11)里面不能说"看看一个电影"因为行为动词的重叠主要表示那个动作的简短性,但是"看一个电影"至少要一个多小时,跟动词重叠的属性不符;例(12)表明重叠的形容词或副词不能用作补语;例(13)中的几个句子说明重叠形容词作定语要跟"的"一起用,它跟不重叠的形容词作定语最大的区别在于重叠表

生动、形象,不重叠只是简单的描述;例(14)里面的亲属名词重叠表明这种词类重叠的重要性,不重叠是一种有标记的用法或者错误的用法。这些例子告诉我们如果课本上或授课时讲不清楚重叠和不重叠的差异,学生就不会用或用不对,其结果不但不能准确表达意思,有时候甚至会导致难堪或沟通的失败,这里我们看到对比分析重叠和不重叠的区别很重要。

现在我们再看汉语的复合词。由于复合词占现代汉语词汇的多数,而且是汉语构词的一个主要特点,所以一般的语法书或词汇教学研究都会提及复合词内部的句法、语义特点(如:并列、偏正、动补等),复合词的离合性等(参阅王志洁 2005,孙金德主编 2006,刘月华 2002,崔永华 1997),因此这里就不再重复,但是,学者们讨论较少的话题是在词汇教学中,我们是否可以把语法书里面描述有关复合词的各种语言特点不加修饰地、不作选择地照搬到课本,或者课堂的讲授当中。大家对这个问题的简单回答一定是否定的,要不然我们就不需要探讨词汇教学法了。这个问题较复杂的一面是在不能照搬语法书的情况下,如何系统的、循序渐进地帮助学生学好复合词在交际中的使用。笔者认为词汇教学和语法书里面的词汇研究最大的不同,在于前者注重词汇的语义、语用功能和习得的特点,而后者研究构词的方法和各种词汇的用法。也就是说在课本和课堂上不需要讲解跟复合词的构词法有关的问题(如:哪些词是偏正结构?"你好"是一个复合词还是两个字?),教学的重点应该放在词汇的交际功能上,只要学生知道"你好"、"跳舞"、"不用"怎么用,就达到了词汇教学的目的,至于他们是不是一个复合词,是什么复合词并不重要。

一词多义是汉语词汇的另一个特点。这个特点应该是词汇教学的重点,也是词汇教学的难点。难的原因就是一个词有多重用法,所以教学的程序比较复杂;重点的原因也比较简单:因为每个词汇的语义直接影响交流的内容和结果,如能灵活使用某个词的各种语义(即:义项),表述个人的想法,交流就比较自然、流畅,容易达到交流的目的。

- (15) 甲: 你看今天的天气多好啊。(比较: 很好)
 - 乙: 是啊, 天气一好, 外面总是有那么多人。(比较: 很多)
 - 甲: 那你说这人**多**是好还是不好? (比较: 很多人)
 - 乙:我不太喜欢人**多**的地方,吵吵闹闹的**多**烦人哪,影响环境,也影响情绪。(比较:很多人的地方;也不喜欢很/太吵得地方)
 - 甲: 那你真是一个爱静的人。
 - 乙:我想是那么回事,不仅如此,如果我想**多**吃东西的话,我一定要到一个人少的餐馆去。(比较:想吃很多东西的话)

上面这段简短的对话用了"多"的三个义项: 作副词修饰形容词表"非常/

很"义:作形容词修饰名词表"数量多"义:作副词修饰动词表"动作的重复数量"义。"多"的这些义项对会用的人来说这个多义词可以使话语听上去轻松、流畅、自然、不费力气,但是对外国学生来说,一定不是那么容易的事情,大部分学生会用"很"代替"多"的用法,如例(15)括弧里列出的比较词汇,其结果这段对话就会显得生硬、单调、缺乏感情色彩,因此我们说要提高学生的词汇水平,需要加强多义词的学习,并且把这些词的用法跟近义词进行对比("多"与"很"),让学生意识到二者的区别。此外,由于学生不可能在某一个阶段掌握多义词的各项语义、语用功能(注:《词汇等级大纲》把上面讨论的"多"的三项功能都列为甲级),所以有必要对多义词的教学按照上文讨论的排序原则进行排序。

近义词和同义词虽然不是汉语的特点,但是由于它们跟多义词的表意特点正好相反(即:"同一个词有多种不同的语义"与"不同的词有类似的语义"),而且它们也都直接会影响到交流的内容和结果,所以也应该是词汇教学的一个重点。试比较下面"一样"和"同样"的用法:

- (16) a. 同样(*一样)一个人,怎么会做出两种性质完全不同的事情呢?
 - b. 我们两个人的衣服是一样(*同样)的。
 - c. 他们同样(*一样)从中国来,学的却是不同的专业。
 - d. 他们说的都一样(*同样)。
 - e. 他们都有同样/一样的问题。

例(16)中的"同样"和"一样"都可用作形容词修饰名词表"类同"义,英文翻译都可作 same 用,可是为什么在上面的五句中两句只能用"同样",两句只能用"一样"?通过分析它们的语用功能,我们发现这两个近义词有三个语用功能上的差异:第一,"同样"可以用作副词修饰动词,"一样"不可以;第二,"同样"的修饰名词主体可以是同一个,也可以是两个,但是"一样"修饰的名词主体一般是两个;第三,"同样"不可以做系词后面的表语,但是"一样"可以。这些差异,特别是第二和第三,对美国学生来说比较难学,因为英语没有跟他们相对应的近义词,上面的五个句子,除了(16c)以外,都可以用same来翻译,所以笔者认为近义词也需要排序,在教学中哪个词、哪个功能先讲/对比学习,哪个后讲/对比学习,需要有一个清楚的概念,要不然学生的偏误就会很多,影响交流或沟通的效果。

4.2. 汉语词汇与英语词汇的对比分析

不同语言的词汇有不同的特点,把汉语的构词和词汇特点跟印欧语的词汇相 比是一种情况,把汉语跟日、韩语的词汇特点相比则是另外一种情况。为了帮 助不同母语的学生提高汉语词汇学习的效率,我们有必要通过对比分析的方法,找出跨语言词汇结构和使用的差异,以及跨语言的干扰。对比分析跨语言的差异在对外汉语教学界已经得到一些学者的认同(如:孟柱亿2005,罗轻松2006,王顺洪2006),不过对跨语言的干扰以及它给学生的词汇学习带来的困扰这方面的研究为数甚少,只有最近出版的由张博等撰写的论文集《基于中介与语料库的汉语词汇专题研究》(2008)对词汇学习中跨语言干扰的问题做了一些探讨。下面我们着重讨论一下汉语和印欧语词汇的差异,以及跟跨语言干扰有关的一些问题。

汉语跟印欧语相比属于不同的语言类型:汉语是孤立(isolating)、分析型(analytical)语言,而大部分的印欧语则属于屈折型语言(inflectional language)

⁴,因此汉语的词汇特点跟印欧语不一样。上文提到汉语的词汇主要有三个特点:复合词多、多义词多、以及重叠词;印欧语的词汇有两大类:第一类,从古拉丁和古希腊语借来的外来词,无论是属于德语语系的英语、德语,还是属于日耳曼语系的法语、西班牙语都有大量这类的词;第二,很多词都是通过词缀构成的,如: anti-dis-establ-ish-ment-ar-ian-ism。这个英文词的词根是 estable,它可以带两个前缀,五个后缀,分别构成不同词类,表达不同意思。 印欧语词汇的这两个特点跟汉语词汇的特点截然不同。如果我们把这些语言类型的词汇结构差异再具体地分类,就会比较清楚地看到词汇教学的重点和难点。

