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ICLLS 2025 Proceedings Preface

The *Seventh International Conference on Linguistics and Language Studies (ICLLS 2025)* serves as a dynamic forum for researchers, educators, and practitioners worldwide to exchange ideas, present research findings, and foster collaboration in the diverse fields of linguistics, language studies, and translation. This annual conference brings together experts to share insights, explore innovative practices, and advance scholarly dialogues in these disciplines.

The *Seventh International Conference on Linguistics and Language Studies (ICLLS 2025)* is scheduled to take place from 6 to 8 June 2025. This year's conference is held in collaboration with the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Ningbo University, our co-organiser and gracious host. By bringing participants together in person, the event offers an invaluable opportunity for lively discussions, meaningful exchanges, and the building of professional networks within the global academic community.

This year's conference features a diverse range of topics that reflect the richness and breadth of linguistic and language-related research. Among the most discussed themes are "Chinese as a Second Language", "Cognitive Linguistics", "Corpus Linguistics", "Discourse Analysis", "English for Professional Communication", "Global Englishes" and "Intercultural Communication". Other key areas of focus include "Language Acquisition", "Language Assessment", "Language Planning and Policy", "Language, Culture and Society", "Neurolinguistics", "Phonetics and Phonology", "Psycholinguistics", "Semantics and Pragmatics", "Syntax and Morphology", "Technology-enhanced Language Education", and "Translation and Interpreting." These topics demonstrate the dynamic and interdisciplinary nature of the field, addressing both theoretical inquiries and practical applications relevant to contemporary linguistic studies.

We would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Ningbo University for its invaluable contributions to the production of this volume. We are especially thankful to the dedicated staff of the Faculty for their professionalism and efficiency in managing the submitted papers. Our deepest appreciation also goes to the ICLLS 2025 Organising Committee for their unwavering support throughout the preparation process. Additionally, we are profoundly grateful to the members of the Programme Committee for their meticulous efforts in reviewing and processing the conference submissions.

Let us take this opportunity to reflect, exchange inspiration, and collaboratively pave the way toward a transformative future in education and linguistic studies.

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Cross-Cultural Use of Language Learning Apps: Insights from China, the UK, and the USA

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Abstract

This study explores how university students in Mainland China, the United Kingdom, and the United States engage with language learning applications (LLAs) to support self-regulated language learning (SRLL). Using a mixed-methods approach, data were collected from 1,298 survey respondents and 30 semi-structured interviews. The findings reveal significant cross-cultural differences in learner motivations, application preferences, and self-regulation strategies. Chinese students predominantly use structured, exam-oriented LLAs aligned with certification goals, while British and American students prefer interactive, flexible platforms that support communicative competence and cultural exploration. Despite higher LLA usage, Chinese learners reported lower confidence in their self-regulated learning abilities, whereas Anglophone learners demonstrated stronger intrinsic motivation and self-regulated learning (SRL) confidence. Qualitative insights further underscore cultural influences on learning preferences, with Chinese students emphasizing reading and grammar, and UK/US students valuing speaking, listening, and personalization. Across all groups, learners expressed a desire for more engaging, customizable, and socially interactive app features. The study highlights the importance of culturally responsive LLA design and pedagogical strategies that align with diverse learner profiles. It also emphasizes the need for further research on how cultural and institutional contexts shape digital self-regulated learning behaviors.

Keywords: LLAs; SRL; cross-cultural comparison; learner motivation; educational technology

1 Introduction

With the rapid integration of digital tools into language education, LLAs have become increasingly popular for supporting SRLL. LLAs offer learners autonomy, flexibility, and accessibility, aligning with the principles of SRL, which emphasize goal-setting, strategy use, and self-monitoring (Zimmerman, 2002). However, the ways learners engage with these tools can vary significantly across cultural and educational contexts. This study investigates how university students in Mainland China, the United Kingdom, and the United States use LLAs to support their language learning. While previous research has examined SRL and digital learning tools separately, few studies have explored how cultural factors influence the adoption, usage, and perceived effectiveness of LLAs in the context of SRLL. Grounded in theoretical frameworks including Zimmerman's SRL model, Hofstede's cultural dimensions, and the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), this study addresses a critical gap in understanding the intersection of culture, motivation, and digital learning behaviors.

1.1 Background

SRL refers to learners' ability to take control of their own learning through goal-setting, strategic planning, self-monitoring, and reflection (Zimmerman, 2002). In the context of language acquisition, this process—termed SRLL—is increasingly supported by digital tools, particularly LLAs. LLAs such as Duolingo, Babbel, and Baicizhan offer structured content, adaptive feedback, and gamified environments that may foster SRL behaviors. However, their effectiveness in promoting SRLL can vary depending on how learners interact with them—an interaction shaped in part by cultural, educational, and motivational factors. Cultural attitudes toward education, the role of technology in learning, and the perceived purpose of language acquisition differ across regions. For example, learners in collectivist cultures, such as China, may view language learning as instrumental for academic and career advancement, whereas learners in more individualistic cultures, like the UK and the USA, may be driven by personal interest, travel, or cultural engagement (Hofstede, 2001). Despite the growing adoption of LLAs globally, little research has been conducted that compares how learners from different cultural backgrounds engage with these apps to support SRLL. This study aims to address this gap by examining cross-cultural variations in LLA usage, learner motivation, and self-regulation strategies among university students in Mainland China, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

1.2 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to explore how university students in Mainland China, the United Kingdom, and the United States engage with LLAs to support SRLL. It seeks to understand how their usage patterns, motivations, and perceptions vary across different cultural and educational contexts. To achieve this aim, the study pursues several key objectives. First, it identifies the most commonly used LLAs among students in each region. Second, it examines the motivations that drive students to use these applications, as well as the challenges they face in doing so. Third, it investigates how learners perceive the effectiveness and usability of LLAs, particularly in terms of their ability to support self-regulated learning. Fourth, it analyzes how students' conceptions and practices of SRLL influence their engagement with LLAs. Finally, the study aims to generate insights that can inform the development of culturally responsive LLA designs and pedagogical strategies that better support diverse learner needs. To guide this inquiry, the study is structured around four central research questions:

1. What are the most commonly used language learning applications among university students in Mainland China, the United Kingdom, and the United States?

2. What motivates students in these regions to use LLAs, and what challenges do they encounter?
3. How do learners from different cultural contexts perceive the effectiveness and usability of LLAs?
4. How do students' understanding and application of self-regulated learning strategies shape their use of LLAs across these three regions?

1.3 Significance of Study

This study contributes to a clearer understanding of how learners from different cultural backgrounds engage with LLAs to support SRLL. While LLAs are widely used, little is known about how cultural values, motivations, and learning habits shape their usage. By comparing students in Mainland China, the UK, and the US, the research highlights cross-cultural differences in how LLAs are perceived and used. These insights can inform the design of more inclusive, culturally responsive applications and teaching strategies. The findings also deepen our understanding of how SRLL is practiced in digital learning environments, offering practical implications for educators, app developers, and curriculum designers.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Frameworks

This study is grounded in two key theoretical frameworks: SRL and Cultural Dimensions Theory. The concept of Self-Regulated Learning, as defined by Zimmerman (2002), emphasizes learners' active engagement in setting goals, selecting strategies, monitoring progress, and reflecting on outcomes. In the context of language learning, SRL involves cognitive, metacognitive, motivational, and behavioral dimensions that enable learners to take control of their learning processes. Digital environments, such as LLAs, offer tools that can potentially enhance SRL by providing immediate feedback, personalized content, and flexible learning pathways. To better understand cross-cultural variation in LLA use, this study also draws on Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory (Hofstede, 2001). Key dimensions such as individualism vs. collectivism and uncertainty avoidance help explain how cultural values influence learners' attitudes toward autonomy, technology, and educational goals. For instance, learners from collectivist cultures may prioritize achievement and structured learning, while those from individualist cultures may value personal interest and self-direction.

2.2 Regional Differences in Language Learning

Language learning practices vary significantly across regional and cultural contexts, shaped by educational systems, societal values, and learner motivations. In Mainland China, language education is strongly influenced by exam-oriented systems, with an emphasis on memorisation, grammatical accuracy, and reading comprehension (Du, 2021; Zhang & Wu, 2023). Learners often engage with LLAs like Lanren English and Baicizhan to prepare for high-stakes exams such as IELTS or CET, reflecting extrinsic motivations such as academic performance and career advancement (Ma & Mendez, 2024; Wei & Su, 2012). These tools are valued for their structured, goal-oriented design, aligning with learners' preference for externally guided learning pathways. In the United Kingdom, language education typically follows a communicative approach, focusing on speaking and listening as well as cultural immersion. Since English is the first language for most learners, foreign language acquisition is often motivated by personal interest or cultural exploration rather than necessity (Mayumi & Zheng, 2023). Learners commonly use LLAs like Duolingo and Babbel to support self-paced, informal learning, and they tend to appreciate features that allow for content personalisation and peer interaction (Duffy, 2024; Bowler, 2020). Similarly, students in the United States often approach language learning through elective coursework or personal development goals. Although formal language programs may

emphasize grammar and vocabulary, learners increasingly turn to LLAs to develop communicative competence and track their progress independently (Devlin, 2018). Applications such as Duolingo, Babbel, and Rosetta Stone are popular due to their interactive features and perceived alignment with learner autonomy (Moreno, 2022). Despite these differences, students across all regions express a shared interest in LLAs that offer interactive content, real-world language use, and personalised learning paths. However, the underlying motivations and perceived challenges differ: Chinese learners are more extrinsically driven and express lower SRL confidence, while British and American learners report higher intrinsic motivation but struggle with maintaining engagement over time (Chang & Sun, 2024; Faitaki, Nation, & Murphy, 2022). These findings point to the need for culturally responsive LLA design, as learners' engagement with digital tools is closely tied to localised educational goals and cultural expectations (Hofstede, 2001; Stoten, 2022).

2.3 Digital Tools for Self-Regulated Language Learning

Digital language learning tools, particularly mobile applications, have become central to supporting SRLL across diverse educational contexts. These tools offer functionalities that align with the core phases of self-regulated learning: goal-setting, strategy implementation, self-monitoring, and reflection (Zimmerman, 2002; Cristea et al., 2025). However, the extent to which LLAs support each of these phases varies considerably. Applications such as Duolingo and Babbel are widely used across cultural contexts due to their gamified structure, interactive lessons, and adaptive feedback systems. Duolingo, for example, supports self-monitoring through progress tracking and skill trees, while providing immediate feedback that reinforces learning strategies (Guerrero, 2024). Similarly, Babbel offers modular lessons and personalisation features that facilitate learner autonomy and promote balanced skill development (Kelleher, 2021). Despite these benefits, research suggests that many LLAs fall short in supporting more advanced aspects of SRLL—particularly in terms of personalised goal-setting and strategic planning. For instance, algorithm-driven content selection may limit learners' ability to define their own learning paths, potentially undermining the forethought phase of SRL (Jiang et al., 2024; Kessler, Loewen, & Gonulal, 2023).

Other applications, such as HelloTalk, provide more open-ended and socially-driven learning experiences. Unlike structured platforms, HelloTalk enables real-time interaction with native speakers, offering learners personalised feedback and the opportunity to focus on self-defined topics and conversational goals (Tong, An, & Zhou, 2024; Rosilah & Ulfa, 2024). This peer-to-peer format supports flexible goal setting and may enhance motivation through social engagement. In Mainland China, tools like Lanren English are designed to align closely with exam preparation frameworks. These apps incorporate gamified tasks and adaptive difficulty features but often provide limited opportunities for learners to set their own goals or explore content independently (Ma & Mendez, 2024). As such, while they support structured SRLL, they may constrain learner autonomy and reflective practice.

2.4 Research Gaps

Despite growing interest in digital tools for language learning, few studies have examined how LLAs support SRL across different cultural contexts. Existing research often focuses on international learners or single-country settings (Liu, 2013; Chang & Sun, 2024), neglecting how domestic learners engage with LLAs within their own educational systems. While popular applications provide structured, gamified experiences, they frequently limit user-defined goal-setting and strategic autonomy (Jiang et al., 2024; Kessler, Loewen, & Gonulal, 2023). Moreover, the influence of cultural values on learners' motivation and technology acceptance remains underexplored, with few studies integrating frameworks like SRL, Hofstede's dimensions, and the Technology Acceptance Model (Hofstede, 2001; Davis & Granic, 2024). Most available data are self-reported

and cross-sectional, highlighting the need for longitudinal, culturally grounded research on how learners use LLAs to develop SRL competencies over time.

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Data Collection

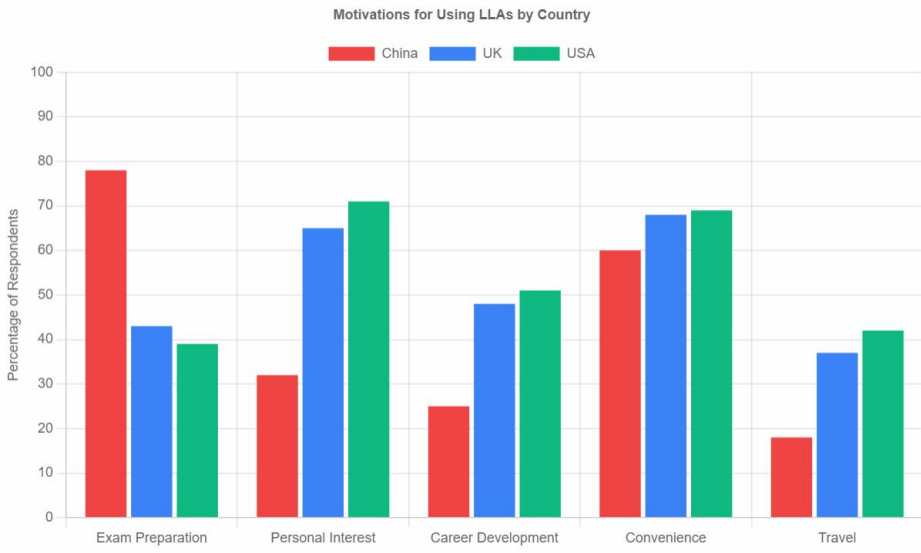
Quantitative data were collected through an online questionnaire distributed to undergraduate students in the three target regions. The questionnaire included closed-ended items—such as Likert-scale questions and multiple-choice checkboxes—designed to capture participants' use of LLAs, perceived benefits and challenges, and SRLL strategies. Dissemination was carried out via platforms such as WeChat, Google Forms, and email to ensure regional accessibility. In total, 1,298 valid responses were obtained: 421 from China, 458 from the UK, and 419 from the USA. In addition to the survey, 30 semi-structured interviews were conducted—ten from each region—to gather in-depth qualitative data. Interview questions were aligned with the study's research objectives and focused on learners' motivations, application preferences, and SRLL experiences. The interviews allowed for a flexible, participant-led exploration of relevant themes while ensuring consistency with the analytical framework. This dual-method approach provided both breadth and depth, enhancing the reliability and interpretability of the study's findings.

3.2 Sampling

Participants were recruited through online advertisements targeting university students and language learners across Mainland China, the UK, and the USA. To ensure relevance, a screening process was implemented: only undergraduate students who were native speakers of the dominant national language (Mandarin Chinese in China, British English in the UK, and American English in the USA) were eligible. Out of over 1,500 initial responses, 1,298 completed questionnaires met the eligibility criteria and were included in the final dataset—421 from China, 458 from the UK, and 419 from the USA. For the qualitative component, a stratified sampling method was used to select 30 participants—ten from each country—for follow-up interviews. This approach ensured balanced representation across cultural contexts and reflected the diversity of the broader participant pool. The sample size followed established methodological guidance suggesting that ten interviews per subgroup are sufficient for generating meaningful themes through thematic analysis. This design supported both quantitative generalisability and qualitative depth, strengthening the study's cross-cultural insights.

4. Findings

4.1 Learners' Motivations for Using LLAs



4.1.1 Overview of Motivational Patterns

Across the total sample of 1,298 respondents, several common motivations for using LLAs emerged. The most frequently cited reason was the desire to improve specific language skills, such as vocabulary, grammar, and listening comprehension. This was reported by 89% of participants overall, indicating a shared utilitarian view of LLAs as tools for skill development. In addition, 62% of respondents indicated that they used LLAs because they found them convenient and accessible, with the mobile format allowing for flexible, on-the-go learning. However, more nuanced patterns emerged when responses were disaggregated by region. In Mainland China, the dominant motivation was exam preparation, reported by 78% of Chinese respondents. Many of these learners were preparing for high-stakes English proficiency tests such as the College English Test (CET-4/6), TOEFL, or IELTS, which are often mandatory for graduation or postgraduate study. This contrasts sharply with participants in the United Kingdom and United States, where only 43% and 39% respectively selected exam preparation as a primary motivator. Instead, students in these regions reported higher levels of intrinsic motivation, with 65% of UK and 71% of US respondents stating they used LLAs out of personal interest or enjoyment. Other prominent motivations among Western learners included career development, travel, and maintaining or reviving language skills learned in the past.

These distinctions suggest that while LLAs are broadly valued for their practicality and ease of access, learners' underlying reasons for engaging with them are shaped by cultural and institutional factors. In contexts like China, where English learning is often exam-driven and institutionalised, LLAs are viewed as instrumental tools for achieving external goals. In contrast, learners in the UK and US, who typically have more autonomy in their language learning journeys, often use LLAs to support personal or professional interests.

4.1.2 Qualitative Insights into Learner Motivations

The interview data provided rich contextual detail that helped illuminate the motivational patterns observed in the survey. Chinese participants frequently described their use of LLAs as being closely aligned with academic requirements and institutional pressures. Several mentioned that their teachers recommended or even mandated the use of specific apps as part of their coursework. For example, one participant stated: *"Our teacher asked us*

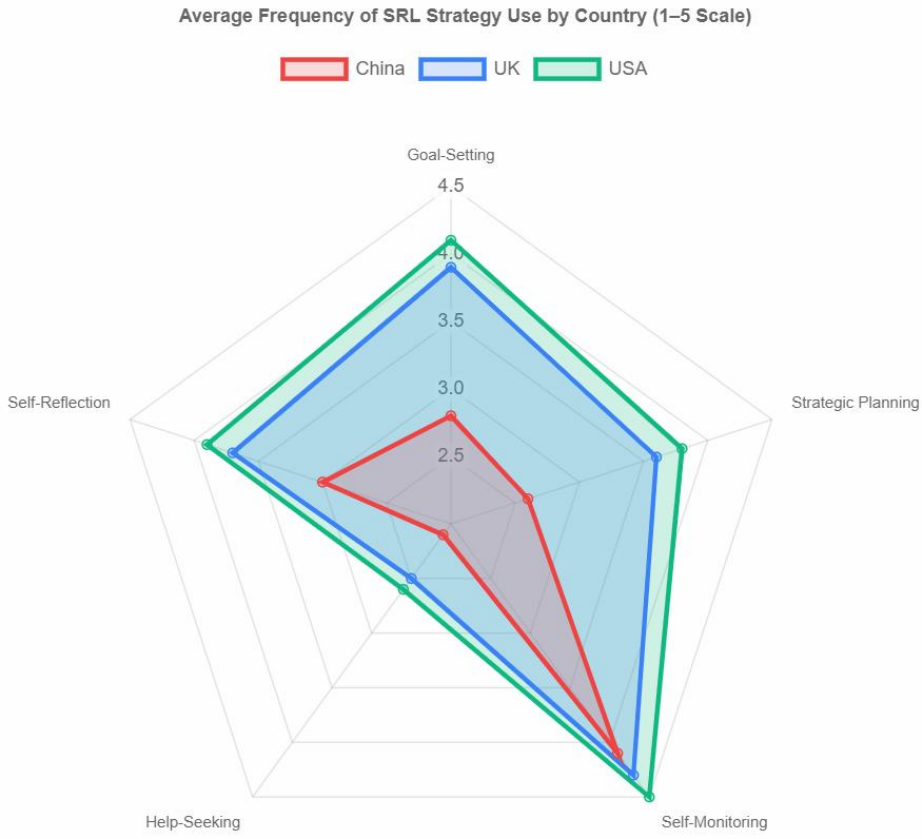
to use an app to prepare for the CET-4. We have to show our progress every week, so I just follow the lessons it gives me." (Chinese participant, Interview #5). Another Chinese interviewee explained that LLAs offered a convenient way to fit in extra study around a busy academic schedule: *"I use the app mostly on the bus or before I go to bed. It helps me review vocabulary for IELTS."* (Chinese participant, Interview #3). Such responses highlight the extrinsically motivated nature of LLA use in the Chinese context, driven by institutional expectations and the desire to perform well on standardised assessments. The emphasis on efficiency, structure, and measurable outcomes reflects a broader educational culture in which learning is often framed in terms of grades, rankings, and certification.

In contrast, participants from the UK and USA provided responses that reflected a more autonomous and self-directed orientation. Many spoke of using LLAs as part of a broader effort to maintain or improve language skills for personal satisfaction or future opportunities. One UK participant remarked: *"I enjoy learning languages—it's like a hobby. I use Duolingo because it makes it fun and easy to keep going."* (UK participant, Interview #4). Similarly, a US student noted: *"I'm not learning for a test; I just want to keep my Spanish sharp. The app helps me stay in practice without feeling like I'm studying."* (US participant, Interview #9). Such statements suggest that for many Western learners, LLAs function not as tools for academic performance, but as intrinsically rewarding platforms that support lifelong learning and personal growth. The gamified features of many LLAs, such as streak tracking, point systems, and interactive challenges, were cited positively by UK and US participants, who appreciated the sense of motivation and enjoyment these features provided.

4.1.3 Motivational Trends by App Type and Use Frequency

The survey also asked participants to indicate which LLAs they used most often and how frequently they engaged with them. Across all regions, Duolingo, Memrise, and Quizlet were among the most popular apps, though preferences varied. In China, Baicizhan, IELTSbro, and Youdao Dictionary were commonly used, reflecting a stronger orientation toward exam preparation and vocabulary memorisation. Frequent users (those who reported using LLAs daily or several times per week) were more likely to report multiple motivations, combining extrinsic and intrinsic factors. For example, 41% of frequent users in the UK and US reported both "personal interest" and "career preparation" as motivations. By contrast, Chinese frequent users were more likely to report a single dominant motivation—usually exam preparation—suggesting a narrower but more intense focus. Interview data confirmed these patterns. One Chinese student explained: *"I use Baicizhan every day for vocabulary. It's part of my IELTS preparation plan. I just do what it tells me to do."* (Chinese participant, Interview #2). Meanwhile, a US student described a more flexible approach: *"I use Duolingo almost every day, but it's not for anything specific. I just like learning new languages. Sometimes I switch between Spanish and French."* (US participant, Interview #10). These differences suggest that while LLAs are widely adopted, the depth and direction of engagement vary significantly according to learners' motivations and educational contexts.

4.2 Self-Regulated Learning Strategies Supported by LLAs



4.2.1 Overview of SRL Strategy Use

The questionnaire asked participants to indicate how frequently they engaged in various SRL strategies while using LLAs. These strategies were categorised into five domains: goal-setting, strategic planning, self-monitoring, help-seeking, and self-reflection. Overall, the most frequently reported strategies were self-monitoring and repetition/review, followed by goal-setting and strategic planning. Help-seeking was the least frequently reported strategy across all regions. Specifically, 74% of all respondents indicated that they regularly monitored their progress using in-app features, such as progress bars, quiz scores, and lesson completion trackers. This suggests that LLAs are generally effective in providing externalised feedback mechanisms, which learners use to gauge their advancement. However, only 47% of participants reported actively setting their own learning goals, and even fewer (41%) indicated that they engaged in strategic planning, such as scheduling study times or selectively focusing on specific skills. When disaggregated by region, noticeable differences emerged. Chinese learners were significantly less likely to report engaging in self-initiated goal-setting (34%) or strategic planning (28%) compared to their counterparts in the UK (61% and 49%) and the US (67% and 53%). Conversely, Chinese learners were more likely to rely on system-directed learning, following the app's recommended path without alteration. These findings suggest a more reactive than proactive engagement with LLAs among Chinese participants.

4.2.2 Qualitative Insights into SRL Strategy Use

The interview data provided nuanced insights into how these SRL strategies were enacted in practice. Among Chinese participants, there was a strong preference for following the app's default structure, with limited

evidence of personal goal-setting or adaptive planning. Many participants described a compliance-oriented approach to learning, where the app functioned as both content provider and schedule manager. One student remarked: *"I don't really set goals. The app already has a plan, and I just follow it. It's simple and efficient."* (Chinese participant, Interview #6). This quote reflects a tendency to externalise control over the learning process, relying on the app's pre-programmed curriculum rather than making strategic choices. This behaviour aligns with educational norms in China that emphasise teacher authority, standardisation, and exam alignment. In contrast, UK and US participants often described a more autonomous and intentional use of SRL strategies. Several interviewees mentioned setting personal goals, such as completing a certain number of lessons per week, improving in a specific skill area (e.g., listening or speaking), or maintaining a streak. For example, one UK student shared: *"I try to do at least 10 minutes a day. I use the daily reminder and check my streak to stay consistent."* (UK participant, Interview #4). Similarly, a US participant explained: *"I plan which topics to study depending on what I feel weak in. For example, I focus more on speaking now because I already know the grammar."* (US participant, Interview #10). These examples suggest a metacognitive awareness of learning needs and a willingness to tailor app use accordingly. Western students appeared more comfortable exercising control over their learning trajectory, often using built-in features like progress dashboards, skill trees, and streak counters to support their planning and motivation.

4.2.3 App Features and SRL Facilitation

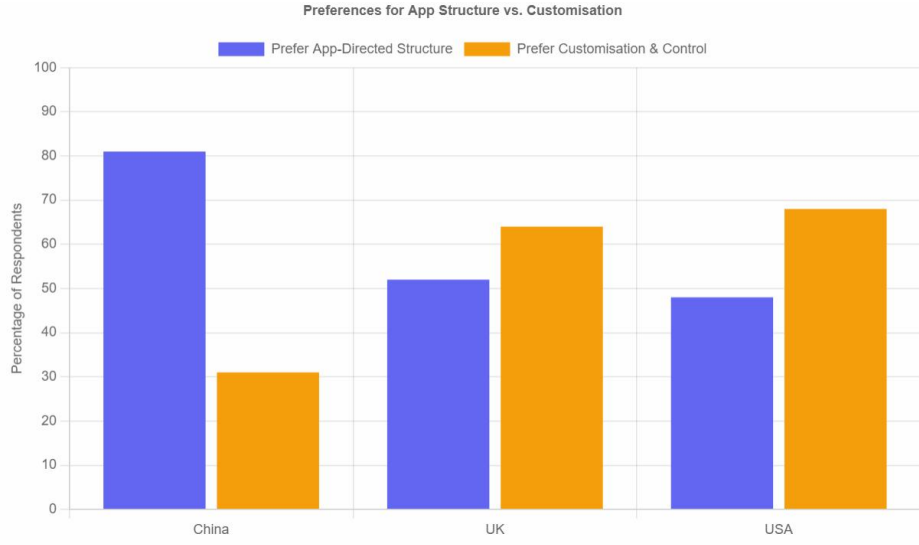
The data also indicate that the design of LLAs plays a critical role in facilitating or constraining SRL strategies. Apps such as Duolingo, Memrise, and Quizlet were frequently praised for their user-friendly interfaces and gamified features, which support self-monitoring and motivational regulation. Features like XP points, level progressions, and daily streaks were commonly cited as tools that helped learners remain engaged and consistent in their practice. However, participants also noted limitations. While many apps offer tracking tools, far fewer provide robust goal-setting or planning features. One UK interviewee commented: *"It's easy to see how much you've done, but not many apps let you set long-term goals or customise your learning plan."* (UK participant, Interview #7). This limitation was echoed by a Chinese student, who noted: *"The app tells me what to do today, but I can't plan for a specific exam or focus only on writing skills."* (Chinese participant, Interview #2). These remarks suggest that while LLAs are effective in supporting low-level SRL strategies like repetition and monitoring, they are less effective in promoting higher-order strategies such as reflective goal-setting and adaptive planning. In contexts where learners are culturally or educationally conditioned to rely on structured guidance, this shortfall may reinforce passive learning behaviours.

4.2.4 Cultural Patterns in SRL Behaviours

The contrast in SRL strategy use between Chinese and Western learners can be interpreted through the lens of cultural learning models. In collectivist, high power-distance societies like China, learners are often socialised into educational environments that emphasise external regulation, teacher authority, and standardised progression (Hofstede, 2001). As a result, learners may be more inclined to defer to the app's structure rather than assert their own learning strategies. In contrast, learners in the UK and US—typically operating within more individualistic, low power-distance educational frameworks—are encouraged to take responsibility for their learning, make choices about content and pacing, and reflect on their progress. These cultural orientations likely contribute to the observed differences in SRL behaviour, even when learners are using the same digital tools. Moreover, the quantitative data showed that perceived self-efficacy—the belief in one's ability to manage learning independently—was significantly higher among UK and US learners. On a 5-point Likert

scale, the average self-efficacy score was 3.9 for US participants and 3.8 for UK participants, compared to 3.2 for Chinese participants. This difference likely influences not only the frequency of SRL strategy use but also the depth and effectiveness of learners' interaction with LLAs.

4.3 Cultural Influences on LLA Engagement



4.3.1 Trust in Authority and App Structure

One of the most striking cultural differences observed in this study concerns learners' trust in the authority and structure of LLAs. Quantitative data showed that 81% of Chinese participants agreed with the statement, *"I prefer to follow the app's recommended lesson path rather than create my own,"* compared with 52% of UK participants and 48% of US participants. This suggests a greater deference to structured, expert-designed learning among Chinese students, in contrast to the more autonomous learning preferences of Western learners. Qualitative data echoed this pattern. Chinese interviewees frequently expressed confidence in the app's design and followed its sequence without question. For instance, one student remarked: *"I believe the people who made the app are professionals. They know better than me what I should learn." (Chinese participant, Interview #7).* This tendency reflects China's high power distance culture, in which authority figures such as teachers—and by extension, app designers—are respected and rarely challenged. It also aligns with an educational system that emphasises standardised curricula, exam preparation, and teacher-guided learning trajectories. In contrast, learners from the UK and US often expressed scepticism toward rigid app structures and emphasised the importance of control and flexibility. A UK student commented: *"If an app doesn't let me choose which part to study or skip ahead, I stop using it." (UK participant, Interview #5).* Similarly, a US participant stated: *"I want to be able to focus on my weak areas, not follow a fixed course." (US participant, Interview #10).* These responses are consistent with low power distance and individualistic cultures, where learners are encouraged to take ownership of their learning and where questioning authority is seen as a sign of critical thinking.

4.3.2 Customisation and Learner Autonomy

Another major difference lies in learners' preferences for customisation and autonomy in using LLAs. According to the survey, 68% of US learners and 64% of UK learners rated the ability to customise their learning experience (e.g., choosing which skills to practice, setting personal goals, skipping levels) as "very important." In contrast, only 31% of Chinese learners gave the same rating, indicating a lower demand for learner-driven flexibility. This preference for customisation among Western learners is linked to a cultural emphasis on self-direction and independence, both of which are central to educational practices in the UK and US. Western participants often described how they adapted their LLA use to fit their own learning needs and styles. For example: *"I use the app differently depending on the week. Sometimes I focus on listening, other times I just review vocab." (US participant, Interview #9).* Conversely, Chinese learners tended to accept the app's structure as fixed, often describing it as a syllabus or curriculum to be followed rather than modified. One student explained: *"There is a set order in the app, and I think it is better to follow it because it is more systematic." (Chinese participant, Interview #1).* This orientation suggests that Chinese learners are more comfortable with externally imposed structure, possibly due to the prevalence of teacher-centred instruction and exam-oriented learning in the Chinese education system.

4.3.3 Perceived Usefulness vs. Perceived Ease of Use

The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) provides further insight into how cultural differences affect learners' attitudes toward LLAs. The model identifies two primary factors influencing technology adoption: perceived usefulness (PU) and perceived ease of use (PEOU). While all learners in the study rated LLAs as generally useful, the emphasis placed on each factor varied by region. In China, perceived usefulness was the dominant factor. Learners valued LLAs for their alignment with academic goals, particularly exam preparation. Survey responses showed that 84% of Chinese participants agreed that LLAs helped them "achieve their language learning objectives for school or exams." Interviewees reinforced this, with one student stating: *"I use the app because it helps me prepare for the IELTS. It's efficient and focused." (Chinese participant, Interview #3).* In contrast, perceived ease of use and enjoyment were more prominent among UK and US learners. Western participants frequently described LLAs as "fun," "engaging," or "addictive," and several noted that they would stop using an app that was too rigid or difficult to navigate. For example: *"If the app is boring or too hard to use, I won't stick with it. I need it to be fun and easy." (UK participant, Interview #6).* These differences suggest that while Chinese learners adopt LLAs based on instrumental goals, Western learners are more likely to adopt and persist with LLAs when they provide a positive user experience, including flexibility, entertainment, and ease of use.