比较汉语和印欧语的词汇结构、语义、语用特点,我们发现汉语中复合词的特点跟印欧语重词缀的特点相对;汉语的一词多义和印欧语的多词近义相对。请参考下面的例子。

(17) 汉语: 动补: 写错、听懂、看见、改正、学识、打开、失掉、失去、理解动宾: 开口、开饭、开幕、开头、开车、开工、开会、开刀、开心偏正: 名人、名义、名牌、名称、名声、名单、名胜、名字、明年并列: 朋友、东西、知识、好坏、对错、思念、开关、丧失、羡慕

英语: -able: terrible, capable, enable, manageable, sensible, reasonable, edible -ly: happily, quickly, slowly, worldly, easily, merrily, happily, excitedly -ize: modernize, socialize, grammaticalize, realize, revolutionize -ness: happiness, consciousness, usefulness, kindness, madness -ist: socialist, linguist, scientist, capitalist, physicist, pharmacist in-: innate, inhale, indeed, intone, increase, infect, inhabitant, inherent dis-: distance, distress, dispatch, dislocation, dismantle, dislike pre-: preliminary, precious, predecessor, prelude, premature, pretend

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¹ 现代英语也越来越具有分析语言的特点,比如它没有系统的"格"(case)和"性"(masculine, feminine, neutral)的变化形式。

对比分析(17)里面的词汇,我们看到汉语的复合词是由两个或两个以上的 词素组成新词,如:朋+友=朋友,认+识=认识,好+看=好看,可+怕=可怕,现 代+化=现代化,语言+学=语言学,实+用+主义=实用主义,等。这些例子表明 词素本身的词性是决定复合词词性的重要因素,但是不是唯一的因素,因为我 们看到动词和动词组合的时候可以构成动词,也可以构成名词;形容词和动词 组合的时候可以构成动词,也可以构成形容词。而在英语的例子里,词根或后 缀的词性决定一个词的词性,如:形容词的后缀-able,副词的后缀-lv,名词的后 缀-mess,动词的后缀-ize,这些不同的后缀跟不同的词构成新词时,后缀的词 性就是新词的词性, 如: manage-able、happy-ly、happi-ness、modern-ize 等。 虽然前缀不能决定新词的词性,但是与前缀构成新词的词根就是新词的词性, 如: in-nate 、in-hale 等。 汉英的这种构词上的差异说明英语有很严格的词性 分类,这样在组词、造句方面相对比较有规律性:动词只能作谓语,名词可以 做主语或宾语,形容词、副词作修饰语:而汉语的词性呈现比较灵活(即:两 个动词可以组成名词用,也可作动词用,同一个词可用作名词、动词、形容词、 副词、介词、连词等),因此对英美学生来说需要特别注意这种汉语词性的灵活 性。

(18) 汉语跟英语比较:

- 过: 过来、过错、过节、超过、错过、难过 come over, wrong doing, celebrate holiday, surpass, miss, sad
- 好: 很好、好久、好吃、好玩、爱好 very good, very long, tasty, fun, hobby
- 红: 红颜、红眼、脸红、红卫兵、走红、红人 young girl, jealous, flush, red guard, lucky, favorable person
- 看: 看书、看电影、看朋友、好看、看不下去、看上 read a book, watch a movie, visit friends, good looking, can't stand it, fall in love with

(19) 英语跟汉语比较:

red: magenta, scarlet, crimson, burgundy, maroon, claret, blush, ruby 洋红、深红、深红、暗红、褐红、紫红、脸红、鲜红、

什么、体红、体红、咱红、恟红、系红、应红、野红 cherry, flush, glow, garnet, cranberry, rose, vermilion etc. 鲜红、发红、红光、石榴红、玫红、淡红、朱红

good: great, super, terrific, fabulous, extraordinary, wonderful, excellent

很好、极好、极好、极好、特别好、极好、极好

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remarkable, brilliant, superb, magnificent, outstanding, splendid 非常好、极好、极好、顶呱呱的、特别好、极好

smile: laugh, chuckle, giggle, hoot, snigger, titter, gurgle, snicker

笑、暗笑、痴笑、嘲笑、窃笑、傻笑、咯咯地笑、嬉皮笑脸 地笑

chortle, grin, beam, smirk, guffaw, snort, sneer,

哈哈大笑、齿牙咧嘴地笑、大笑、假笑、哄笑/大笑、高声大 笑、冷笑

see: watch, view, look, observe, stare, gaze, scrutinize, glance 看着、看法、看、查看、盯着看、瞪着看、细看、匆匆一看

gawk, gape, inspect, glimpse, peek, peep

发呆地看着、目瞪口呆地看着、查看、瞥见、偷看、偷看

对比分析(18)里面的汉英词汇,我们发现另一个差异:汉语的一个单音节词或复合词的各个词素除了它的本意外,常有多个引申义或义项,如:"过"的本意表示时间、空间的"经过"或"通过"义(即英语的 pass),也可以表示从时空的"经过"义引申出的"超过"(即英语的 surpass, exceed, outdo,等)、"错过"(即英语的 miss)、"过于"(英语 over)等义。"过"的这些引伸义或义项跟另一个词素经过词汇化,便构成不同的新词;汉语很多复合词都是动词和另一个词素词汇化的结果(参阅董秀芳 2005),也有很多复合词是由形容词跟另一个词素词汇化的结果,如:"红"的本意是"红色",它的引申义也有好几个:"少女"、"嫉妒"、"革命"、"走运"等(参看邢 2008),所以汉语有"红颜"、"红眼"、"红卫兵"、"红人"这些词。这种使用某个词素的不同义项构成新词的现象是汉语的构词的特点,我们也许可以说一个词素的义项越多,它的构词能力就越强。英语的构词特点则不同。

如果对比(19)里面的英汉词汇,很明显英语的词素(如: red, good, see)没有汉语相对应的词素(即: 红、好、看)有那么多引申义或义项,因此英语的词素不能像汉语的词素一样构成很多复合词,但是英语的每个词素都有大量的同义词或近义词。从(19)列出的词汇看,英语的那些近义词/同义词翻成汉语时都可以用同一个词素外加某个修饰词。也就是说,magenta 洋红, scarlet 鲜红, crimson 深红, burgundy 暗红, maroon 褐红, claret 紫红, ruby 宝石红, cherry 樱桃红, garnet 石榴红, cranberry 酸果红, rose 玫瑰红/淡红, vermilion 朱红,等都可表示"红色"义,它们的区别莫过于"红"的程度,但是英汉的词汇在表现这些程

度的形式不同: 英语用不同的词汇表示⁵,汉语用同样的词根外加不同的修饰语表示程度。我们看到,形容词是这样,动词也是这样。英语的 laugh (笑)有很多近义词或同义词: smile, chuckle, giggle, hoot, snigger, titter, gurgle, snicker, chortle, grin, beam, smirk, guffaw, snort, sneer, 等。这些不同的词都用来表示某种形式的"笑",相比较,汉语都可以用"笑"外加一个修饰词表示类型上的不同就可以了(如:微笑、轻声地笑、痴笑、嘲笑、窃笑、傻笑、咯咯地笑、哈哈大笑、露着牙齿笑、假笑、哄笑、狂笑、冷笑等)。这就是为什么英语的词汇量(参考:Oxford English Dictionary 《牛津英语大字典》第一版共收入 252,500 个字头)比汉语的词汇量(参考:《汉语大字典》共收 56,000 个字头)大将近 4 倍的主要原因。