4.3.4 Cultural Learning Models and App Engagement

The observed differences in LLA engagement are not merely behavioural but reflect deeper cultural learning models and epistemological beliefs. In collectivist societies like China, learning is often viewed as a social responsibility, with success measured by conformity to standards and achievement of externally defined goals. Learners in such contexts are more likely to value structured guidance, expert authority, and performance orientation. In contrast, individualistic cultures such as those of the UK and US emphasise personal growth, self-expression, and learner agency. Consequently, students from these contexts are more likely to seek autonomy, customisation, and interactive engagement in their educational tools. These orientations are further reinforced by institutional expectations. For example, in China, LLAs are often recommended or required by instructors and integrated into formal learning environments. In the UK and US, LLAs tend to be used

voluntarily, outside the formal classroom, and often serve as supplements to traditional instruction or tools for independent learning.

5 Conclusions

This study has revealed that while LLAs are widely adopted across diverse educational contexts, their effectiveness and the nature of learner engagement are deeply shaped by cultural and motivational factors. Learners in China, the United Kingdom, and the United States demonstrated distinct motivations for using LLAs, with Chinese students largely driven by exam preparation and institutional expectations, while UK and US learners were more intrinsically motivated by personal interest and long-term goals. Although LLAs support a range of SRL strategies, the depth of engagement varied cross-culturally, with Western learners more actively employing goal-setting and customisation features, and Chinese learners tending to follow structured, app-directed pathways. These behavioural differences reflect underlying cultural values, such as power distance and individualism, which influence learners' preferences for structure, authority, and autonomy. Consequently, LLAs must be designed and implemented with cultural responsiveness in mind; their global effectiveness depends not only on technological features, but also on alignment with users' educational norms, values, and expectations. Ultimately, this research underscores the importance of considering cultural and contextual factors in both the design and deployment of LLAs to ensure they foster meaningful, self-regulated language learning experiences across diverse learner populations.

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探析不同国家服务器下 ChatGPT 英译中医术语的异同

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摘要：中医药文化深植于中国传统文化，而中医术语是准确传达中医药文化的核心与关键，因此，中医术语的英译是中医药文化“走出去”的重要载体。近年来，以 ChatGPT 为代表的生成式对话模型在翻译和口译领域取得显著进展，但将其应用于中医术语英译的研究仍较为稀缺，且尚无针对不同国家服务器下 ChatGPT 翻译质量的研究。基于此，本研究选取世界卫生组织（WHO）中药国际标准术语表中的 40 个术语，比较分析不同国家服务器下 ChatGPT 的翻译质量及其差异，旨在为中医术语英译选择最佳配置的 ChatGPT，助力中医药文化的高效传播。
关键词：服务器；ChatGPT；中医术语；英译

引言

中医药文化深刻并系统地反映了中华民族的世界观、价值观、生命观和方法论。中医术语作为中医药文化的核心组成要素，蕴含着中华民族独有的哲学思维和医疗生活方式。在当下“讲好中国故事”的大背景下，讲好中医药故事、准确高效英译中医术语、促进中医药文化走出去，是重中之重（李孝英等，2023：91）。近年来，大语言模型技术发展迅速，深入影响了翻译实践，特别是 ChatGPT 被视作人工智能领域的革命性突破，不仅提高了翻译的准确度和流畅度，还能为语言任务提供各种支持（王华树、谢亚，2023：81）。

然而，笔者查阅知网的相关数据，发现 ChatGPT 与中医药翻译相结合的研究少之又少，并未引起学者应有的重视，更别提针对不同国家服务器下 ChatGPT 英译质量的研究。比如，在 CNKI 中，以“中医药翻译”为关键词，年代不限，检索得到文献为 174 条；在此基础上，将关键词改为“中医药翻译+ChatGPT”，所得文献仅为 35 条；最后，在上一条的基础上将“中医药翻译+ChatGPT”改为“中医药翻译+不同国家服务器+ChatGPT”，其余条件不变，所检得文献为 0 条。根据这一研究空白，笔者将中医术语、ChatGPT 翻译，和三种国家服务器相结合，以期为中医术语英译选取适配度较高的 ChatGPT 设置，助力中医药文化高效准确的外译。

1. 实验设计与结果

实验材料：本研究选取世界卫生组织（WHO）中药国际标准术语表（international standard terminologies on traditional Chinese medicine）中的四个类别- 中医基础理论（病因）、疾病、药物治疗、

养生保健- 中各 10 个中医术语作为语料。

实验工具：ChatGPT。

实验步骤：首先，确定评分标准，对于不同性质以及程度的翻译错误，予以相应的扣分。以下是评分标准表。

评分标准表	
总分 400 分，每个术语 10 分	
不扣分	单词顺序调整；大小写不一致。
扣 1 分	单复数错误；词性转变；近似单词；程度形容词/冠词/介词/副词欠缺或增加；缺少连字符。
扣 2 分	实义单词误译、增译，或漏译。
扣 10 分	完全无对应。

其次，设置 ChatGPT 服务器分别为 USSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）、JPSS|日本 01|IPLC*3，以及 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）；输入翻译指令“请将下列中医术语翻译成英文”，并计算三个服务器下 ChatGPT 翻译的准确率。相应的翻译对照表附在文末。

·usSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）：83.75%；

·JPSS|日本 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）：82.75%；

·KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）：81.25%；

第三，针对同一术语，不同服务器下 ChatGPT 给出的翻译版本个数不同，故作统计。以下是翻译版本个数统计表。

翻译版本 服务器	标准译文	usSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）	JPSS|日本 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）	KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）
一种	90%	62.5%	80%	97.5%
两种	10%	37.5%	20%	2.5%

第四，针对同一术语，不同服务器下 ChatGPT 给出解释的情况不同，此处也做了相应的统计。以下是解释有无统计表。

解释 服务器	标准译文	usSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）	JPSS|日本 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）	KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）
有	0%	20%	5%	32.5%
无	100%	80%	95%	67.5%

2. 结果分析

2.1 翻译准确率分析

在以上 40 个中医术语的英译中，服务器为 USSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）的 ChatGPT 翻译准确率最高，为 83.75%；其次是服务器为 JPSS|日本 01|IPLC*3 的 ChatGPT，为 82.75%；服务器为 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）的 ChatGPT 翻译准确率最低，为 81.23%。

笔者预先设想日本与韩国服务器下 ChatGPT 翻译准确率会更高，因为这两个国家接触中医文化的时间早于西方，且受其影响更深。中医进入西方的时间可以追溯至 16 世纪，波兰传教士卜弥格是中医西传的开拓者，他率先向西方介绍《黄帝内经》、《脉经》等中医传统著作。卜弥格的医学作品之一《医学的钥匙》涵盖中医理论体系的基本概念、经络相关知识、特定的穴位，以及具体的脉穴知识（马慧敏、张树剑，2023：74）。相比之下，中医在公元 4 世纪左右便进入日本。据富士川游《日本医学史》，日本钦明天皇（538-571）在位期间，吴人知聪于 562 年携带医书、明堂图等到日本入籍，是中医直接传入日本较早的文献记载。此后，日本医家来中国学习医学、带回医籍的记载就多见于文献记载了。7 世纪日本医家惠日、福因来中国学习，带回《诸病源候论》《千金方》等医书，回到日本后传播中医理论，开展医疗活动。隋代之后，中日两国人民交往日益密切，中医大量输入日本，直到明治维新为止，中国医学已成为日本医学的主流（王亚丽，2019：79）。中医药传入朝鲜的时间更早于日本，公元 2 世纪末，中国的经典著作《内经》、《伤寒论》等传入朝鲜。大约在公元 5 世纪，中医药已在朝鲜民众中广泛使用。不少朝鲜历史上的杰出医学家将中医药与当地的文化、哲学、医学、药学融合，并逐步发展成为具有民族特色的朝鲜传统医学——东医学。

但是，结果出乎意料。笔者分析后，认为有两点原因。第一，世界卫生组织主要成员国大多为西方国家，其编纂的英文中医术语表会更倾向于西方的表达习惯，因此服务器为美国的 ChatGPT 英译会更接近标准译文。第二，尽管日韩接触中医文化更早，受其影响更深，但这两个国家使用各自的语言（日语和韩语）记录中医相关知识，在转化为英文时，可能存在漏译、误译、欠译等情况，致使这两个国家服务器下 ChatGPT 英译的准确性有所下降。

2.2 翻译版本分析

在翻译版本方面，服务器为 USSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）的 ChatGPT 给出两种翻译版本的比例最高，为 37.5%；紧随其后的是日本（20%），最后是韩国（2.5%）。

中医文化深奥难解，中医术语更甚，其英译过程不会一蹴而就，期间改动不可避免。中医界权威的大辞典，如中医大辞典、中医辞海、中国药典等，皆经历了多次修订再版，不断增删并更正内容。中文

中医词典尚且如此，英译版更是不可避免需要修正更新。因此，笔者选取的 40 个中医术语虽然来自世界卫生组织编纂的中药国际标准术语表，有一定的权威性，但并非绝对准确。因此，笔者认为 ChatGPT 若是能提供两种及以上的翻译版本供参考，不失为中医术语英译以及改进的灵感来源。

2.3 术语解释分析

在术语解释方面，服务器为 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）的 ChatGPT 给出的解释占比最高，为 32.5%；其次是美国，为 20%；日本服务器下的 ChatGPT 解释比例最低，为 5%。值得一提的是，当服务器为 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）时，ChatGPT 在英译中医术语时，会为中文中医术语添加拼音。

中医术语大多简练且抽象，对于不了解中医文化的门外汉而言，理解难度颇大。例如，本实验中的“烧山火”（养生保健类）和“大头瘟”（疾病类），若是仅看其翻译，分别为“Setting the Mountain on Fire”和“Swollen face”，即便是中国读者都不一定能理解，更何况是以英语为媒介的读者。在《素问·针解》、《难经·七十八难》，以及《针灸大全》中都有提到“烧山火”这一概念，其为古代针灸手法的一种，能补阳驱寒，适用于一切虚寒证，有“增阳”的作用（管遵惠等，2021：5349）。大头瘟，指以头面燃赤肿大为特点的急性外感热病，多因风热时毒侵及三阳经络所致，具有强烈传染性，病死率高。流行性腮腺炎是由腮腺炎病毒引起的急性呼吸道传染病，以腮腺非化脓性炎症、腮腺区肿痛为临床特征。与吴鞠通《温病条辩》中描述的大头瘟症状一致，故流行性腮腺炎可归属于大头瘟范畴，参照大头瘟治法进行治疗（侯雪雍等，2023：1924）。

日韩两个服务器下 ChatGPT 译文均给出译文解释，告知读者“烧山火”是针灸手法中的一种，而“大头瘟”在现代医学中为流行性腮腺炎。这不仅保留了中医术语的本味，也让英语读者进一步了解其内涵。

因此，笔者认为：若是用户对想要翻译的中医术语并不十分了解，可以选择 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）服务器下的 ChatGPT 进行翻译，既可以知晓该中医术语的拼音，也能大致了解其内涵。

3. 不足之处

本研究仅选取了三个服务器以及 40 个中医术语做实验，而 ChatGPT 服务器有超 50 多种选择，中医术语的类别更超上百种。因此，后期还需纳入更多不同国家的服务器以及挑选不同种类的中医术语，使实验结果更加准确，提高可适用性。

ChatGPT 的翻译功能虽然强大，但也存在诸多漏洞，例如 ChatGPT 存在记忆功能，同一条指令，在不同用户的 ChatGPT 上得出的结果可能存在偏差。本次实验没有进行重复操作，所得结果的可适用性仍需后续实验加以佐证。

4. 结语

中医术语的准确高效英译是西方读者正确解读中医药文化的关键，也是讲好中医药故事、促进中医药文化走出去的瓶颈（李孝英、苏塞迪，2024：143）。在当下 ChatGPT 发展如火如荼的势头下，其与翻译实践深度融合已成为业界日益关注的话题，中医术语英译也应乘上时代的东风，依托 ChatGPT 强大的翻译功能，助力自身更为高效准确的传播。本文通过对比分析美、日、韩三个服务器下 ChatGPT

英译中医术语的情况，发现服务器为 USSS|美国 01|IPLC*3（shadowsocks）的 ChatGPT 翻译准确率最高，并且给出两种翻译版本的比例也最高，分别为 83.75%和 37.5%；服务器为 KRTJ|韩国 C01|IDC（Trojan）的 ChatGPT 给出的解释占比最高，为 32.5%。用户可根据自己的具体需求，选择最适配的服务器，达到最佳翻译效果。翻译是中医药文化国际传播之根本，而中医术语的翻译是根本之根本。笔者希望通过对不同服务器下的 ChatGPT 英译中医术语的分析，为用户在选择服务器时提供些许参考，助力中医药文化更为高效准确的传播。

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重思隐喻的地域维度：以雪漠“大漠三部曲”地域性隐喻表达为例

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摘要：甘肃作家雪漠的系列长篇小说“大漠三部曲”中蕴含大量体现地域色彩的隐喻表达，这些隐喻表达是向世界读者传达西部风情和民族性格的重要载体。隐喻不仅与人类思维关联，还受到人类地域文化驱动。雪漠“大漠三部曲”中的隐喻表达集中反应了这种特性。基于自建语料库与概念隐喻的认知及地域文化双重属性，文章提出地域性隐喻概念，分为自然环境隐喻和社会文化隐喻两大类型。前者包括动物隐喻、植物隐喻，后者包括食物隐喻、人体隐喻、器具隐喻、民俗隐喻。在地域维度上，隐喻并非超越普遍性只显现变化性特征。结合葛浩文与林丽君合译的英译本，研究比对中英语料，发现其对地域性隐喻主要采取了四种处理方式，即保留地域性隐喻源域、替换地域性隐喻源域、放弃地域性隐喻源域、补充地域性隐喻源域，且不同的处理方式与一定的地域性隐喻类型相适，体现了地域性隐喻兼具普遍性与变化性。

关键词：雪漠“大漠三部曲”；概念隐喻；地域性隐喻；普遍性；变化性

1. 引言

“地域性”书写是中国文学重要的身份标识（杨建新, 2023：117）。甘肃作家雪漠的“大漠三部曲”——《白虎关》《猎原》与《大漠祭》以极具地方色彩的语言，呈现了腾格里沙漠地区村庄的生活与农民的生存状态，展示了中国特有的西部文化。在小说中，作家雪漠运用了大量具有地域色彩的概念隐喻表达，比如“护心油”“小门小户”“你刮一碗，我刮一勺”等，形象地再现了西部农村的生活场景以及文化特色和精神面貌。

尽管已有学者指出并探究了《大漠祭》中的概念隐喻(郭静懿，2022)，但其仅仅关注了认知层面，而忽略了文化层面的隐喻意义解码。特定隐喻的使用与文化差异有关（Yi-Zhong Chen & Te-Hsin Liu，2024：149）。有关概念隐喻的文化属性已受到学界的关注。学者 Kövecses（2005）指出概念隐喻和文化是相互关联的，并且地域特点是其中一个层面的体现。但其并未对隐喻的地域性质进行进一步的剖析，有关地域维度的隐喻超越普遍性（universality）而显现出变化性(variation)的结论，笔者认为有失偏颇。

由此可见，对于特定区域下所形成的具有地域特色的隐喻表达探讨较少且缺乏系统的归纳。地域性隐喻中的自然环境与社会文化如何影响人类对意义表达认知，以及该隐喻在什么层面的多大程度上具有普遍性与变化性仍需进行进一步地探究。有鉴于此，本文从概念隐喻理论（Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003）切入，以雪漠“大漠三部曲”、葛浩文与林丽君合译的英译本 *Desert Rites, Desert Hunters, White Tiger Pass* 为语料，主要聚焦三个问题：一是界定分类地域性隐喻；二是以雪漠“大漠三部曲”中隐喻表达为例，归类分析地域性隐喻类型；三是比对“大漠三部曲”中地域性隐喻对应的中英语料，探讨地域性隐喻的特点。

2. 地域性隐喻的界定

传统的隐喻理论认为隐喻是一种修辞手法。直至 20 世纪 80 年代，*Metaphor We Lived By*（Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003）一书全面介绍了概念隐喻，从而将隐喻置于认知语言学范畴下。概念隐喻理论认为日常生活中隐喻无处不在，我们的概念系统是以隐喻为基础的，他是人类理解周围世界的一种感知（perceptual）和形成概念（conceptualize）的工具（束定芳，2000：30）。隐喻具有内在结构，由源域与目标域两部分构成，源域与目标域之间的槽位（slot）、关系（relations）、特点（properties）、知识（knowledge）的映射使隐喻意义得以实现（Lakoff & Turner, 1989：63）。以 “LIFE IS JOURNEY” 为例，Lakoff & Turner（1989：63-64）指出，“旅行者”与“目的”地之间的“到达”关系与人与生活意义之间的“实现”关系相似；“旅行者”在旅程中所展现的“强大”与“软弱”的特点与人在生活中表现的“强大”与“软弱”的特点一致；上述两类联系也反映了人类在其中有关自身知识的应用。Lakoff 在认知层面说明了隐喻具有普遍性(universality)，但概念隐喻还受到文化的驱动，是文化与认知的双重加工过程，其还具有变化性（variation）（Kövecses，2005：162）。

地域性是文化体现的一种形式，隐喻具有地域维度（regional dimension）（Kövecses，2005：93）。由于人们所处地域的差异，必然致使人们在与周围环境交互中产生不同的经验结构。地域性是某个特定的区域中，由一切自然环境与社会文化因素构成的共同体所具有的特性，是与一个地区相关系或有关的本性或特征（王智杰、王明非，2013：21）。地域性不仅是空间地域差异，是客观存在的物质，包括一切山川河流、万物生灵等自然因素，它同时超出了物质范围，具有社会性。这种社会属性不但显现于地域的风俗、信仰、语言和伦理中，还意味着地域性具有文化建构的属性（韩欣桐，2023）。也就是说，独立存在于某一地域中的客观实体，经过人们经验加工，便能够用以阐述人类思维与文化。在具有地域特色的自然环境与人文环境中，人们通过以隐喻为基础的概念系统，与该地区的自然和人文环境发生经验互动，从而建构起自身与环境间的联系与抽象的概念体系，赋予隐喻地域性（如下图 1 所示）。

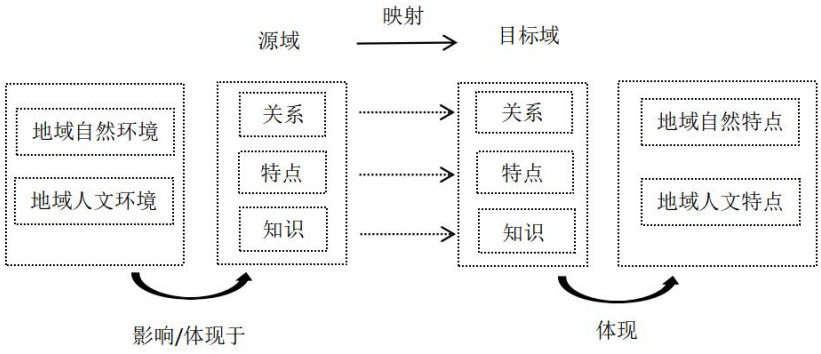


图 1 隐喻地域性图式

雪漠“大漠三部曲”中隐喻表达集中反应了这种地域性，例如“旱雷”，不仅再现了西部凉州的某一天气特征，也可隐喻“西部凉州人实诚，发脾气不往心里去”这一深层概念。因此本文提出地域性隐喻概念，并基于隐喻的地域性特点，分类出自然环境隐喻与社会文化隐喻。其中自然环境隐喻包括动物隐喻、植物隐喻；社会文化隐喻包括民俗隐喻、人体隐喻、器具隐喻、食物隐喻（如下图 2 所示）。

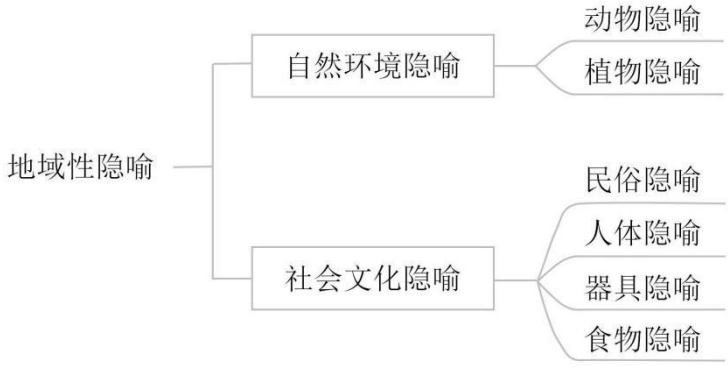


图 2 地域性隐喻分类

3. 雪漠“大漠三部曲”中地域性隐喻表达类型

在“大漠三部曲”中，作家雪漠从地域性出发，以其独特的方言，在作品中呈现出不同的民俗、民风、民情以及独特的人物形象体系（张丽军，2022）。在这些具有地域色彩的表达背后，蕴藏着西部人民的思维与认知。笔者收集了“大漠三部曲”中地域性隐喻表达共 646 条。其中自然环境类的动物隐喻占 23.08%，植物隐喻占 10.77%；社会文化类的民俗隐喻占 21.69%，人体隐喻占 19.53%，器具隐喻占 19.08%，食物隐喻占 5.85%（如表 1 所示）。本文选取其中的地域性隐喻数例，并对其进行重点分析。

表 1“大漠三部曲”地域性隐喻数率

地域性隐喻类型		“大漠三部曲”地域性隐喻数率	
		数量	比率
自然环境隐喻	动物隐喻	150	23.21%
	植物隐喻	70	10.84%
社会文化隐喻	民俗隐喻	142	21.98%
	人体隐喻	127	19.66%
	器具隐喻	120	18.58%
	食物隐喻	37	5.73%

3.1 自然环境隐喻

3.3.1 动物隐喻

动物是西部地区不可或缺的元素之一，较为典型的为驴、刺猬、骆驼。西部人民在与此类动物互动中，逐渐将它们融入当地语言表达中，赋予其概念意义。具有地域特色的动物隐喻表达是小说中较为常见的隐喻类型。在动物隐喻中，各类独立存在的动物作为源域，将其中蕴含的深刻内涵投射至小说的表达中，化抽象为具体，使读者得以在动物经验领域层面感受小说中的西部文化面貌。

（1）大头嘿嘿笑了：“好心当了**驴肝肺**。”

（2）两人都怀了**刺猬心**，嘴上却偏要抹蜂蜜。

例 1 中，在驴的身上，驴肝和肺是最不好吃以及廉价的部位。源域“驴肝肺”映射到人类的“心眼”上，隐喻坏心眼、心地不良（如图 3 所示）。例 2 中，刺猬为西北大漠地区常见的野生动物，其体背长有硬刺，受惊时缩成一团，竖起棘刺。源域“刺猬”将“遇敌竖刺”的这一特征映射至目标域“人心”上，隐喻人物内心戒备感很强（如图 4 所示）。上述两例动物隐喻承载着西部的独特风情，并都构建了“人是动物”的隐喻概念，反映了西部人民与动物之间熟悉的关系以及他们对动物有着天然的了解。

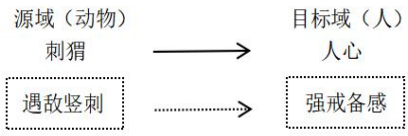


图 3 “刺猬心”映射图式

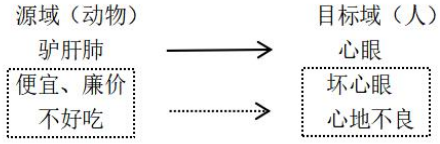


图 4 “驴肝肺”映射图式

3.1.2 植物隐喻

西部大漠环境具有特殊性，孕育了许多独特的植物，如沙米稞、桦条。这些植物是对西部人民独特精神世界的反映。在植物隐喻中，源域为植物，映射的目标域可以为事件、活动、情感、思想。具有地域性特色的植物隐喻能够帮助读者了解西部凉州的人情风貌，同时也折射出西部的多重性，即诗意与荒凉的交织。

（3）既悲死别，又怕生离，心老是攥成个**酸杏蛋儿**。

（4）这就是花儿，是西部独有的歌，是灵魂的诗，是贫瘠的人生中**繁衍绿色抵御风沙的芨芨草**。

例 3 中，“酸杏蛋儿”是西部地域性语言表达，指的是杏树的果实（雪漠，2023：441）。甘肃地区大陆性气候明显，适合杏树生长，盛产酸杏干。源域“酸杏蛋儿”将人们品尝这种水果普遍获得的“酸”的体验投射到目标域“情感”上，隐喻情绪上的酸涩难过（如图 5 所示）。例 4 中，芨芨草，据《中国植物志》记载，是一种生长在碱性土壤草滩上的植物，且是西部良好的固沙耐碱植物,可做饲料,又可编织筐、篓、席等。在此表达中，源域“植物”映射到目标域“诗歌”中，从而使这一简单的具体概念被建构到“诗意”这一抽象概念中。蕴藏着丰富的大漠民情的“花儿”类似于芨芨草一般肆意生长在凉州大地上，它可以像这种草一样为当地居民提供精神养料，抵挡生活吹来的风沙——苦难，也可以成为维系当地人民感情的精神纽带（如图 6 所示）。

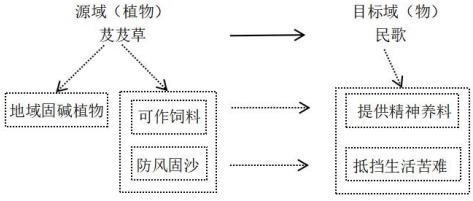


图 5 “芨芨草”映射图式

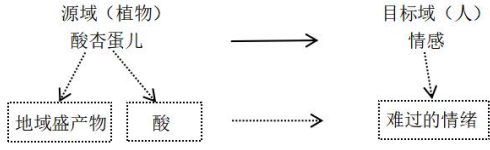


图 6 “酸杏蛋儿”映射图式

3.2 社会文化隐喻

3.2.1 民俗隐喻

民俗是各种群体的基本文化构成，其既有共时的尺度，又有历时的尺度，包括物质生活、精神生活、社会生活三个层面（高丙中，2009：7-8）。在西部凉州，有农民口口相传的叙事、谚语以及笑话这类说唱传统，有传统建筑等物质文化，也有各类活动的庆祝仪式，这些都是当地的民俗。在民俗隐喻中，民谣、传统建筑、传统仪式作为源域，如“唱大戏”“阴国票子”等，构建起具有地域色彩的隐喻系统。

（5）别**灶王爷不知道自己的脸黑**。他干了啥事，你心里也有数。

（6）前些日子，天天来**唱大戏**。这些天，怪了，悄声没气的。

例 5 隐喻表达中的“灶王爷”，据《现代汉语词典》解释，即民间在锅灶附近供的神。由于居于厨灶之地，在凉州人的想象中，烹饪时产生的烟火会将灶神的脸熏黑，而灶神自己却看不见。源域此特点投射到目标域某人身上，隐喻一个人发现不了自己的缺点或错误（如图 7 所示）。例 6 隐喻表达“唱大戏”，本义指昔西部人民在专用舞台上或搭台子请专业剧团连续几天唱连本的戏。此隐喻表达将唱大戏“持续吹拉弹唱”特点建构到人说话“大话连篇”上，隐喻为了获得关注而说法浮夸的人（如图 8 所示）。

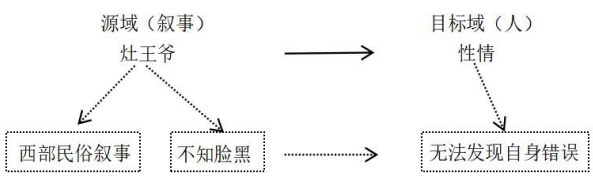


图 7 “灶王爷”映射图式

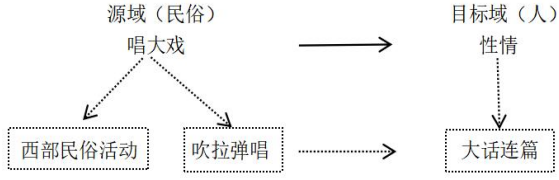


图 8 “唱大戏”映射图式

3.2.2 人体隐喻

人体是人类最为熟悉的部分，是人类共有的经验。西部地区处于农耕文明的人民大多以体力劳动为生，躯体对他们来说具有多重意义。在小说中出现了不少的人体隐喻。人体隐喻以人体的皮肤、脸、喉咙、骨头、心等物质为源域，来表达西部百姓的性情、状态、行为以及思想。

（7）你是个**白肋巴**，没常劲，干不了几下，就成个乏骆驼了……

（8）麦子倒还有些，**扎紧喉咙**，也能巢个三五千。

在西部，男性干活时，一般会脱去身上的衣物。在长年累月的日晒下，他们身体便会变得黝黑，包括肋骨的区域（雪漠，2023：122）。若一个人身体肋骨的附近为白色，说明他很少参与农活。例 7 中，“白肋骨”将“人的懒惰”这一抽象概念通过人体的物理特征来体现，用来隐喻“懒汉”（如图 9 所示）。例 8 中，喉咙是进食器官，将喉咙扎紧会阻碍进食。此处将喉咙被扎紧的状况映射至人的生存状态，隐喻西

部人民为了筹钱而省吃俭用，减少餐食的场景（如图 10 所示）。同时侧面反映出西部农村城市化之前普遍贫穷的经济面貌（雪漠，2023：249）。

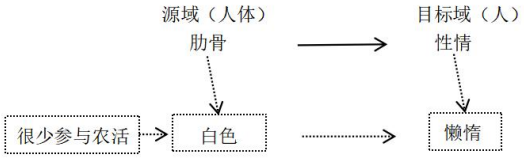


图 9 “肋骨”映射图式

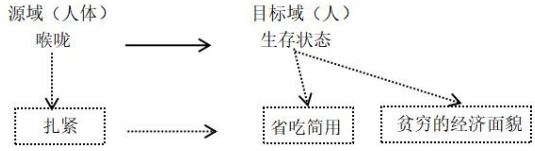


图 10 “喉咙”映射图式

3.2.3 器具隐喻

对于身处农耕时代的农民来说，因其劳作的需要，各类器具对于他们的生活来说不可或缺。这些器具极具地域特色，如箩儿、秤杆等。具有不同使用功能的器具，能够与人们经历的与其作用功能类似的经验相关联，从而被赋予不同的概念含义。具有地域特色的器具隐喻，以各类器具为源域，使读者能够依据自身使用器具的经验来感受其背后所蕴藏着的意义内涵。

（9）虽没**猛榔头**砸你，但那**针**挑的滋味，也难受哩。

（10）大头这孙蛋，给了个**箩儿，就当个天了**。

例 9 中，根据器具的特点，“猛榔头”意味着“凶猛的攻击”。在此处，这两个具体的事物被映射到“生活”这一目标域中。“猛榔头”隐喻“生活中足以击垮一个人的磨难”（如图 11 所示），“针”隐喻“生活中时不时遇到的小坎坷”。这两个分别借用器具“榔头”和“针”作源域的隐喻表达，体现了不同程度的困难，传达出凉州农民在生活所带来的大大小小的挑战中不断地挣扎与克服，以及于苦痛中前进的不易。在例 10 中，“箩儿”，竹制的盛物器[1]，用于分离麦子和表面附带的微小麸皮，是凉州农家常见的工具（雪漠，2023：91）。该隐喻表达中，源域“微小”的特点映射至目标域“职位低”，隐喻某些人虽然职位不高，但自视甚高，仿佛头顶上有一个“箩儿”就可以主宰一切（如图 12 所示）。同时，源域“箩儿”与其后的“天”形成语义上的对比，暗示人的自我膨胀和对权力的不切实际的幻想。

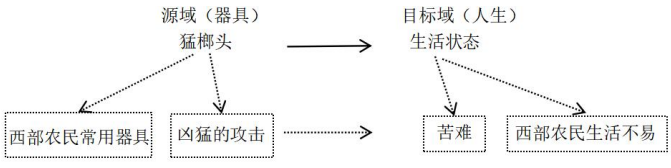


图 11 “猛榔头”映射图式

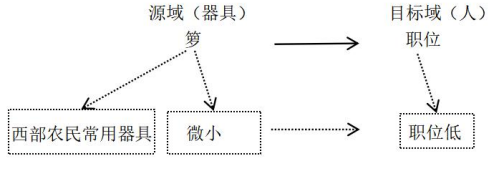


图 12 “箩”映射图式

[1] 箩.(n.d.). *汉典*. https://www.zdic.net/hans/箩

3.2.4 食物隐喻

食物对于当时凉州的老百姓具有重大意义。它与百姓日常生活温饱相联系，与家庭财富相联系，同时也与社会的稳定相关。因身处农耕时代，粮食在当时百姓心中已不再只是用来温饱的各种谷物实体，它已变成了当地人用来理解和感知周围世界的器具。在食物隐喻中，各类粮食作为源域，映射出人民生活经济面貌或目标物的重要性。