汉英词汇使用的第三个不同是现代汉语词汇受韵律的限制,英文却没有。请看下面例句:

- (20) a. 你得租一辆**很大的车**才行。(*很大车)
 - b. 这个**大学**举世闻名。(*大学校)
 - c. 他非常**热爱**自己的工作(*爱自己的工作)
 - d. 没有办法向政府**求助**。(*求帮助)
 - e. 别**开他的玩笑**。(*开玩笑她)

例(20)中的错误用法都是不能满足现代汉语韵律规则导致的。如果我们看这几对词("很大的车"与"*很大车"、"大学"与"*大学校"、"热爱"与"爱"和"求助"与"*求帮助")的语义,每对之间没有任何差别,但是现代汉语就是不那么用,问题在于现代汉语的韵律规则(对汉语的韵律学感兴趣的读者可参阅冯胜利2005),比如:双音化(即20b-d)、动补结构的可分性(即20e)、定名结构的韵律规则(即20a)等。要是不按照这些规则组词、造句,说出来的话、写出来的文章听上去就是"怪怪的"。这种现象在把汉语当作外语的初、中级学生中尤其普遍,因为他们没有汉语母语者的语感,如果老师不在课堂上操练韵律的规则,他们自然会犯例(20)演示的错误。因此,在词汇教学中适当地给学生讲授韵律规则是完全有必要的。对于高年级的学生来说,由于他们对汉语的词性有了一定的认识,老师也可以根据词性的特点说明例(20)中的语病和语用,比如:"大车"与"很大的车"相比,前一个形容词"大"表示状态,后一个"很大的"表示性质(对形容词的特点和用法感兴趣的读者可参阅张国宪 2006)。

上文谈到的这些汉英构词、词汇语意表达上的差异对母语是印欧语的学生来

⁵ 其实英语的颜色词里也有一些借用实体名词的颜色表示色彩的语义,如:用 ruby "宝石"表示"宝石红",用 cherry"樱桃"表示"樱桃红",用 rose"玫瑰"表示"玫瑰红"或"淡红"等等。

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说意味着什么呢?笔者认为不同的差异在教学中应该采取不同的处理方法。汉语的复合词和英语的词缀应该对比着教,汉语的一词多义应该和英语的多词一义对比着教。这样,英美学生就会对汉语词汇的构词特点和规律有一个系统的认识,在学习中慢慢地摸索出自己比较有效的学习方法。拿"看"这个词来说,一年级学生学了它的本意"用眼睛看"后,再碰到跟"看"组成的词或词组,如"看朋友"、"好看"、"看法"、"看来"等,应该在老师的帮助下不仅能懂"看朋友"和"好看"这类词里面"看"的比较简单的引申义,而且学会"看法"和"看来"里面"看"的更进一步的抽象义。这样的练习做多了,学生就会掌握复合词的特点和用法。

除了汉英构词上的差异导致学习者的困难以外,另一个词汇教学的难点源于 汉英两种语言的同义词,和汉语自有的同义词。前一种属于跨语言干扰的范畴, 后一种属于语言内部的干扰,如例(21)-(22)所示。

(21) a."同意"与"agree"

我同意你的观点。(*I agree your point of view.) I agree with you. (*我跟你同意。)

b. "做"与"do"

What is he doing? (他在做什么?) 他在做饭。(*He is doing food.)

c. "还是"与"or"

你喜欢中国菜还是美国菜? (Do you like Chinese food or American food?)

I can go to your house or you come to my house. (*我去你家还是你来我家。)

d. "够"与"enough"

我的钱够了。(My money is enough.) I have enough money. (*我有够的钱。)

(22) a. "特别"与"尤其" (cf. special/especially)

父亲特别喜欢那幅画。(父亲尤其喜欢那幅画。) 这种吃法很特别。(*这种吃法很尤其。)

b. "一定"与"肯定" (cf. definitely)

星期五的晚会我一定来。(星期五的晚会我肯定来。) 他说得很肯定。(*他说得很一定。)

c. "觉得"与"想" (cf. think/feel)

我觉得你说的是对的。(我想你说的是对的。) 我觉得很不舒服。(*我想很不舒服。) 我想去看电影。(*我觉得去看电影。) d. "经历"与"经验" (cf. experience) 他的经历可以写一本小说。(他的经验可以写一本小说。) 那个人经历了很多事儿。(*那个人经验了很多事儿。) 我对教学没有什么经验。(*我对教学没有什么经历。)

我们先看(21)里面的汉英词汇对比,汉语的"同意"跟英语的 agree 语义基本上完全相同,可以说他们是同义词,但是它们的表现形式不同: "同意"可以直接跟一个表示"观点/看法"的宾语,而英语则不行,agree 是一个不及物动词需要跟一个介词连用才能带一个有生命力,可以表达意见的人物名词/代词作宾语。对母语为英语的学生来说当他们看到"同意"的语义为 agree 的时候,再加上没有老师或教材解释的情况下,很容易犯"*我跟你同意"这样中英混用(Chinglish)的错误。这类的错误应该说主要是教材或教师没有说清楚跨语言的差异导致的跨语言干扰,因为学生实际上对汉语句子里的词汇排序已经有了一定的认识,他们没有说"*我同意跟你",而是按照汉语的语序把修饰动词的词组放到了动词的前面。 如果对比(21b)-(21c) 里面汉英近义词,两种语言之间的差异和干扰又跟(21a)不太一样。"做"和"do"、"还是"和"or"、"够"和"enough"除了分别有某个义项相同以外,还有不同的地方:"做"可表"制作"义,"do"不可以;"还是"没有"或者"义,"or"有;"够"不能单独做表语或定语,需要跟另一个词素一起用才行,但是"enough"没有这种韵律上的限制。这些跨语言的差异(即:用法和搭配上的不同)在词汇教学中无疑是教学的重点和难点。

(22) 里面的演示的都是汉语的近义词,对母语为英语或其他语言的学生来说,这类的近义词在学习的时候需要借助于母语的翻译,但是这类词翻译成学生的母语时很难找到两个对应的近义词,因此如果我们看汉语课本里面的词汇表里这类近义词一般都用同样的英文标注(如:"经历"和"经验"都标为"experience","一定"和"肯定"都标为"definitely","觉得"和"想"都标为"think/feel","特别"和"尤其"都标为"especially")。在这种情况下,如果课本或老师不讲清楚这些同义词的区别,学生自然会受母语的影响,在用这类词的时候出现(22a)至(22d)里面的词汇偏误。