（11）有人山珍海味，你**山芋米拌面**。公平不？

（12）你们先吃。五谷不吃也成，这**六谷**不吃可不成……

例 11 中，“山芋米拌面”是西部凉州人民的主食（雪漠，2023：12）。“山芋拌面”作为源域，其“寒酸”的特点映射至目标域“生活”的“不易”，隐喻“生活条件艰苦”（如图 13 所示）。例 12 中，“六谷”是西部凉州百姓对香烟的戏称（雪漠，2023：184）。日常生活里，人们一般称粮食作物为“五谷杂粮”，且源域“谷”对于当地农民来说具有重要性。食物隐喻“六谷”构建了“香烟是与生活紧密相关且十分重要谷物”的概念，完成了“西部凉州人民对烟的无法自拔的状态”这一抽象概念的映射，体现了香烟对爱抽烟的人来说与养命的五谷杂粮一样重要（如图 14 所示）。

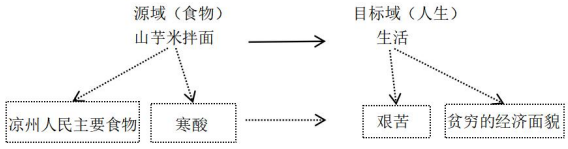


图 13 “山芋拌面”映射图式

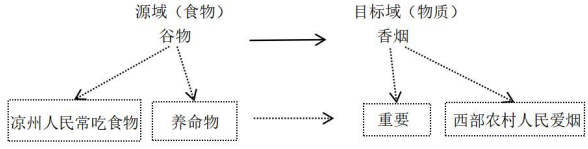


图 14 “谷物”映射图式

4. 雪漠“大漠三部曲”中地域性隐喻普遍性与变化性

语码间的转换，就是对心智的解读和编码，语码转换活动必定反应心智活动的规律（宋德生，2005：21）。换言之，人类的语言概念建构特点得以通过比照源语与转码后的语言反映。研究以葛浩文与林丽君的英译本 *Desert Rites, Desert Hunters, White Tiger Pass* 为语料，笔者发现收集的 646 条地域性隐喻对应的英译语料采用了保留地域性隐喻源域、替换地域性隐喻源域、放弃地域性隐喻源域、补充地域性隐喻源域四种处理方式，这表明隐喻在地域上的维度既有普遍性（Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003）也有变化性（Kövecses，2005）。同时，研究对其进行了归纳统计（如下表 2 所示），发现此四类不同的翻译方式与一定的地域性隐喻类型相适应，体现了不同类型地域隐喻所表现的特点倾向。

表 2 地域性隐喻类型及其四种翻译策略数率

地域性隐喻类型		保留源域数率		替换源域数率		放弃源域数率		补充源域数率	
		数量	比率	数量	比率	数量	比率	数量	比率
自然环境隐喻	动物隐喻	**103**	**68.67%**	8	5.33%	33	22.00%	6	4.00%
	植物隐喻	**41**	**58.57%**	3	4.29%	22	31.43%	4	5.71%
社会文化隐喻	民俗隐喻	58	40.85%	10	7.04%	**65**	**45.77%**	9	6.33%
	人体隐喻	50	39.37%	10	7.87%	**59**	**46.46%**	8	6.30%
	器具隐喻	**62**	**51.67%**	9	7.50%	43	35.83%	6	5.00%
	食物隐喻	14	37.83%	1	2.70%	**20**	**54.05%**	2	5.41%

Kövecses（2005：93—95）以不同国家的方言隐喻表达为例，指出在不同物理环境中变化的语言会对隐喻产生影响，并提出地理区域是隐喻语言和思想变化的一个维度。尽管地域的变化（regional varieties）会引起隐喻的变动（metaphor variation），但对于地域性隐喻而言，其依然能够体现来考夫指出的隐喻普遍性。表 2 显示，地域性隐喻中的自然环境隐喻与社会文化隐喻均有采取保留源域的处理方式，且即便是社会文化隐喻下的器具隐喻，其采取保留地域性隐喻源域方式的数率也为 51.97%，说明处于不同地域的人类虽存在经验差异，但此差性并不意味着一方放弃空缺于自身地域经验的实体（孙今怡、贺爱军，2024：88），这表明了地域性隐喻中存在的经验共享特征。同时，其中的自然环境隐喻更倾向体现普遍性。数据显示，包括动物、植物隐喻在内的自然环境隐喻的英译，多保留地域性隐喻源域，分别占 68.67%、58.57%。可见，地域性的物质性，使得不同地域的读者能够共享源域中某些客观实体的属性，以构建起相同的隐喻场景。如例（13）中的动物隐喻“驴”在英译语料中并没有直接通过具有贬义色彩的词语来体现，而是直接保留了源域“donkeys”。也就是说，目标语国读者能够推断其中消极的概念意义，共享源域“驴”与目标域“人”之间的类似经验。

（13）原文：“去，再生发个几百块，要给那些**驴**送礼呢。”猛子问：“哪些**驴**？”“大夫。”

译文：Go scare up a few hundred. We have to send gifts to those **donkeys**." "What **donkeys**?" Mengzi asked. "The doctors."

此外，含义是具身（embodied）的，人类对语言表达的意义理解受到感觉器官与由此产生的认知结构影响（Taylor & Evans，2001：23-24）。认知视角下的隐喻也具有具身性，其一个重要方面体现在理解者对隐喻表达式及其使用语境和相关百科知识的体验与认知是理解隐喻的前提（林立军，2024：14）。在地域性隐喻中，地域性的文化维度使隐喻意义的解码受到具体的使用语境影响。虽然具有地域特色的

源域在不同地域文化中，具有概念的交叠部分，但对于受到文化影响较强的部分地域性隐喻而言，若缺乏特定的为文化背景，其意义的解码便会受阻。表 2 中，包含民俗、人体、食物隐喻的社会文化隐喻翻译，多放弃地域性隐喻源域，分别占 45.77%、46.46%、54.05%，远远高于地域自然环境隐喻。且在替换源域数率上也高于地域性隐喻中的自然环境隐喻，分别占 7.04%，7.87%与 7.50%，这表明在地域性隐喻中的文化维度下，隐喻内涵与目的语读者对相关世界的认知经验发生冲突，说明地域性隐喻中的社会文化隐喻，更倾向表现 Kövecses 指出的变化性。如例（14）中的民俗隐喻“正月十五买门神”，倘若没有“西部凉洲人民正月初一以前贴门神像辟邪”背景，则难以理解其传递“落后于时”的隐喻意义。在对应的英译中，隐喻表达被放弃，直接表达意义。

（14）原文：到时候，地面比金子贵。那时后悔，就是**正月十五买门神**了。

译文：When that happens, the land will be more valuable than gold and you can rue all you want, but **it will be too late**.

5. 结语

本研究以雪漠“大漠三部曲”中具有地域特色的隐喻表达为例，探讨了地域性隐喻。根据地域性中的物质性与社会文化性，研究构建了地域性隐喻框架，将其归类为自然环境和社会文化两大类隐喻，并重点分析了动物隐喻、植物隐喻、民俗隐喻、人体隐喻、器具隐喻、食物隐喻这六种隐喻。在人类认知与地域自然人文环境的双重加工下，上述地域性隐喻表达，不但构建了两个对象之间的相似经验，反应相似经验中的隐喻含义；而且反映出地域的自然与/或社会文化环境特点。此外，针对 Kövecses 指出隐喻地域维度的特点，研究以葛浩文与林丽君“大漠三部曲”的译本为例，统计对应英译表达对源域的处理方式。结果显示，雪漠“大漠三部曲”中概念隐喻表达在地域维度上并不止体现变化性，其仍然具有普遍性。其中地域性隐喻下的自然环境隐喻倾向体现普遍性，社会文化环境倾向体现变化性。研究中所选取的语料仅为地域性文学作品中出现的西部凉州地区方言，且语言比较对象是在一国的地区与一国之间。Kövecses（2005：93）提到不同地方与地方之间隐喻模式的探究几乎没有，未来的研究可以扩大语料覆盖面，并在地区与地区进行进一步的对比研究。

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“我去”类的表达功能及叹词化现象研究

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【摘　要】：“我去”原本是表示“我从所在地到别的地方”，而因“去”字的虚化，逐渐带有叹词化色彩。本文以话语标记“我去”为主要研究对象，探讨“我去”的变体形式及句法分布、语义与语用功能以及叹词化的动因与机制。

【关键词】：“我去”；语义功能；语用功能；叹词化

一、引言：

“我去”是日常生活中的高频使用词，本是由人称代词“我”＋实义动词“去”构成的主谓结构短语，如：

（1）有一回雇三轮儿，出价四百元，三轮儿定要五百元。一个洋车夫赶上来说，“我去，我去。”（朱自清《标准与尺度》）

（2）这时，背后传过来好几个声音：“连长！我去！”“我去！”（魏巍《东方》）

此处的“我去”仅有“我前往（某地）的概念义，无其他额外含义。

以主谓短语形式存在的“我去”一词，在其被用作次生叹词后，与“我的去”、“我的个去”、”我勒个去“等共存于人们的日常口语中，其已脱离原有的概念语义范畴，不再呈现“我去”的字面语义所指，转而承载情感表达功能。鉴于其介入了各类情感与态度，具体所表达的情感类别，则需凭借语境来予以判定与识别，以此方能准确把握其在特定口语表达中的情感内涵与语义指向，从而为相关语言现象的深入研究提供精准的分析依据。如：

（3）我去，宝宝你太自律了吧！（新浪微博）

此处的“我去”经历了从空间位移到情感表达的语义虚化过程。当该表达式出现在“当说话者获悉其崇拜的偶像在密集的练习日程后仍坚持健身打卡”的语境中时，其语义重心已完全转移至情感维度，用以表征说话者对超预期事件的认知冲击。另外，此处起到了强化语气的作用。如果只是说“宝宝你太自律了”，语气相对来说较为平淡。而加上“我去”之后，整个句子的语气就变得更加强烈，能够更好地吸引听话者的注意力，让听话者也能感受到说话者那种激动、惊讶的情绪。

目前，学界对于具有表情达意作用的“我去”研究的总体数量很少。柴静利（2015）对网络流行语“我去”进行探讨与分析，比较了它的本义和新义的用法、并关注其色彩义以及语用功能[1]；王涛（2017）将其看作话语标记，从句法位置、话语标记功能以及话语标记化的原因展开探讨[2]；裘晓晨（2018）主要从“我去”的来源、词义发展、表达效果三个角度进行解释[3]；武蕾旭（2019）主要从“我去”的来源、

语用功能、词义演变以及流行成因四个方面展开分析[4]。很少有学者对“我去”的叹词化现象进行系统研究，仅刘丹青（2012）认为“去去”正在同时发生词汇化和叹词化，从话语的反复变成更加紧密的词级单位，并且丢失动词“去”原有的组合能力，带上叹词的特点。但这一过程可能尚未完成，表现之一是“去去”还可以说成“去去去”甚至“去去去去”，并没有完全脱离话语反复的性质[5]。李先银（2013）提到在一些语境中，由“去”组成的固定短语都表达一种强烈的否定情感，如“去你的、我的去、去你妈的、去你奶奶的、去你姥姥的”等[6]，但对“我去”的认知功能的全方位深入研究尚未展开。本文将在已有研究和理论的基础上，选取“我去”作为核心研究对象，深入分析其作为表达功能的特性以及叹词化的成因及机制。另本文语料绝大部分来自北京语言大学语料库中心（BLCU Corpus Center，以下简称 BCC 语料库），极少部分来自网络。

一、“我去”的变体形式及句法分布

国外学者依据叹词的起源，将叹词划分为原生叹词（primary interjection）与次生叹词（secondary interjections）两个类别。Poggi（2009）认为原生叹词是与生俱来的叹词，如英语中的 oh，uh；次生叹词是指由其他词类派生出来的叹词，如英语的 oh my god，well 等[7]。马清华（2011）指出原生叹词是由语音组成的，它不具有任何语言的内在动因，是人类本能的生理反应[8]。刘丹青（2012）指出次生叹词没有直接的语言外声音理据，但是常常有语言内的理据，反映在叹词化成分的词语来源和次生叹词的形成机制方面[9]。“我去”作为独立成分使用时，不与其他语言成分组合，缺乏明确的概念意义，符合次生叹词的定义标准，其确切含义需依据上下文语境进行理解。除此之外，“我去”吸收了“我靠”的相似语义

（4）我去！这么辣他也吃，我真是服了。（新浪微博）

（5）A：他在寝室吃螺蛳粉。

B：螺蛳粉呀？我去！（新浪微博）

（6）A:：小张，帮我改改论文呗。B:我忙着呢。

A:我去！（新浪微博）

（7）哎呀我去！你丫回来了？不是火车票被人给黑掉了么？

（8）我的去！我上初一，她上初二，我上初三她原地复读，害我三年学白上对望三年，没说一句话，就没下文了。

（9）排位又输了，我的个去。

（10）快本姗姗和灏明跳舞那段被无情的删了，我勒个去。

在所举之例句中，“我去”并未表达其字面意义，即“从当前位置向另一地点的移动”，亦未反映“位置变动”的实际含义。相反，在句中，该词更多地用于表达说话者的震惊、厌恶、赞叹等情感态度，而不包含概念意义。借助具体实例剖析后可确切洞察到，在“我去”被用作次生叹词的情形下，其呈现出独有的句法样式以及凝练的抽象语义，可被辨识。在例（4）中，“我去”一词在句中主要承载了一种强烈

的情绪色彩，反映了说话者对于某人能够食用极辣食物的行为感到惊讶和难以置信，同时亦蕴含了轻微的戏谑或无奈情绪，可能认为对方的口味独特。在例（5）的语境下，“我去”表达了说话者对在寝室食用螺蛳粉这一行为及其将要产生的浓烈气味的厌恶和反感，从而传达了其不快的情绪。例（6）中，说话者使用“我去”回应B不愿提供帮助的行为，其中隐含了对事件的意外和无奈。例（7）-例（10）是“我去”的变体形式，同样可用来表达强烈的感叹以及揶揄和调侃的意味。

次生叹词	数量	总计
哎呀我去	574	2272
我的去	7	
我的个去	7	
我勒个去	1684	

表 1“我去”变体形式 bbc 语料整理情况（根据次生叹词的界定标准）

从句法结构的角度分析，“我去”在所考察的句子中充当独立成分，或单独构成句子。例（4）至例（10）均独立成句，这进一步证实了“我去”作为叹词的性质。该性质符合次生叹词的句法特征，即它们通常能够独立成句，并且不与其它实词形成特定的句法关系。

“我去”作为次生叹词,其句法所处位置呈现出多样化特征。其作为独立成分而存在时，句中位置不确定，能够出现于句子开头、中间或结尾位置，如:

（11）我去！是我瞎了吗？

（12）他竟然喜欢他！我去！

（13）这么远吗？我去！我不想走了。

（14）天天把你美的，我勒个去。

（15）我勒个去,就不能有人不这么说我么？

（16）18 了呀，我勒个去，我们老了。

（17）我的个去，又恋爱了？

（18）我还以为只有我勒？我的个去！

（19）A：私教多少钱呀？

B：一节 180。

A：我的去！180！这么贵！

（20）A：我们明年的元旦不调休了，你知道吗？

B：不调休？我去！那一天能去哪里玩呀？（新浪微博）

（21）A：熙宝，你的口音到底被拐的多么东北范啊？",

B:我学小沈阳他们的嘛！哎呀我去！

（22）A:美团打车出来了。哈哈，再也不用做比出租车还贵的滴滴了。

B:哎呀我去。

二、“我去”的语义与语用功能

陈振宇（2017）在《汉语的指称与命题：语法中的语义学原理》中对“语义的复合性”描述为：一个语句的意义往往是多个层次、多个方面的多个单纯意义共同构建而成的一个复杂语义结构，其中包含“字面意义”（literal sense），也就是语句的词汇加结构产生的基本意义、“非字面意义”（non-literal sense），是语句在具体语境中与其他因素结合所产生的意义、以及介于字面意义与非字面意义之间的“界面意义”（interfacial sense）[10]。