从上面对比、分析汉英在词汇方面的差异和习得的偏误,我们知道对英美学生来说汉语词汇教学的重点和难点在于汉英构词的差异和两种语言之间以及汉语自身的近义词受学生母语的影响造成学习的困难。汉英构词差异的主要表现形式为汉语的新词主要通过把两个词素放在一起形成新的复合词,而英语则通过前缀或后缀构成新词或从其它语言借用。从语义功能上看,汉语有很多一词多义的词,而英语有很多词可以表示同样或类似的意思。这些语言类型的构词及词汇语义在表现形式上的差异应该是词汇教学最重要的内容。其次是近义词的辨析。无论是跨语言的近义词,还是汉语的近义词,教学中不但需要讲清楚他们在什么情况下可用,更重要的是要讲清楚什么情况下跟学生母语不一样,

所以不可以用。

5. 等级词汇教学

上文谈到不同等级的词汇和词汇量都有不同的要求,那么每个等级的词汇教 学是否也应该有不同的重点? 如何衡量每个等级的词汇教学的好与坏?我们 是否可以说如果学生记住了每个等级所设定的词汇,就意味着词汇教学的成 功?问题可能没有那么简单,凡有些教学经验的教师都知道词汇教学的好与坏, 关键在于学生是否会用学过的词汇。纵观《汉语词汇等级大纲》里面不同等级 的词汇,我们发现1033个甲级词汇是由800个汉字组成的,也就是说,这个等 级的词汇多数都是单音节词,但是随着等级的提高,已学过的、可以构成新词 的词素也逐渐增加。我们看到乙级的2018个词由804个新汉字构成,丁级3569 个词只含 700 个新汉字。这说明甲级阶段学生要学的基本词素最多,到了高级 (丙级) 虽然学生要学的词汇量比初级多几倍, 但是要学的新词素并没有初级 阶段多。此外,不同等级词汇的另一个特点是初级阶段的大部分词汇(包括甲、 乙级)都是交流时非用不可的一些基本词汇,而高级阶段的词汇(即:丙、丁 级)则不然,有很多词汇在交谈时可以用基本词汇代替,形成词汇断层的现象。 鉴于等级词汇的这些特点,初级阶段的老师如何帮助学生有效地学习大量的基 本词汇,高级阶段的老师如何帮助学生学习、辨析近义词、同义词和高层次的 词汇是这一节主要探讨的内容。

5.1. 初、中级阶段的词汇教学

从上文提到的不同类型的词汇大纲的排序看,我们发现初、中级阶段的词汇,特别是初级阶段的词汇,都是日常生活中出现频率高的"纪实"或"实体"词汇,也就是说大部分这类的词所表达的意思都具有两种特点:第一,具体、清楚,还可能看得见,摸得着,比如:在、一、不、这、上、他、人、要、到、历史、政府、国际、科学、等等;第二,这类词跟学生的母语比大部分都能找到基本上对应(虽然不一定是完全对应)的词汇,也就是说在习得中跨语言的干扰相对比较小。这两个初、中级词汇的特点实际上已经表明这个阶段的教学重点应该放在汉字和如何扩大学生的词汇量上。以往的研究和教学实践似乎也证实了这一点(参阅 Xing 2006、张博 2008等)。我们知道由于汉语的书写形式跟印欧语有本质上的区别(即:汉语是象形文字;印欧语是罗马字母),在初级阶段,大部分的汉语课都花较多的时间教学生认字、写字上。具体的说,学生要学习汉字的笔画和笔顺,常用的偏旁部首,汉字的基本结构(主要是形声字),以及简单的构词法,如用"好"可以跟另一个动词构成新词:好看、好吃、好用、好听等。这样学了一年以后(这里指美国的情况),学生可以学到大约400个汉字、600个词,而且从习得中基本掌握汉字的构词原理。

到了中级阶段,学生的词汇学习重点就会从汉字转到词汇。组词的方法自然也成了词汇学习的重要组成部分。在第 4 节讨论汉语词汇的特点时,我们谈到最主要的有三个:双音(复合词)、重叠、(一词)多义。 这三个特点在中级阶段都是学生学习的重点,但是等学生学完中级汉语后,他们对这三个特点的掌握会在程度上有差别。一般来说,学生对复合词和重叠词的掌握会比对多义词的好,因为无论是重叠词/复合词的结构原理,还是他们的语用功能都比较简单、直接,而且跨语言的干扰小,所以比较容易学习、掌握。相比之下,多义词的语义、语用功能比较复杂,跨语言的干扰也大,因此需要更长的时间学习和练习才能掌握。这样一来,衡量中级汉语词汇教学成功与否的标准只能放在考量学生是否掌握了复合词和重叠词的组词方法和它们的基本语义/语用功能。另外由于多义词和复合词有可能指的是同一个词(如:就是),因此我们说中级阶段学生要掌握的是复合/多义词的基本语义和语用功能,而不是复合/多义词的各种语义、语用功能。

5.2. 高级阶段的词汇教学

本文一开始提到学生词汇学习的"断层"情况,指的是到了高年级,学生的词汇量没有一个质的变化,他们的词汇能力仍然停留在中级水平,即:只会使用复合/多义词的基本功能,而高级阶段的词汇水平一般显示在学生是否有使用复合/多义词的各种功能的能力,以及是否有灵活使用具有不同典雅度的近义词/同义词的能力。第一种能力跟中级阶段的词汇能力有密切的联系,更准确地说是建立在中级词汇能力的基础上。如果中级阶段有比较扎实的基础,那么到了高级阶段,使用复合/多义词的能力就比较容易进一步提高;反之,在高级阶段就需要倍加努力才能达到高级阶段的词汇水平。高级阶段的第二种能力,即:同义词/近义词的典雅度,我们发现要提高这种能力,不仅需要有一个扎实的中级阶段的词汇基础,更重要的是要排除很多跨语言词汇的差异和干扰,因此比较难掌握。这可能就是为什么在高级阶段出现词汇"断层"的主要原因。鉴于这种情况,如何帮助学生从词汇断层的现象中解脱出来是当今美国汉语词汇教学的难点,也是首当其冲的任务之一。下面笔者想通过跟白建华和宋如瑜两位老师编写《乐在沟通》(2008[1996])这本中、高级汉语教材的体会和使用实践为高级阶段的词汇学习提几点建议供大家参考。

熟悉高级教材编写或《乐在沟通》这本教材的老师都知道,高级教材的特点就是每一课的词汇量大。《乐在沟通》共 15 课,每一课的生词介于 35 到 89 个中间不等。除了这些课文的生词,每一课还有 10 到 50 个补充词汇。这样平均下来每一课至少有 50 多个,至多达 100 多个生词。有的读者看到这里,可能会觉得这样的教材不太合理,学生怎么可能从每一课学会那么多生祠,但是如果考虑一下高级阶段词汇能力的标准,就会知道这样的词汇安排在高级阶段不但合理,而且很有必要,否则学生的词汇能力不可能达到高级水平。我们首先看

一下为什么高级阶段的词汇量大是合理的。上文谈到在《汉语词汇等级大纲》中列的甲级词汇中,生词和生字的比率是 10 比 8 (1033: 800) (就是每增加 10 个生词得学会 8 个生字); 乙级词汇中生词和生字的比率是 10 比 4 (2018: 804) (即每增加 10 个生词要掌握四个生字); 丙级词汇中生词和生字的比率就更大: 10 比 2 (3569: 700) (即每增加 10 个词只需要新学两个生字)。 按照这样的比率,如果我们把《乐在沟通》当作中级教材的话,那么对于一个有 70 个生词的课文来说,它只有 28 个生字; 如果当作高级教材的话,它只有 14 个生字。对高级阶段的学生来说,14 个生字应该是可以掌握的,因此我们说词汇量大是合理的。

此外,我们发现高级阶段词汇量大不仅是外语习得理论中特别强调的理念, 即:增加输入,也完全符合汉语词汇特点和习得的特点,即:很多一词多义、 近义词/同义词, 以及这类词受跨语言干扰大的问题。关于输入法的教学理论, 有兴趣的读者可参阅这个理论的创始人 Krashen 的很多论述(1985, 1987, 1988, 为了说明这一点,我们再看一下《乐在沟通》其中一课的词汇选择和 输入练习。第七课的题目是"音乐欣赏",这一课一共有62个生词,大多数是用 来描述音乐的类型和欣赏音乐的心理活动和感受。如果再仔细分析一下这两类 词,我们发现描述音乐类型的词基本上都属于"实体"词,比如:摇滚乐、爵士 乐、弦乐、四重奏、圆舞曲、小夜曲、交响曲等,比较具体、跨语言干扰小, 因此对学生来说比较容易学;但是描述心理活动和受音乐感染后的感受则属于 "抽象"类的词汇,如:造诣、寄托、浪漫、毫无生气、内心烦恼、解除疲倦、 乡土气息、风格、天堂般、宁静、烦躁不安、失去活力等。这类抽象词汇由于 所表达的意念看不见, 摸不着, 学生学习的时候免不了要在自己母语里面寻找 相对应的词汇,以确定它们的准确意思,但是在一般情况下又很难找到完全对 应的词,如:在学习"造诣"这个词的时候,书上标的英文翻译是 accomplishment, 可是用的时候,我们只能说"某个人的艺术造诣很深",不能说"*他做生意的造 诣很大"(注意搭配的问题),可是英文可以说 His accomplishment in business is huge。显然在这样的学习过程中学习的效果会受到母语的干扰,造成学生使用 词汇时的困惑。此外,在同一课里面,我们还看到有不少的近义词,比如:"消 除"与"解除","烦恼"与"烦躁","感觉"与"感受","心境/心态"与"心情"等,要 是跟前几课出现过的词汇比,同义词/近义词就更多了。这些同义词有他们相近 似的语义/语用功能,也有不同的地方,如例(23)-(26)所示。

- (23) a. 音乐既能**消除**我身体的疲倦,又能**解除**我内心的烦恼。
 - b. 由于他犯的错误,公司不得不**解除**他的职务。(*消除他的职务)
 - c. 政府下决心要**消除**这种病毒的传播。(*解除病毒)
- (24) a. 这件事让他很**烦恼/烦躁**。
 - b. 有的音乐让人心境平和,有的却让人**烦躁**不安。(*烦恼不安)

- c. 这几天他有很多**烦恼**的事儿。(*很多烦躁的事儿)
- (25) a. 古典音乐给人一种高雅、浪漫的感觉/感受。
 - b. 太阳一下山就**感觉**有点冷了。(*感受有点冷了)
 - c. 听了他的生平经历让我**感受**很深。(*感觉很深)
- (26) a. 我认为保持平和的心态/心情/心境很重要。
 - b. 他现在的**心情**很舒畅。(*心境/*心态很舒畅)
 - c. 一般人很难修炼出那样的**心境/心态**。(*心情)

学生在学习这些同义词/近义词的时候很重要的一个任务就是辨别它们微妙的差异,如:语义的不同和词汇的搭配,搞不清楚这一点,就不具有使用高级词汇(即:丙级),甚至是中级词汇(即:乙级)的能力。另外,这些近义词/同义词也属于表达抽象概念的词,所以会受到跨语言的干扰。比如:(23)中的"解除"和"消除"都可以翻译成英文的 rid of 或 free from,可是这两种英文翻译并不能帮助学生区别汉语两个近义词的差异,反而会导致病句的产生,这就是第四节中谈到的母语"大干扰"的情况。要减少这种干扰(注:我们不可能完全解除这种干扰),只有通过增加输入(如:增加阅读量和词汇练习)才会有效果。因此我们说高级阶段的词汇学习需要强调有一定的词汇量,也要强调有一定的输入量。

除了词汇量和输入量,高级阶段词汇教学的第三个重点是典雅度。这里所说的词汇典雅度指的是书面语(formal usage)使用的频率。书面语使用的频率越高,典雅度也越高。书面语跟口语(informal/oral usage)相对应(对书面语有兴趣的读者请参阅冯/胡 2005)。我们再回到《乐在沟通》看一下第九课的几个生词:为情所困、岂不是、彷佛、炽热、利害、凡人。这几个词的词性不同,但是都是书面语。如果学生到了高级阶段,还只会使用与这些词相对应的口语词汇(即:有了爱情方面的麻烦、难道、好像、特别热、好处和坏处、普通人),那么他们的词汇水平也就只能停留在初、中级阶段,也就是上文描述的词汇"断层"现象。因此我们建议在高级阶段要增加书面语,通过对比分析(即:书面语和口语的对比)的方式,提高学生词汇使用的典雅度。

6. 结论

著名翻译家严复先生提出翻译的最高标准在于信、达、雅俱全。虽然这三个标准的对象是翻译,"信"指忠实原文,"达"指流利通畅,"雅"指文雅,但是我们也许可以把它们借鉴到对外汉语词汇教学中,稍微加以说明,就会比较贴切地描述汉语词汇等级教学的特点。在对外汉语词汇教学中,我们把"信"理解为词汇的原意或本意;把"达"理解为通俗流利的口语;而"雅"跟翻译中的理解一样指文雅。这样一来,我们可以说在初、中级的词汇教学中,要强调"信"和"达",到

了高级阶段需要增加"雅"的成分。要是一位高年级学生的词汇能力可以达到这三个标准,那么他/她就是一个词汇学习成功的例子。

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1. Overview and Description

Research among Learners of Chinese as a Foreign Language is the fourth volume of the monograph series sponsored by the Chinese Language Teachers Association (CLTA). It is the first book of this series that devotes its main attention to the learners of Chinese language, namely the cognitive state of the learners when they engage in the learning and processing of the Chinese language. It signals the emerging consensus of the field that sound curriculum design and pedagogy need to take into account the mind of the learners, and marks a ground-breaking collaborative effort to explore the mind of the learners.

The eight research reports in this volume cover multiple areas along several dimensions of the learning and processing of Chinese by foreign language learners (hereinafter CFL learners). In terms of language skills, there are listening, speaking, reading and writing. In terms of linguistic domains being processed, there are discourse, grammar (specifically the ba construction), lexicon (specifically the organization of mental lexicon), and character (specifically radical knowledge). While six of the eight articles are written in English, two of them are in Chinese (Lü and Liu). Therefore, the ability to read academic articles in Chinese is necessary for readers to take full advantage of the whole collection.

All of the studies sampled adult CFL learners, mostly college students. Among the eight studies, four were on native English-speaking college students in the United States. One was on native-Japanese speaking college students in Japan (Liu). One was on college students with diverse L1 backgrounds learning Chinese in China (Lü). And two on native-English speaking adults, including one in Australia (Tasker) and the other in the United States (at the Defense Language Institute) (Du).