“我去”的字面意义是由人称代词“我”十实义动词“去”构成，其中“去”是一个位移动词，核心意义是离开，表示“从所在地到别的地方（跟‘来’相对）”(《现代汉语词典》第 7 版 1080 页)。在祈使句语境下，表达驱离命令的意图在于促使受话者从说话者所在位置移至另一地点。此类驱离命令必然蕴含着某种客观或主观的目的性，无论其位移终点是否明确呈现。如：

（23）龙飞和徐子材连声说“快去”，一阵风似的就把两位女士卷了出去。（茅盾《蚀》）

（24）兰看见父亲的胡子上有一块血，她叫阿非去拿一条热毛巾来擦下去。（林语堂《京华烟云》）

这里的“去”表达的是一种真实的位移，例（23）的驱离没有指明位移的终点，而例（24）指明位移的终点是热毛巾的所在之处。

由于“去”具有语法一语义相宜性:一是“离开义”的语义基础，二是段首的语法位置，李先银（2013）认为“去”在话语否定中叹词化了，由表达“离开”发展成为一个表达否定的叹词[6]。同时，在一些语境中，由“去”组成的固定短语都表达一种强烈的否定情感，与构式“去你的”关系密切，其已由一个实义短语逐渐演变成表达说话人主观态度和主观情绪的构式[12]，如例（12）“我去！是我瞎了吗？”中，“我去”在即时的情境下发出的感叹，并不是真的要去哪里的含义，而是对现实环境所发生的事情的怀疑。

国内关于话语标记功能的研究兴起于 21 世纪初期，其研究进程从零星分散逐渐转向系统化。其中李秀明（2006）运用系统功能语言学和言语行为的基本概念和理论，讨论了元话语标记在汉语语篇中的形式特征、功能分类以及在各类语体文本中的使用情况，并总结了话语标记的语篇功能和人际功能并逐一阐述了两大功能下的话语标记话题结构功能、衔接连贯功能、证据来源功能、注释说明功能等[13]。

“我去”类表达置于句首，具有相对的独立性，从而使得其话语界限更为明确。在不与其他语言成分结合的情况下，该类表达能够独立地发挥其特定的含义和功能，进而自然地演化为表达感叹的话语标记，主导了整个句子的语气和情感倾向，如例（3）、例（4）、例（8）以及例（9）等。在对“我去”这一表达进行语篇或对话分析时，其主要功能体现为话语标记的语篇功能以及人际互动功能。

从“我去”的语篇功能来看，它具有延续、转接话轮等功能。其延续话轮功能体现在“我去”由说话人在对话过程中使用，并贯穿其情感态度，用以强调发言者的认知倾向与情感态度。如例（19）A：私教多少钱呀？B：一节 180。A：我的去！180！这么贵！例子中，说话人 B 用“我的去”来延续话轮，强烈地表达对价格感到意外、诧异的情绪。话轮的转接功能表现为会话中话题的转换及对某些观点或者言语的应答回应。例（20）A：我们明年的元旦不调休了，你知道吗？B：不调休？我去！那一天能去哪里玩呀？例子中，说话人 B 用“我去”表达内心的无奈，同时对这一件事情做出回应：选择适合一日的玩

法。

从“我去”的人际功能来看，它应为话语性人际标记语。此现象涉及说话者对其所讨论话题的情感倾向，通过运用特定的语气词，说话者能够将个人情感和态度融入其话语产出。例如，在例（17）中，“我的个去”一词首先吸引听者的注意力并激发其好奇心，将关注焦点集中于说话者随后所述事件“又恋爱了”，同时传达了说话者对此事件的疑惑与惊讶情绪。

三、“我去”叹词化的动因与机制

（一）“我去”叹词化的动因

叹词的实质是代句词，代替句子、小句或有话语标记功能的简短小句；叹词的语义就像实词中的代词一样，相对空灵；至于它的功能，就是其所代句子的交际功能、语用功能[14]。实词叹词化的句法表征，就是在特定场合单独承担叹词的代句功能，而且在该功能上失去原有组合能力和扩展能力[9]。“我去”类句法上符合叹词化的标准。

1. 内部动因

1.1 叹词的开放性

关于叹词的分类众说纷纭。有的学者从语义角度分类，如黎锦熙（1924）、王力（1985）；有的学者从语音角度分类，如房玉清（2001）、杜道流（2003）；还有的学者从表达功能角度，如陈光磊（2001）、马清华（2011）。这些学者着眼于原生叹词的研究，而忽略了次生叹词。有的学者便采用 Ameka 提出的根据叹词来源分类的方法，将叹词分为原生叹词和次生叹词，如方云（2007）、刘双艳（2013）等；有的学者从代句功能分类，如刘丹青（2011）。可见，在语言中，叹词是一种比较独特的词，它具有非常明显的灵活性和多样性，并且具有很强的开放性。在现代语言交流环境中，词汇叹词化速度加快，出现形式与传统叹词如“唉”“吁”等有所不同，能够不断接纳新的成员。

1.2 语义-语法相宜性

一个词汇单位在语法化的过程中，其原始的词义和语法化后产生的语法意义之间应当有某种程度的协调一致关系，这是语义适宜性的要求。“我去”的“我的位移义”是它从驱离发展到话语否定并叹词化的语义基础。“去”离开义不断弱化，最后导致“去”的词汇意义空壳化，即“去”离开义被完全抽离。同时，“我去”常独立成句或者可处于任意位置，符合叹词的语法特征。

1.3 主观化

语言的主观化是语言为了表现主观性而采用相应的结构形式所需要的演变过程[22]。“我去”的发展随着句首句法位置的高频使用，从实词义转变为表示情感态度的次生叹词，在语境中逐渐带有言语交谈中说话人的主观情绪，在言语中带有说话人“自我”的成分。如例（21）A：“熙宝，你的口音到底被拐的多么东北范啊？”B:“我学小沈阳他们的嘛！哎呀我去！”说话人 B 使用“哎呀我去”这一表达，以自嘲的方式表达了对东北方言模仿的过度投入或相似度，体现了其对自身口音变化的轻松和幽默态度。该表达并非基于对客观事物的评价，而是对特定语境下的某一话题或行为动作所作出的主观性判断和情感反应。因此，可以推断主观化是推动叹词化现象的一个重要机制。

2. 外部动因

2.1 语言的经济性

法国语言学家马丁内（André Martinet）提出语言的经济性原则，他认为语言的发展变化是受交际需要和人类记忆、发音器官等生理机能的限制，在保证有效交际的前提下，人们会尽量减少言语活动中力量的消耗。语言处于持续的动态演变之中，这种演变是推动“我去”发生叹词化进程的重要驱动力，进而致使“我去”的使用范围得以进一步拓展。“我去”原本表示位移意义，然而在语言发展进程中，其语义功能发生转变，逐渐具备表达人类主观情绪与态度的能力。这一转变在很大程度上契合了大众在交际互动过程中的实际需求，显著增强了“我去”在语用层面的实用性，使其交际范围得到有效扩充。从实际效果来看，它不仅为语言使用者在表达过程中带来了便捷性，而且在汉语词汇系统的整体架构中发挥了简化复杂结构的作用，为语言增添了趣味性与生活气息，最终促使“我去”演变为一种被广泛接受且具有普遍性的规约性语言用法。

2.2 语境的依赖性

学术界对语境的认识可分类可为分类为：（1）着眼于语言的语境，某一语言片段同其前言后语，上下文之间构成一个语言语境。（2）着眼于言语的语境，语境是使用语言的环境，由时间、地点、场合、主题等客观因素和使用语言的人、其身份、职业、思想等主观因素组成。（3）着眼于语言和言语的语境，语境包括作品的上下文、说话的前言后语，以及说话和写作的社会环境、历史环境、文化环境等[23]。“我去”对语境依赖性高，为更好的理解句段中“我去”的具体意义需要充分借助语境。如例（22）A:“美团打车出来了。哈哈，再也不用做比出租车还贵的滴滴了。”B:“哎呀我去。”因前文说话人 A 提到因为美团打车的出现，不用再选择比出租车还贵的滴滴了，听话人 B 深有同感，“哎呀我去”在这里可以理解为是一种感慨式的认同，意思大概是“确实啊，之前滴滴有时候挺贵的，现在有美团打车这个新选择了，真挺意外又让人觉得挺不错的”，通过这个表达来附和 A 的观点，同时抒发自己对这一情况的

感触。可见，语境对于其的理解有重要意义。

（二）“我去”的叹词化机制

1. 语义吸收

Bybee，Perkins & Pagliuca（1994）和 Traugott & Trousdale（2013）的语法化理论提出，随着词汇项或者构式语境的改变，语义会因为变化存在的差异而随之发生变化，也就是语境中的含义被词汇项或者构式吸收，语法学界将其称为语境吸收（absorption of context）。我们认为，“我去”与“我天”、“我靠”等表达在语境中的重合程度较高。随着这些词汇适用范围的扩展及使用频率的增加，“去”字在相同句法结构中逐渐吸收了“天”、“靠”等词汇的相似语义。其中，“我靠”这类詈词属于由动词性成分凝固而成的特定用语。

2. 语用推理

语用推理，从本质上来说，重点聚焦于人们如何针对话语里的隐性含义展开推理与分析，并且着重强调隐性含义无法凭借孤立的话语推导得出。其具体的语用推理流程呈现如下：说话者依照会话中的前景信息抑或事情的发展态势，一旦事情的发展超出自身预期范围，针对事物或者事情的发展趋势流露出诸如感叹、惊讶、无奈等情绪，通过说出“我去”来传达自身的主观情绪。而听话者在听到“我去”之际，通常能够识别出说话者当下的情绪状态以及对会话中事物或者事件发展走向所秉持的评价或态度，进而领会说话者的言语意图，如此便能更为有效地达成交际目的，做好心理铺垫并留意后续的内容。如例（13）这么远吗？我去！我不想走了。要想真正理解位于段中的“我去”的真正含义，需要充分联系上下文语境。从“我不想走了”能看出说话者对当前情况是不太满意的，“我去”在一定程度上也夹杂着对距离远这一情况的抱怨情绪，虽然抱怨的程度不是特别强烈，但也传达出了对路途遥远的一种消极态度。通过语用推理揭示“我去”一词的深层含义，必须依赖于语境的参与，其对语境的依赖性极强，从而进一步证实了语用推理与“我去”作为叹词化的紧密联系。

四、结语

通过对“我去”类表达的功能及其叹词化现象的深入探讨，揭示了其在现代汉语中的独特地位与作用。研究发现，“我去”不仅在句法结构上符合叹词化的标准，而且在语义内容和语用功能上也展现出叹词化的特征。其叹词化的成因可细分为内部成因与外部成因，内部成因涉及叹词的开放性、语义-语法的适宜性以及主观化倾向，而外部成因则涉及语言的经济性原则和语境的依赖性。叹词化的机制主要体现在语义吸收和语用推理两个方面。通过这些机制，“我去”能够有效地传达说话人的主观态度和情感，成为现代汉语交际中不可或缺的工具。

限于时间和精力，本文仅以 bbc 语料为基础，对次生叹词“我去”进行了粗略研究，没有涉及到部分存在叹词化现象的方言语料（如四川方言中的“哦豁”，其类似于“我去”的含义），期望更多的学者对叹词化现象的关注以及进一步探讨、研究。

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语言结构与社会隐喻：对“上厕所下厨房”搭配规则的文化语言学分析

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摘　要：本研究从文化语言学视角出发，探讨汉语中“上厕所”与“下厨房”搭配规则的不对称性，分析其形成机制及所反映的社会文化特征。通过对《现代汉语词典》等权威词典的释义分析、BCC 语料库数据统计以及历时语料的比较研究，考察“上/下”在特定搭配中的语义演变及用法规律。研究发现，“上”不仅表示空间趋向，还承载尊贵、上位等抽象概念；而“下”则常与下降、从属相关，并在特定语境中体现劳动或低位的象征。从历时演变来看，厕所的建造方式（如古代常与猪圈连设）使“上厕所”成为固定搭配，而厨房因其位置较低且承担烹饪劳作功能，故用“下厨房”表达进入并从事相关活动。此外，社会隐喻与等级观念深刻影响了这一搭配，“上厕”体现对排泄场所的避讳心理，而“下厨”则反映厨房劳作在传统社会中的低微属性，折射出对体力劳动的贬抑。研究进一步表明，上/下动词性组合的不对称性受地理空间布局、社会等级隐喻及语言经济原则等多种因素的影响。这一发现不仅有助于理解汉语方位词在固定搭配中的语义演变，也为汉语教学及跨文化交流提供了新的认知视角。

关键词：方位词；上/下；搭配规律；文化内涵；社会隐喻；

Language structure and social metaphor: cultural linguistic analysis of the matching rules of "going to the toilet and going to the kitchen"

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Abstract：From the perspective of cultural linguistics, this study examines the asymmetry in the collocational patterns of “going to the toilet” and “going to the kitchen” in Mandarin Chinese, analyzing their underlying mechanisms and the sociocultural implications they reflect. By conducting a semantic analysis of authoritative dictionaries such as *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, utilizing statistical data from the BCC corpus, and comparing diachronic linguistic data, this study investigates the semantic evolution and usage patterns of the directional verbs “up” and “down” in fixed expressions. The findings indicate that “up” not only denotes spatial movement but also conveys abstract notions of superiority and prestige, whereas “down” is often associated with downward movement, subordination, and, in certain contexts, labor or lower social status. From a diachronic perspective, the spatial distribution of toilets—historically constructed at elevated locations or adjacent to pigsties—has contributed to the conventionalized use of “go up to the toilet” , while kitchens, typically situated at lower levels and designated for cooking labor, led to the usage of “go down to the kitchen”, Moreover, this asymmetry is deeply influenced by social metaphors and hierarchical ideologies: “go up to the toilet” reflects a linguistic taboo associated with excretion, whereas “go down to the kitchen” embodies the traditional view of kitchen labor as inferior, reinforcing the historical devaluation of physical labor. Further analysis reveals that the asymmetry in the “up/down” verb-noun collocations is shaped by multiple factors, including spatial organization, hierarchical metaphors, and the principle of linguistic economy. These findings

not only contribute to a deeper understanding of the semantic evolution of Chinese locative expressions but also offer valuable insights for Chinese language pedagogy and cross-cultural communication.
Key words:position words; up/down; collocation rules; cultural connotation; social metaphors

一、问题缘起

上”与“下”是汉语中的基础方位词，同时也是生活中的常用动词。但是对于初学者或对于汉语文化较为陌生的学生来说，方位词“上”和“下”的使用规则可能会让他们感到困惑，特别是在一些固定表达上，如“上厕所”和“下厨房”。北京语言大学留学生语料库显示，68%的汉语学习者曾误用“上厨房”或“下厕所”，认为“厨房需要低头进入，厕所需要抬脚迈入”。在许多语言中，方位词通常事直观且清晰的，但是汉语中的方位词却不仅仅是空间的指示，更多的涉及到社会文化、习惯搭配和空间隐喻规则等。有时候“上”和“下”是可以相互替换的，但是有时候无法替换。例如，我们可以说：

上北京　　下广州
上酒店　　下馆子
上厕所　　下厨房

但是我们通常情况不会用下列表达：

*下北京　　*上广州
*下酒店　　*上馆子
*下厕所　　*上厨房

“上”“下”是一对极性反义词，两者的基本义项为竖直方向的反向运动，然而这并不是它们的唯一义项。因此“上/下+处所词”组合的不对称性常常会给汉语初学者带来偏误。“上厕所”中的“上”和“下厨房”的“下”又有哪些义项？动词“上”“下”对于名词的选择是否具有单一性和排他性？这背后的原因都是值得探讨的。

二、谓语动词“上、下”的义项识解

为了深入理解“上”与“下”在“上厕所、下厨房、下馆子”等表达中的使用，我们首先需要考察这两个方位词在词典中的基本释义。

（一）《现代汉语词典》（第 7 版）所见“上、下”释解

《现代汉语词典》第七版是一部权威、实用的语文工具书。它在第六版基础上修订，增收新词语和新义项，完善释义，提升科学性和准确性。内容丰富全面，涵盖字词形音义等知识，编排合理，检索便捷，是语言学习、研究及日常使用的重要参考资料。

“上”的解释：

（1）表示方向、位置的升高：如“上山”、“上楼”。
（2）表示次序或时间在前的：如“上半年”、“上世纪”。
（3）旧时指皇帝：如“上谕”。
（4）表示“到”“去”（某个地方）：如“上街”。
（5）表示向上级呈递：如“上书”、“上交”。
（6）表示“达到”“够”（一定数量或程度）：如“上百人”“上年纪”。

“下”的解释：

（1）表示方向、位置的下降：如“下山”、“下楼”。

（2）表示时间的结束或较晚：如“下半年”、“下月”。
（3）表示等次或品级低：如“下等”、“下属”。
（4）表示动作结束或未开始：如“下课”、“下场”。
（5）表示低于，少于：如“下下三百人”。

（二）《现代汉语八百词》所见“上、下”释解

《现代汉语八百词》是吕叔湘先生主编的一部极具影响力的语文工具书。它以实用为原则，收录约八百个常用的现代汉语虚词和部分实词，对每个词条进行了详细的用法分析和示例说明，是汉语学习者、研究者及语文工作者的重要参考资料，对推动汉语教学与研究意义重大。

“上”的解释：
（1）表示位置、方向的升高：如“上山”、“上天”。
（2）表示处所：如“上风”、“上游”。
（3）表示等级或质量高：如“上将”、“上校”。
（4）表示到规定时间开始日常工作或学习等：如“上限”、“上升”。

“下”的解释：
（1）表示由高出到低处：如“下山”、“下船”。
（2）表示后一半时间或即将来到的时间：如“下半夜”、“下一季度”。
（3）表示处所：如“下腹”、“下游”。
（4）表示等次或品级低：如“下等”、“下品”。

（三）《汉语大字典》所见“上、下”释解

《汉语大字典》是规模宏大、形音义完备的汉语字典。由徐中舒主编，集古今汉语研究成果，收字丰富，达 54678 个。注重形音义结合，以楷书为字头，按部首编排，释义详尽，书证丰富，是语文工作者、研究者及爱好者的重要工具书，对汉语研究和传承意义重大。

“上”的解释：
（1）表示高处、上方：如“上，《说文》云：‘高也’”。
（3）表示等级或质量高：如“上将”、“上策”。
（4）表示在尊长或在上位的人：如“何晏注：‘上，谓凡在己上者’”。
（5）表示低处到高处：如“上，登也，升也”。
（6）表示往、去：如“上街”、“上剧院”。

“下”的解释：
（1）表示低处、下方：如“下山”、“下楼”。
（2）表示进入（处所）：如“下考场”、“下馆子”。
（3）表示退出、离开：如“下岗”、“下火线”。
（4）表示等级、质量低：如“下级”、“下品”。
（6）表示动时间、次序在后的：如“下次”、“下册”。
（7）表示高处到低处：如“下霜”、“下楼”。

从以上各字/词典的释义来看，上”和“下”都包含了空间位置、等级次序和动作趋向等多重含义。观察表 1 我们可以发现这些基本义项为我们理解“上厕所、下厨房、下馆子”等表达提供了基础。例如，“上”在“上厕所”中可能体现了“去、到”的含义，而“下”在“下厨房”“下馆子”中可能同时包含了“去、到”和“由

高处到低处”的含义。当然有学者认为“‘上’似乎更接近‘到’义，‘下’更接近‘去’义”[1]。但“到”与“去”两者本身的差别就很细微，不能说明“上”与“下”的区别，两者的语义差别在其与不同处所名词的搭配中才能更清晰地表现出来[2]。

表 1 “上/下”的核心义项分析

Table 1 The Core Semantic Analysis of “Up/Down”

语义维度	“上”的核心义项	“下”的核心义项
空间	高处（如“山上”）、由低至高移动（“上楼”）	低处（如“地下”）、由高至低移动（“下楼”）
社会	尊贵（“上将”）、主导（“上级”）	卑贱（“下人”）、从属（“下级”）
时间	先前（“上古”）、开始（“上课”）	后续（“下午”）、结束（“下班”）

三、“上厕所”和“下厨房”的义理分析

（一） “上厕所”的造字逻辑和用法演变

“厕”，会意兼形声字，“厠”的简体字，本写作“廁”，从广从则，“側”的孽乳字，“廁”字最早见于楚国文字。广，依山崖建造的房屋（山洞），房屋；则，取“側”的旁边义。指住所旁边的房屋，造字本义：偏房、旁边的屋舍，引申为茅厕，厕所为口语。《说文解字》对“厕”的解释是：“厕，清也。从广，则声。”清除不洁的处所是厕之范式。

既然“厕所”有“清除不洁的处所”的意思，那为何用“上厕所”而非“下厕所”？在古代汉语中，虽然“上厕所”这一现代表达方式尚未形成，但与“上厕所”同义的行为和场所，通常会通过不同的方式描述。古人并没有“厕所”这一专门词汇，而是用更隐晦或雅致的词汇来指代与排泄相关的行为或场所。以下是 BCC 语料库中一些古代与“上厕所”意思相近的表达方式和例子：

小解、大解：

（1）《左传》昭二十二年，王师次于解。杜预曰：“洛阳县西南有大解、小解。”（《读史方舆纪要》）

解手:

（2）伍小姐忙问为什么，舅太太道：“一时腹痛起来，要找个地方解手。”（《九尾龟》）

如厕：

（3）坐须臾，沛公起如厕。（《史记·项羽本纪》）

（4）“石崇豪富，客如厕必令脱故衣。”（《世说新语》）

出恭：

（5）和尚说：“你们先到衙门去，我还要出恭。”（《济公全传》）

湿湿：

（6）“婶子，我要湿湿去。”（《儿女团圆》二折）

更衣：

（7）钱潢曰：“更衣者，贵人大便，必更换所服之衣，故称大便曰更衣。”（《皇汉医学》）

东净：

（8）后架乃粪秽之聚。其称为东净西净者。（《幻住庵清规》）

开风：

（9）“若在锅里开风，恐怕污了你的熟油，不好调菜吃，如今大小便通干净了，才好下锅。”（《西游记》二十五回）

水火：

（10）“水火急时，直等日间床上无人时节，就床下暗角中撒放。”（《明•凌濛初《二刻拍案惊奇》）

从古至今，人们对厕所有很多代称，古称溷、圂，今称卫生间、洗手间，在这诸多别称中，数“雪隐”一词别具一格、最为雅致。雪隐为厕所之雅称，源于禅宗。宋代名僧雪窦尝隐居杭州灵隐寺，担任净头（净洁厕所之职称）之职，而成就道业，故有此称。不难看出不论是古人还是今人，对于“排泄”“屎”“尿”都会选择合适的用词。这既是语言避讳的体现，也折射出中国古代社会的礼仪文化、等级观念和历史变迁。儒家“非礼勿言”思想渗透，排泄被视为“不洁”，需以隐语替代。如《礼记》强调“为尊者讳”，语言避讳成为维护社会体面的工具。与此相类似的有对“死”的婉约说法，从古到今有“崩”“薨”“卒”“圆寂”“涅槃”“仙逝”“夭折”“牺牲”“长眠”“寿终”“老了”等，适用不同阶级与不同情况。 语言是思维的外化，不管是古代的“上厕”“如厕”，还是今天的“上厕所”等代指排泄的说法，都在一定程度上反映了人们普遍避忌求雅的思维方式[2]。

（二） “下厨房”的造字法和语义生成轨迹

1.造字法

“厨”，形声字和会意字。篆书和隶书“广”表意，像房子形，表厨师做饭菜的房子，“尌”表声，古代童仆又叫尌子，尌子干活的地方主要是厨房。楷书从厂，厂是没有墙或只有一面墙的房屋，表示厨房的建筑比较简陋；从豆，豆是古代一种盛食物的器皿；从寸，表示烹饪食物需要掌握分寸。“厨”的本义是厨房。“廚”，同“厨”。《说文解字》里的解释是“厨，庖屋也。从广，尌声。尌，既是声旁也是形旁，是“樹”的本字，表示树立、竖立。远古时候，部落分配猎物的时候一般在庙宇里面分，所以“厨”和“庙”的繁体字形象基本是相似的。一开始只是用简单的石器，后来逐渐升级成一个单独的房子，这就是“厨”。因为在烧火的时候外面风太大，所以首先把肉之类的放在炉灶上，再挖一个窑洞放进去。

2.古代与“厨房”的同一表达

庖厨：

（1）“君子之于禽兽也，见其生，不忍见其死；闻其声，不忍食其肉。是以君子远庖厨也。”(《孟子·梁惠王上》）

厨下:

（2）她虽然没像荀太太“三日入厨下”，也没多享几天福，出阁不久就出国了。（张爱玲《相见欢》）

灶间：

（3）乳母与佣妇另在灶间内吃饭。（《续镜花缘》）

火房：

（4）刑部议覆、顺天府府尹蒋炳奏称、京城失业游民。栖宿火房。（《清实录乾隆朝实录》）

古代对厨房的多种称谓，不仅体现了语言表达的多样性，更深层地反映了中国传统社会的文化观念、等级制度与实用主义思维。如“庖”常与低微职业绑定，如“庖人”指专职厨师，“君子远庖厨”（《孟子》）将厨房劳动与道德洁癖对立，暗含对体力劳动的贬抑。“灶间”中“灶”从“火”“土”，甲骨文象形为土砌火塘，是厨房的核心设施。《释名》载“灶，造也，创造食物也”。“间”指独立分隔的空间，体现厨房在建筑中的区隔性。以设施命名空间，反映古人对实用性的重视。“火房”中“火”直指厨房的核心元素，凸显火的使用与管理。《礼记》载“五祀”包含“灶神”，火被赋予神圣性。此命名体现对火的双重态度——既依赖其烹饪功能，又畏惧其破坏力（如“慎火”的禁忌）。

3.“下厨房”的独特语义关系

“上厨房”和“下厨房”都是由“上/下+处所词”构成的，两者都有去或进入厨房之义。核心都是围绕厨房这一空间展开行为。但是肯定的是两者的语义不完全相同。因此我们结合语料库的用例进行分析。

（1）贝茜往往把小姐们一打扮停当，便抽身上厨房、随后，我把玩偶放在膝头枯坐着，直至炉火渐渐暗淡。（《简·爱》）

（2）看看天也不早了，我们不必上馆子了，就叫他备个便饭罢。（《文明小史》）

（3）庄之蝶说：今日夫人亲自下厨房了！（贾平凹《废都》）

（4）“谁不给你自由，我说看电影，选片子的自由是你的；我说下馆子，点菜的自由是你的。”（《传统下的独白》）

有学者认为“上厨房”仅仅表示去“厨房”义，至于去干什么则不太清楚[错误！找不到参照来源。]。那我们也可认为“上／下馆子”与此同理，“上馆子”单纯表趋向，“上”在其中行使的是表趋向的一般动词的功能，“下馆子”则与“下厨房”一样包含特定语义，结合语境这种特定语义就可以彰显。“下厨房”可能有一种从上到下、从享用到劳作，“与普通、自然的状态不同因此值得注意”的含义。如例(1）（2）中仅仅是去厨房，去馆子，至于做什么没有表明，单纯地表示以厨房为目标的位移过程[3]。而例（3）（4）的焦点是“准备食物”和“以去馆子店吃的方式解决晚饭问题”。

四、上/下动词性组合不对称性的影响因素

（一）地理位置的高低

从空间位置来看，“上”常用于表示从低处到高处的移动，如“上楼、上山”；而“下”则用于表示从高处到低处的移动，如“下楼、下山、下雨”。因此当“上／下”与地名组合时，我们会按照社会文化的“上北下南”、“北高南低”、北是上位、南是下位的约定，比如：下江南、下广州、上北京等。然而，在“上厕所、下厨房”等表达中，这种空间规律似乎并不完全适用。现代建筑中，厕所和厨房通常位于同一平面，不存在明显的高低差异。有关古代的厕所，《释名·释宫室》：“厕或曰溷，言溷浊也。”《说文》：“圂 ，厕也，从□，象豕在□中会意。”“圂”“厕”互训说明当时的厕所和猪圈是结合在一起的，人与畜同时排便到一个粪池，便可以实现空间的综合利用。对于这一说法，史籍中亦有相关的证据可以佐证，颜师古注云：“厕，养豕圈也。”《汉书•武五子传》也说“厕中豕群出”。这种情况在考古文物中获得充分的证明，见图 1。各地汉代遗址出土的猪圈模型的重要特点之一，就是往往与厕所连在一起，与解放前农村中的连厕圈相仿。圈厕结合为积肥提供了方便。在农村，茅厕一般都在距住宅 20 到 100 米远的猪圈里，有的还分上下两层，上层是猪圈和人方便的入口，下层是个大粪池。故，因厕在上层，所以称为“上厕所”[4]。

在古代房屋建筑中，正房是比较高大的，而厨房是比较低矮的。由于厨房需要生火做饭，容易产生油烟和热气。为便于排烟，厨房常建在低矮、通风的位置（如四合院的东厢房或南房），避免烟雾倒灌进主屋。在北方四合院中，厨房多位于东侧或南侧厢房，因地势略低或需下台阶进入，故用“下”表示方向。同时厨房用火频繁，为避免火灾蔓延，常与主建筑保持一定距离，需“向下走”或“绕行”到达，形成空间上的“下”意识。



图 1 汉·绿釉带厕陶猪圈

Figure 1　Han Dynasty Green-glazed Pottery Pigsty with Latrine

（图片来源：@博物胶囊 拍摄）

（二）隐喻与等级制度的共变关系

隐喻并不仅仅是一种语言现象，它更是一种人类认知现象（Lakoff & Johnson，1980）。空间关系作为最基本的认知概念，常常通过隐喻的方式被用来建构其他抽象概念[5]。“上/下”的基本义可以映射到抽象认知域，从认知语言学视角看“上”的意象图式是以“垂直性”和“接触性”为基础，衍生出“控制”（上位者）、“优先”（上策）等抽象含义。“下”的意象图式则通过“基底支撑”和“覆盖性”，引申出“承受”（下跪）、“隐蔽”（地下）等概念。中国农耕文明中“天高地卑”的自然观察，与宗法制度的“尊卑有序”形成映射，使“上-尊贵”、“下-卑微”的隐喻系统渗透到语言各个层面。等级高的与“上”有关，如“上省城”“上局里”；等级低的与“下”有关，如“下车间”。我们一般认为去饭馆吃饭是较为平常的事情，相对酒店、饭店而言，“饭馆”隐含的“低等级”语用义与“上”的“向等级高处移动”义项间的矛盾，二者的搭配便会引发不和谐[6],通常与“下”搭配，因此，人们可以说“下馆子”，而“上馆子”通常不被接受。“酒店”携带的内在隐性语用义比较等级较高，是比较奢华的地方，因此不能与“下”结合。

同理，在传统社会中，厨房是女性主导的领域（“下厨”隐含劳动属性），这与厨房所处的空间位置无关，而与其在人们心中的心理位置有关。厨房是做饭的地方，做饭就免不了杀鸡宰牛的血腥之事。与厨房相关的事务旧时通常都是由下人或社会地位较低的人承担的，儒家也认为君子不应去厨房，在厨房杀生的就是小人或下等人。因此，后来在厨房做饭之人又被称为“厨下”。例如：术既为雷薄等所拒，留住三日，士众绝粮，乃还至江亭，去寿春八十里。问厨下，尚有麦屑三十斛。（《三国志·袁术传》）。所以，人们通常说“下厨房”，而不是“上厨房”。但是，“上厕所”中的“上”与社会等级的高低并无直接关系，人们仍然更倾向于说“上”，而不会说“下”。这可能主要是由于“上”从其原型义引伸出了“由内向外移动”的义项[7]，因为在传统民居中，厕所（尤其是旱厕）常建在房屋的外围、高处或地势较高的角落（例如四合院的后院或偏角），需要“登高”或“远离主屋”才能到达，故形成了“上厕所”或“去厕所”这一说法。

（三）方位中的社会空间隐喻

五行方位系统作为中国传统认知图式，深刻塑造了中国社会的空间隐喻体系。这种隐喻不仅参与了传统社会秩序的建构和维护，也持续影响着现代中国人的思维方式和行为模式。在中国传统文化中，五行学说和方位理论在风水、居住布局、日常生活中具有深远的影响。五行学说将世界万物分为金、木、水、火、土五种元素，而方位理论则讲究各个方位所对应的不同属性和能量。在这种理论体系下，生活空间的布局，尤其是“上厕所”和“下厨房”这两个日常活动场所的选择与安排，往往与五行元素和方位密切相关。