Most of the studies examined the acquisition process. Such an approach is much more fruitful than one that takes a snap shot of the learning process. A cross-sectional design was used to examine changes (studying different proficiency groups at the same time) in the learning of ba construction (Du), the changing organization of mental lexicon (Lu), and the use of discourse strategies (Chang). A longitudinal design (tracking the same learners over time) was employed to investigate the learning of radicals (Shen), and the discourse features exhibited in student writing over the course of one to two years (Xiao).

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2. Questions Addressed

One important way to appreciate the contribution any study makes to a field is to see what questions are addressed by the study and how well these questions are answered. This collection of studies tackled a wide array of questions about the learning process that are central to our understanding of the learners.

Hearing and processing speech in the target language is essential to the proficiency growth in that language. We can objectively measure all the linguistic features that characterize a chunk of speech, such as the details of the content, the frequency of occurrence of different words, different types of words, certain grammatical structures, or words in certain tonal combinations. However, not all words or sentences have the same impact on a listener's mind. The speech input that is filtered through the mind affects learning. So, when college CFL learners listen to a speech paragraph in Chinese, what gets filtered through and what does not? Can the patterns be explained by cognitive theories such as working memory capacity, interactions of memory and linguistic structures, or interactions of features of the base language and the target language? How can such knowledge of the learner's mind inform our curriculum design? Liu addressed these important questions in a study of CFL learners in a Japanese university.

Cognitive psychologists have long informed us that the nature of human mind is to put things in order and do it in an increasingly efficient manner as the mind matures. We organize all the concepts we know and the available words related to them, and the better we know a language the more efficient the organization is supposed to be. Researchers have studied how a child's mind becomes more efficient in organizing the concepts and words in the child's first language (L1). Researchers have also studied how such a process unfolds among second language (L2) learners of English. Lü gave us a comprehensive review of this vast literature and naturally led us to wonder about the CFL learners. How does their mind organize the increasingly larger set of Chinese words acquired? Does the process bear similarities with and differences from the developmental process of child L1 learners or English L2 learners? How would word-level variables such as part of speech or word familiarity degree associate with the organization of mental lexicon? What are the implications for vocabulary teaching? Lü addressed these questions by studying two groups of CFL learners in China who were at different proficiency levels.

Given that the ba construction is unique grammatical feature of Chinese language and it has drawn a tremendous amount of theoretical attention, it is important to know the following. How do Chinese language learners use ba in their spontaneous speech production and perception? Is there a difference between how well they can identify the correct use of the structure by other people and how well they can themselves use the structure? How do the abilities and this possible perception and production gap vary with increasing amount of exposure to formal language classes?

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What would then be the implications for teaching? Readers can find the answers from Du who studied three groups of adult Chinese learners at different proficiency levels at the US Defense Language Institute.

An important goal of CFL teaching is to create efficient readers of Chinese language. Reading in Chinese unavoidably starts from reading Chinese characters. As reviewed by Shen, radicals enjoy a special status in character recognition because they, rather than strokes, constitute the basic functional orthographic units. The more familiar readers are with a radical in a character, the faster readers will recognize that character. This knowledge highlights the importance of teaching radicals to CFL learners. Do the learners realize the importance of learning radicals? Which aspects of radicals (i.e., sound, shape and meaning) are perceived to be harder to learn by the learners? Are their perceptions of the challenges consistent with their actual performance? To which degree do they think that the teaching strategies of radicals used by their instructors effective? Readers can find answers to these essential questions in Shen's report of a study on end-of-first-year college CFL learners' perceived difficulties in learning radicals, their approved teaching strategies, as well as their actual performance on a set of radicals.

As Chang succinctly reviewed for us, decades of research has probed into the reading mind and has uncovered a wide array of relatively more or less efficient reading strategies (cognitive activities) and the readers' different degrees of awareness of their use of these strategies (metacognitive activities). Then, given the population of our interest, we need to understand better the following questions. Do college CFL learners employ as diverse a set of reading strategies as found in L1 reading or reading in a foreign language other than Chinese? Do more efficient readers of Chinese use more efficient reading strategies and are more aware of their use of these strategies? Are the patterns of more or less efficient reading strategies consistent with those found in studies of reading in L1 or other foreign languages? What are the implications of teaching Chinese reading among college students? Chang addressed these questions through a study of reading strategy use and awareness during discourse reading among college students who had finished their 1st-, 2nd-, or 3rd-year courses in Chinese. A window to the reading mind of the CLF learners is now open to us.

Another important goal of college CFL teaching is to create writers who can communicate clearly in Chinese. Consistent with the learner focus in this volume, Xiao conducted detailed and systematic analyses of written samples in Chinese produced by college CFL students (both non-heritage and heritage learners) at two time points. What are the discourse features prominent in these writing samples? How do they change as students accumulate more formal classroom learning experiences? Given that heritage learners of Chinese start with a stronger oral language foundation, is that reflected in their writing so that their writing is closer to that of proficient native speakers and progress at a faster rate than the non-heritage learners? How do the

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written texts in textbooks influence this process and how should we accordingly adjust our expectations of textbooks? Readers can find intriguing answers to these questions derived from the written sample analyses.

Learners are human beings who deal with the reality of life that constantly impact on their Chinese learning, the seemingly relatively circumscribed part of their life. Students leaving for the long summer break and come back in the fall is part of such reality. Would they forget what they have worked hard to learn during the previous year? Would some areas of their knowledge and some kind of processing abilities be more susceptible to attrition than others? Would they have accurate subjective assessment of their loss? Would a subjective judgment of language loss affect their self-confidence? These are all questions with important pedagogical and theoretical implications. Tseng utilized a longitudinal design to assess the change of Chinese language proficiency in grammar, listening and reading with an objective measure (i.e. the Chinese Proficiency Test) and also with self-report before and after a summer break among college non-heritage CFL learners.

Another reality CFL learners often confront is that they cannot always present themselves to the classrooms to learn in person. Many of them resort to distance learning. How do they choose to do so? How do they move along this process and what different trajectories do they take? What perceptions and beliefs about Chinese language learning do they develop through this experience? For those who are experienced distance learners, what lessons have they learned and are illuminating to other distance learners? Tasker addressed these questions with a study of distance CFL learners in Australia who all had at least two years of experience in learning Chinese. The study somewhat stands out in this volume in two unique ways. First, distance language learning research is an established field but has seen limited scope of exploration in the field of CFL. This situation needs to be changed to adapt to the increasingly easier access to CFL distance learning resources and higher demands of distance CFL. Second, in terms of understanding the learners' social and psychological states associated with learning Chinese, this study delves into the greatest depth.

3. Research Methods Used in the Studies

The methods used in these studies were rather diverse and demonstrate the researchers' consistent efforts to select the most appropriate and best controlled ones to address their research questions. Authors often offer clear rationales about their method selections, information highly valuable to readers who are planning research in this area, or readers who want to be critical consumers of the relevant research findings.

In the study of ba construction (Du), to assess the participants' proficiency, the researcher jointly used a grammaticality-judgment task and a production (retelling scenes from video clips) to tap into both productive knowledge and receptive knowledge.

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ledge in this construction. She indeed found a discrepancy between productive and receptive knowledge. More specifically, learners were much better at judging the grammaticality of sentences with ba than actually producing them. This finding yields a more comprehensive picture of the learner proficiency profile than if we only know one layer of the story. Paying attention to the same dimension, Tseng also measured concurrently productive and receptive proficiency in her attrition study. The discrepancy between productive and receptive proficiency was also reflected in attrition, with the productive skills (speaking & writing) suffering more attrition than receptive skills (listening & reading).

Several studies combined both quantitative and qualitative findings to offer in-depth interpretations of the results. In Ba Construction study (Du), in addition to presenting the accuracy rates in the ba construction production, the researcher also provided examples of the actual sentences produced by participants to show that even though some of them sometimes would produce the ungrammatical ba construction (e.g., ba + bare verb such as "把信撕"), but the long pause after "撕", or the repetition of "撕", or the overt expression of a feeling that something was missing all indicated that the speaker knew something should follow "撕", but had difficulty retrieving the perfective aspect marker le. Such qualitative information is highly valuable because without it, we would only know that the speaker could not produce the correct structure, which was the output of the language processor. As to what the language processor was doing while working on that sentence, we would know nothing. This way, we know the speaker had already got a sense of the syntactic context of ba, but did not possess the ability to produce it. Such seemingly nuances in language processing have to be captured in order to move forward in our understanding of the acquisition process.

Several studies coupled objective assessments with self-reports. In the Attrition study (Tseng), this method yielded data indicating that students overestimated their loss over the summer because the objective assessment measures showed little attrition. However, Shen found consistency between perceived difficult areas and their actual performance. In a similar vein, direct quotes of participants revealed the challenges that the learners perceived and experienced, the effective teaching methods in radical learning and teaching (Shen), as well as the types of modifications that speakers made when recalling a short narrative just heard (Liu). Xiao analyzed the discourse features of heritage language speakers and non-heritage language speakers over the course of one academic year. Features such as simple or composite sentences, topic chains, conjunctions and references were counted to provide quantitative data. Very appealing to the readers is the fully presented raw writing materials with the scoring notations marked at all the relevant places to add a qualitative flavor to the analysis.

Other types of methodological sophistication are evident in most of the studies in the volume. In the Lexicon study (Lü), the stimuli (words) selected were uniformly 104 Gisela Jia

disyllabic, and the word types extended from the traditionally used adjectives to other types such as nouns and verbs. A pilot study was conducted to decide word familiarity level, one of the word-level variables hypothesized to matter. In the Ba Construction study (Du), when participants were asked to describe the actions they just watched, key words were provided so that participants could focus on the same actions. English translations of these key words were also provided so that what was supposed to be measured (grammar) was not hindered by vocabulary limitations. Aware of the importance of showing evidence of interrater reliability, Shen and Chang both provided details of the procedures of arriving at a sound reliability index.

4. Major Research Results and Their Pedagogical Implications

Pedagogical implications derived from these studies are many, diverse, and highly practical. The report of the Radicals study (Shen) is outstanding in providing suggestions for teachers. Directly based on its qualitative analysis, the author recommended the specific methods of teaching radicals (e.g., aural, oral, and visual repetitions) and the specific methods of review and explanation of the etymology of the radicals (its origin and development). From the curriculum design perspective, the author made a convincing point as to why a good mastery of pinyin and strokes should proceed the teaching of radicals.

Results of the Lexicon study (Lü) also have much to offer to teachers. The task of word association can be a strategy to improve students' depth of knowledge in words because it guides the learners to pay attention to the syntactic context of the words. As the intermediate level students show a great amount of confusion with homophones or highly similar sounds, teachers need to make explicit distinctions of these sounds. Verbs and adverbs are harder to be retrieved therefore may need more emphasis in teaching.

Exposure to speech input is a major driving force of developing Chinese language proficiency. The Speech Recall study of Japanese learners of Chinese (Liu) showed us how speech input is filtered by the listener's mind as revealed by the various changes in the recall (e.g., deleting or adding information, re-organizing information, changing the sentence structures), and how listening comprehension is an active process that are jointly shaped by listeners' cognitive abilities, strategies and the inherent linguistic structure in the input (functional words, or xuci such as 很 is less likely to be retrieved than content words such as 喜欢). Therefore, teachers need to take into account the discrepancy between what is presented and what is processed in their curriculum design and pedagogy. Also, the author suggested that xuci that are heavy in grammatical functions but are light in semantics should be emphasized from the beginning.

There needs to be enough reinforcement of the previously learned structures as students move up to higher levels. The Ba Construction study (Du) uncovered that

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Level 3 students did better than Level 4 students because the construction was introduced in the curriculum at Level 3 and by the time students advanced to Level 4, their performance in this structure became rusty already because it simply did not appear often enough in their current studying materials.

Reinforcement efforts need to be targeted. In the Attrition study (Tseng), the author recommended that after a summer break, reading and writing may not need specifically dedicated review sessions but grammar does because it showed significantly more attrition. In addition, instructors should foster a can-do attitude as the self-perceived loss was much larger than that shown in assessment.

The Reading Strategies study (Chang) was the only one that explained the individual differences exhibited by students at the same level defined by the classes taken. On one hand, it showed that readers as a whole moved from utilizing lower level (i.e. local) to higher level processing strategies (i.e., global) as their reading proficiency increases, and readers at different proficiency levels need to focus on the mastery of different strategies in a spiral manner. On the other hand, it also showed that even at the lowest instructional level, the most proficient readers used the higher level processing strategies. Such a finding led the author to make a powerful suggestion, which is to promote global processing strategies at all proficiency levels. In addition, there are concrete recommendations as to the specific types of strategies that can be trained at the different instructional proficiency levels (e.g., tolerance of ambiguity for Level 2, sensitivities to aspects of text structures for Level 3, metacognitive awareness for Level 4).

Results of the Writing Discourse Features study (Xiao) tackle many issues effectively. The finding that learners draw on model sentences in their textbooks led the author to advocate that teaching materials, especially at the beginning level, need to provide learners with sufficient input of Chinese written discourse in diverse genres such as narratives and expositions. However, what is disappointing and alarming to the teachers is that many current textbooks at the beginning level are dominated by written texts of face-to-face oral interactions. Further, the finding that it is harder for both the heritage language speakers and non-heritage language speakers to learn more complex discourse features, such as topic chains, led the author to conclude that such features should be "overtly taught and practiced throughout the learning process so that students are not only exposed to these structures but also trained in using them in their own discourse production" (Xiao, 2010, p.149).

The Distance Learning study (Tasker) truly fulfilled its goal to help us learn about the learners. Through retrospective data, we learned that many learners tend to spend many years pursuing their Chinese learning. Therefore, we need to take a long-term perspective in our teaching and advice for them. We also learned that distance learners play an active role in shaping their course of learning Chinese. The independent language learning skills, such as self-awareness of their own learning styles and preferred learning strategies, and making better use of informal learning

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activities should be promoted among both distance learners and on-site learners such as students at different levels of schooling. We also learned that learners do not follow a continuous linear trail in their studies of Chinese. There are moments of spurts or pauses, driven by personal and social factors. Teaching institutions should effectively deal with such realistic needs of learners, such as making it easy for learners to stop or go back into a course.

I witnessed many sparkles throughout the Discussion sections. Based on her findings, Du argues that we need to balance the communicative approach with teaching grammar and vocabulary. Chang cautioned that reading strategies should not be taught at the expense of developing vocabulary knowledge. These demonstrated laudable openness of these researchers who have thoughtfully situated their findings in the big and evolving picture of the field of CFL.

Beyond the studies, I have found that the collection offers comprehensive up-to-date references to the main sub-areas of studies in this field. The Ba Construction study report (Du) reviews the acquisition process of the ba structure and its related grammatical features in preschool and elementary school children in Taiwan, China, and adult Chinese foreign language learners in the United States. The Radicals study report (Tseng) presents findings of radical processing by proficient skilled Chinese readers, and L1 elementary school Chinese children. One can find large amount of references to literature on lexical processing in the Lexicon study (Lü), a review of reading strategies and metacognitive processes in reading (Chang), the role of radical knowledge in character learning (Shen). Additionally, references to classical theories of cognitive psychology are made throughout the collection, such as competition theory, short-term/long-term memory, forgetting, bottom-up vs. top-down processing and local vs. global processing in reading, metacognition, and knowledge schema. Last but not least, the fact that all of the stimuli used in the studies are presented in the appendices further adds a professional touch to the collection. If one wants to replicate a study, or do a further study on a relevant topic, one can easily use or adapt the materials presented.

5. Suggestions for Future Research

While the collection of studies is encouraging, illuminating, and satisfying to read, as all good studies would do, a reader is stimulated to want more. First of all, we need to know more about individual differences. In most of the studies, students at the same proficiency level designated by the length of study (referred to as time-based proficiency level) showed large individual differences in proficiency. For example, in the Ba Construction study (Du), there were producers and non-producers of ba (in obligatory contexts) at all three time-based proficiency levels. In the Speech Recall study (Liu), the amount of content recalled by a small group of 32 students ranged from about 2% to 92%. In the Reading Strategies study (Chang), proficient

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readers at Level 2 outperformed many readers at Level 4 (Chang).

What accounted for these individual differences? Both learners and teachers need to know about the reason. The only study in this collection that addressed this issue to a certain degree is the Reading Strategies study (Chang). The researcher examined the source of variability in reading comprehension proficiency within each level by correlating participants' task performance with the self-reported reading strategy use. As a result, we know that those who employed more effective and higher level reading strategies tend to be better readers. It is important for future studies to take this approach and even go a few steps further. For example, in this case, why did some readers, at the same time-based learning level, develop more efficient reading strategies and others did not? Are some strategies in reading Chinese transferred from those for reading in their more dominant L1? In the case of the Free Recall study (Liu), were the differences due to individual differences in the working memory capacity? Does the amount of time learners spend outside the class matter?

Based on studies in L1 and L2 acquisition, we can predict that multiple factors at the individual level would affect learning, such as the age when learning begins, the amount of exposure to the target language outside classroom, and motivation (Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Jia, Aaronson & Wu, 2002). This requires us to expand the assessment areas to cognitive abilities, environmental variables, and L1 proficiency. We also need to be more comfortable with the in-depth learner perspective taken by Tasker and well articulated in her report. That is, we can expand our learner perspective from understanding their in-class and task focused cognitive behavior to their out-of-class and social-emotional behavior. While we continue to take the teacher and course perspectives, we can additionally advance the learner perspective. One does not exclude the other. They in fact highly complement each other.

Second, we need to know more about the long-term learning outcomes and see more reliable trajectories of Chinese language development. What happens after the second or third year of Chinese language instruction? Who are the students who graduate from college with a high level of proficiency in Chinese? In the studies reported in the current volume, why are some higher time-based proficiency level students, as a group, doing worse or performing at the same level as the lower level students? The individual difference story mentioned earlier is not enough to explain this group level regression or stagnation. To obtain more reliable trends of development, we need to turn the cross-sectional studies into longitudinal studies, and we need to track the learners more intensively (e.g., to have more data collection points) and for a longer period of time. The inherent problem of cross-sectional study is that we infer trends of development from the behaviors of different participants, risking the problem of comparing apples with oranges. If we have to choose to do cross-sectional studies, we need to equalize as much as possible the learner factors at both the individual level and group levels.

Third, we need to know how Chinese learners acquire proficiency in more lin-

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guistic domains and the interactions of abilities in different domains. We have largely dealt with the different processing domains separately, such as speaking, reading and writing. However, is the progression in phonology (e.g., homophone discrimination, prosody, tones) related to progression in grammar and/or vocabulary? Would prosody in speech input promote the learning of grammatical structures as it does in L1 acquisition and processing (see Hole, 1999 and Morgan, 1996 for a review)? Would grammatical knowledge bootstrap vocabulary acquisition as it does in L1 acquisition (Lee & Naigles, 2005; Lee & Naigles, 2008)? Within each of the linguistic domains, can we expand our scope of investigation? Can we explore how grammatical structures other than ba and a few frequently studied ones are acquired? For example, in my teaching of young children Chinese and dealing with their parents, several grammatical structures seem to be particularly challenging, such as the location of adverbial phrases, serial verbs, and pro-drop. Can energy be devoted systematically to these structures as has been done in the acquisition of ba construction? In terms of lexicon, can we go beyond the organization of mental lexicon and explore how different types of words are acquired? In the acquisition of English as L2, verbs have been found to be harder to learn than nouns (e.g., Jia, Kohnert, Collado & Aquino-Garcia, 2007), and words and phrases that describe spatial relationships (e.g., A is inside B, A in on top of B) are particularly challenging to older learners (e.g., Munnich & Landau, 2010). Do CFL learners encounter similar problems?

As the field moves forward, it will benefit tremendously from adopting more diverse methodologies and research tools. For example, the eye-tracking method used in psychology can help us capture which words and phrases the eyes fall on at any moment and for how long, and have been used extensively to study L1 processing (Lee, Lee & Gordon, 2007; Ren & Yang, 2010) and metacognition (e.g., Kinnunen & Vauras, 2010). Diary studies have been used in L2 acquisition to capture a comprehensive picture of the learners' language environment (e.g., Gan, Humphreys & Hamp-Lyons, 2004; Gu, 2009) so as to examine the nature of their language input and how that is related to the acquisition process. Experimental methods that manipulate just one or two focused variables in L1 and L2 acquisition have helped us understand exactly what changes in instruction lead to what learning outcomes (e.g., Rosenthal & Ehri, 2008). The use of these methods and tools would require us to collaborate more with each other and with colleagues from other disciplines, and to expand our knowledge in the progress of other relevant fields.

6. Conclusions

At the end, this collection has proven to be a feast to my mind. As also a part-time Chinese teacher of a community program for young children, I've garnered many insights, findings and suggestions that can be directly used in my curriculum design and pedagogy. I believe that my colleagues teaching Chinese in elementary,

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middle and high schools, or in community programs will find the book similarly useful to them. Importantly, research tends not to be on the table of this group of non-college teachers, and reading this volume will make us realize that methods of teaching Chinese at all levels and in all contexts should be open to scientific investigation and we cannot just move on without investigating the effectiveness of our teaching methods.

All the studies reported in this volume were done on adult learners, mostly college students. As someone who teaches young children Chinese, while reading this volume, I did need to constantly keep in my mind the differences in the foreign language learning processes and outcomes between young children and adults. If you are a college Chinese language teacher, that is an effort that you do not need to make. You can find the implications of the multitude of research findings directly applicable to your classrooms. If you also do research in the CFL field, then this book is a must-to-get state of the art reference. It will keep you informed of the major subfields of this area, give you ideas of research designs and methods, and inspire you to go beyond what it has to offer so that you will lay the next stepping stone on this long and fruitful path.

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