在五行学说中，水象征着清洁、流动和排泄，而厕所正是承载着清洁和排泄功能的场所。因此，厕所可以看作与水元素相关联。五行中，水具有消解、清除不洁的特性，这与厕所的功能是一致的。在传统文化中，厕所被视为一个隐秘且与秽物、污秽相关的空间，因此它也体现了水的“隐性”和“潜藏”特质。

从风水的角度来看，厕所的方位同样与水元素的流动性息息相关。风水学中有着明确的指导，认为厕所不宜位于住宅的中心，因为中宫代表了整个家庭的气场和能量核心，若厕所位于中心，会破坏家中气场的稳定，带来负面影响。此外，厕所的方位最好是与住宅主人的生辰八字和五行命理相契合，从而达到五行的平衡和和谐。比如，水属性较强的人在五行中可能需要更多的水元素，但过多的水则容易造成身体和气场的“湿气”，因此应避免将厕所设在某些特定的方位。在现代家庭中，厕所的方位设置仍然需要考虑风水理论，以避免不利的影响。

与厕所的水元素不同，厨房在五行中通常与火元素相关。厨房是烹饪食物、加热和产生能量的地方，火的属性在这里得到了充分体现。火代表着能量、活力、温暖以及生长，这些特点在厨房中得到了具象化。烹饪的火焰不仅代表着家庭的温暖和生气勃勃的氛围，还象征着家庭成员之间的和谐与互动。传统文化中，厨房常常被视为家庭的心脏，是维系家庭成员生活和健康的重要场所。

在风水理论中，厨房的方位至关重要。厨房一般建议设置在住宅的“南方”或“东南方”，因为这两个方位代表着火的元素，能够增强家庭的生命力和活力。而厨房不应位于卧室附近，因为火气过旺会对卧室的宁静与健康产生负面影响，特别是对睡眠质量和身体健康造成困扰。风水学认为，厨房的火气过强会影响家庭成员的情绪与身体健康，因此，厨房的位置需要避免与其他空间产生不和谐的冲突。

除了五行方位，我们日常生活中的空间方位也隐含着一系列的隐喻概念。空间方位来源于人与大自然的相互作用，是人类赖以生存的最基本的概念。在此基础上，人们将这些基本概念投射到情绪、身体状况、权力、地位、道德等众多抽象概念上，赋予这些概念空间方位指向，在英语中上下方位关系也展示出了与汉语相似的认知投射，例如 HAPPY IS UP（高兴为上）[8]。因此，方位隐喻大都跟空间方位有关，比如上-下、前-后、高-低、中心-边缘等等。但方位隐喻中的方位并不是任意的。它们以我们的身体和文化经验为基础。尽管表示两极对立的方位上-下、高-低等本身是物理上的，但借助它们形成的隐喻却可能因文化而异。

表 2　情感与方位的关联

Table 2　The Association between Emotion and Direction

积极	上	上天堂	上善若水
	高	高水平	高手
	Up	I’m feeling up. （我很开心）	Upgrade （升级）
	下	下地狱	世风日下

	低	低水平	低手
消极	Down	I’m feeling down. （我很悲伤）	Downturn （经济衰退）

我们可以看到表 2，与积极性相关的表达通常和 up 相关，而与消极性相关的表达，则大都和 down 相关。这种情绪与方位的关联并不是任意的，而是以我们的身体经验为基础的：悲伤时我们通常身体低垂，而高兴时我们通常身体挺拔，甚至欢呼雀跃。道德之所以是向上的，是因为从社会或个人角度来看，高尚的道德和品格有利于社会安宁和个人成长。而相反，堕落则大都和向下的方位相关。“上天堂”、“下地狱”、“上善若水”、“世风日下”等等都是基于这样的方位隐喻产生的。

（四）语言经济原则

语言经济原则是指在语言使用过程中，语言用户倾向于选择最简洁、最高效的表达方式，以节省时间、精力和认知资源，同时最大限度地传递信息。语言经济原则强调通过简化、约定俗成和减少冗余来提高语言表达的效率和流畅度。在“上厕所”“下厨房”这样的“上/下+动词型性组合”中，语言经济原则体现在多个方面。

从语义的高度浓缩看，“上”和“下”这两个简单的动词与特定名词组合后，承载了丰富的语义。“上”并不是指物理的升高，而是与进入该空间的心理状态和文化约定相符。这里，使用“上”作为动词，体现了心理上“走向隐秘区域”的倾向，而不是字面上的方位，将复杂的动作和意图浓缩在一个“上”字与“厕所”的搭配中。同样，“下厨房”的“下”把前往厨房、准备下厨等一连串行为进行了高度概括，以极其简洁的形式传递出完整的意义。

从语法角度看，“上厕所”“下厨房”是动宾结构，这种结构简洁明了，直接表明动作及其对象，无需添加复杂的修饰成分或其他语法元素就能清晰表达意思。例如，“上厕所”可以迅速让人联想到进入厕所的行为，而无需多余的描述厕所的位置或其具体的物理特征。同理，“下厨房”也能够立刻传达进入厨房准备做饭或烹饪的意图。这种简洁的语言表达符合人们在日常生活中追求高效、简便交流的需求。

从固化搭配减少歧义看，“上/下+名词”的搭配通过长期使用固化，形成约定俗成的语义关联，无需额外解释即可被理解，减少了语境中的歧义风险。比如“上坟”（特指祭扫墓地，不指“登上坟头”），“上网”（虚拟空间进入，不指物理攀爬）。 此类固化搭配通过高频使用形成“语义块”，整体记忆和调用，降低语言处理成本。

从语用的高效性看，“上厕所”“下厨房”这样的表达非常高效实用。它们能够在各种语境中快速准确地表达说话者的意图，无论是日常对话、书面记录还是各种交流场景，都能以简洁的方式传递关键信息，避免了因表述繁琐而可能产生的信息模糊或误解，使语言交流更加顺畅和高效。

综上所述，“上厕所”和“下厨房”的动词性组合不对称性反映了语言经济原则的多个方面。它不仅是语言简化的结果，还与文化习惯、心理约定和社会认知密切相关。在语言使用中，动词性组合的不对称性通过文化传承和语言习惯的积累，使得表达更加简洁、有效，符合语言节约的原则。通过这些固定搭配，语言得以简化和优化，使日常交流更加高效、便捷。

结语

“上厕所”和“下厨房”这种上/下动词性组合搭配方式并非偶然，而是空间认知、社会隐喻及语言经济原则共同作用的结果。从空间角度看，厕所与厨房的实际位置影响了语言表达；从社会隐喻看，方位词承载着社会等级观念；从语言使用规律看，高频搭配的固化促进了表达的稳定性。本文揭示了汉语方位词在固定表达中的语义演变及其文化内涵，为汉语学习与教学提供了新的视角，也为理解语言如何承载社会文化信息提供了案例支持。未来研究可进一步结合历时语料和跨语言对比，以深化对语言、文化与认知互动机制的理解。

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从“网络三俗”到“三新业态”：《人民日报》主播报道（2006-2024）的话语变迁

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摘要：以《人民日报》所有提及“主播”的图文内容为研究对象，基于批判话语分析（CDA）的理论视角，从文本、话语和社会实践的层面出发，对19年来的832个报道样本展开历时性的分析，试图回答：中国主流媒体的代表《人民日报》19年来如何报道主播和建构主播形象。追溯了主播报道文本数量、态度的历史变迁趋势；通过主题建模分析了主播报道话语实践中“主播+产业升级”、“信息技术”、“产业经济”、“大众文化/网络生态”、“文娱新方式”、“治安管理/行业监管”、“新就业方式”、“淫秽色情/低俗不良”八大主题及其竞争；沿着萌芽期、爆发期、规范期三个历史时期的轨迹，讨论了报道文本与社会实践的互动；并探讨了主播报道话语变迁背后的意识形态变化。

关键词：主播、批判话语分析、人民日报、主题建模、情感分析

一、 前言

2024年8月，一场名为“网络新业态助力乡村产业振兴”的座谈会在江西赣州举行。活动现场，头部主播李佳琦与“乡村黑妹”等助农达人联袂开启直播助农专场，镜头前是赣南脐橙基地的万亩果园，背景穿插着客家山歌与采茶戏表演。当晚，48款农产品销售额突破6.3亿元，直播间观看量达2.8亿人次。更具象征意味的是，活动选址于章贡区峰山村崆峒宿集——一个通过“百美村庄”项目改造的数字化乡村民宿集群，并在闭幕式以无人机灯光秀于红色圣地宝塔山投射“新农人·新乡村”字样。这场被《人民日报》称为“流量新农具赋能乡土中国”的媒体事件，将直播间与革命老区、非遗文化、现代农业深度绑定，昭示着网络主播正从“三俗”争议的漩涡中挣脱，蜕变为国家乡村振兴战略的文化政治符号。

据《中国网络表演（直播）行业发展报告（2024）》显示，截至2024年6月，中国直播电商用户规模达8.02亿，农产品类目销售额同比增长112%，160个乡村振兴重点县通过直播实现收入翻番。这种数据奇观背后，是“手机成为新农具、直播成为新农活”的深刻变革——全国286万名“乡村主播”通过抖音、快手等平台，带动2000余种地理标志产品走出县域，其带动的就业规模达4022万人次，远超电影产业从业人数。颇具吊诡的是，相较于直播带货重构城乡经济关系的显性影响力，学术界对其文化意义与社会效应的探讨却呈现两极：一方面，《人民日报》2006-2019年间162篇涉主播报道中，46%聚焦“低俗内容治理”“打赏乱象批判”，构建起“网络三俗”的污名化话语；另一方面，2020年后“新业态”“数字新农人”等正向表述占比攀升至57%，但相关学术研究仍多局限于营销策略或劳动权益议题，

鲜有学者系统解构其文化权力与意识形态转型。这跟网络主播用户规模之巨大、市场体量之庞大、社会影响之重大形成了鲜明反差。

反差有诸多成因，其中不容忽视的一点，是中国社会里网络主播长期以来被普遍地轻视甚至贬低。这一意识形态的形成，与长期的媒体话语实践密切相关，又不断影响着围绕主播的更为广泛的社会实践。媒体持续选择性地讲述和阐释关于“主播”“网络主播”“网红经济”的事件、形象及概念，在特定语境中产制出话语，以报道的方式呈现；不论普罗大众、文化精英或政府官员，多少都依赖媒体报道提供素材、主题、框架、观点，来理解和对待网络主播群体。这既是多元意义相互竞争的场域，也是行动主体彼此协商的循环。

当人社部于 2024 年将“网络主播”纳入国家职业分类，标志着其身份从“灰色地带的表演者”升格为“数字经济建设者”；而《乡村全面振兴规划（2024-2027）》更明确将“直播助农”列为乡村新业态培育核心，要求“强化地域符号与农产品品牌耦合”。在此背景下，试图超越“污名-正名”的二元叙事，以《人民日报》19 年报道为镜，揭示“网络三俗”到“三新业态”（新动能、新产业、新业态）的话语转型如何与国家战略共振，这些符号实践不仅重构了城乡关系，更成为观察中国数字治理与意识形态调适的微观切口。

网络主播作为一种新媒介，带来新颖的交互体验、叙事方式和意义生产场域。那么，媒体长期以来如何报道主播？关于主播的真实世界现象，如何被语言概念化，被报道框架化，被道德评价？媒体的这些话语实践如何与社会结构和权力关系互动？

二、 研究方法

2.1 数据收集

为了开拓性地探究中国媒体主播报道完整历史，选择了《人民日报》为样本来源。习近平 2016 年 2 月 19 日调研人民日报社时曾说：“人民日报是党的阵地。……全党全国人民都从人民日报里寻找精神力量和‘定盘星’。”作为中国共产党中央的机关报、国家主流媒体，被普遍看做中国政治的风向标，《人民日报》从选题采写、编辑审校到出版发行，每一篇新闻报道背后的话语实践流程都可谓慎而又慎、绝非偶然；它对社会舆论、媒体议程乃至政策法规的制定及推行都有着巨大的影响力。因此，相比于其他都市报、商业化媒体，它提供了我国社会中对主播的“官方意见”和“主流看法”，最适合拿来分析数十年来主流媒体主播报道主题及其中隐含意识形态的变迁。

经几轮测试后，最终选定核心词——“主播”对“人民日报图文数据库”进行全文检索，检索时间段是从数据库中最早的记录到 2024 年 12 月 31 日。该数据库存有自 1946 年至今《人民日报》发表过的所有图文内容。只要这些内容的标题或正文中，出现了关键词，就会被列入检索结果。研究者下载并逐一阅读了初步检索后得到的 1064 条记录，去除重复 53 项，此外，去除主播作为传统职业形象，即新闻节目主持人及播报员出现的 127 篇报道后，得到的 884 篇文本（涵盖了新闻、简讯、特写、评论、图片新闻、读者来信等多种体裁）。研究发现，剩下的 884 篇文本可以分为两大类。一类称为“直接相关报

道”，指那些报道主题直接聚焦于主播（包括主播场所、行为、用户、影响、文化、产业、政策等）。它们属于话语实践主体有意识的建构行为，最为鲜明地反映了对主播的态度、观点、建议等。另一类称为“非直接相关报道”，指的是报道中出现了主播关键词，但其报道内容主题完全与主播无关，且不涉及对主播的任何评价。例如有报道提到文物讲解员放弃了主播、导游等收入更高更光鲜的职业选择；有报道批评年轻干部的贪腐风气如打赏主播、逛夜店、网络赌博；“中国新闻奖获奖作品目录”系列报道常提到一些关于网络主播现象的文娱获奖作品。在 884 篇报道中，对网络主播的直接相关报道有 832 篇，非直接相关报道有 52 篇。最终选取这 832 篇直接报道作为样本，样本共包含约 994 万个形符。

2.2 数据处理

研究者从主题、情感、索引行角度对样本进行文本挖掘，主要包含以下关键步骤：（1）使用 R 语言的 quanteda、jieba 等库对报道文本进行分词、停用词处理；（2）使用 LDA 对文本进行主题建模，综合主题一致性和困惑度评估指标来确定最佳主题数，(3) 对文本从主题、态度两个类目出发进行人工编码；（4）在对文本的分析过程中，主要采纳批判话语分析（Critical Discourse Analysis，CDA）方法，从文本（text）、话语实践（discourse practice）、社会文化实践（sociocultural practice）三个层面，去理解不同时期内围绕“主播”的媒体话语和社会现实之间的相互建构。文本层的分析，侧重于回答“报道到底说了些什么”；话语实践层的分析重在关心“报道文本是如何被生产、传播和消费的”；社会文化实践层的分析则要去探究“为什么报道这么说”“为什么话语实践这么做”以及“这么说这么做对社会文化实践有什么影响”。

CDA 奠基于福柯关于话语、知识、权力关系的阐述及其建构主义立场之上。既关注对主播的社会认知乃至意识形态是如何被话语建构为社会群体共享的信念共识，成为主播话语生产及消费的宏观结构[1]；也探究主播报道话语与社会文化变迁间的对话关系[2][3][4]。

三、 分析与发现

3.1 主播报道数量逐渐增多，在爆火后回归常态

历年主播报道和直接相关报道的数量如图 1 所示，基本呈递增趋势，图 2 所示是我国网络主播从业人数，网络主播报道数量的变化也反映了网络主播在中国社会中逐渐普及的历程。《人民日报》第一篇提及网络主播的报道出现在 2006 年 6 月 16 日（曹玲娟，2006），在此之前的报道，主播在报道中都是作为传统职业形象，即新闻节目主持人及播报员出现。2019 年，社会议题集中在“新中国成立 70 周年”“香港修例风波”“中美贸易摩擦”等政治、经济领域，“主播”类文娱行业报道空间被压缩，对“主播”的报道略有回落。此外值得注意的是，2016 年和 2020 年的报道数量相较之前都获得了较大的增长，其中 2016 年关于直播报道数量的暴增在于移动互联网在 2016 年的突破，从而带动网络直播行业在此年的发展；而 2020 年受到新冠肺炎疫情的影响，教室、旅游、健身等线下活动被迫转移到线上，教师、导游、教练等化身网络主播，网络直播场景也变得更加丰富，此外，受到疫情影响，我国经济受到重创，而网络直播作为一种新的营销方式，帮助传统行业进行销售，对提高我国经济产生重要影响。而在 2020

年有关网络主播的报道暴增后，2021 至 2022 年相关报道回落至正常水平，而 2023 至 2024 年，对于网络主播的报道呈现逐年上升的趋势。

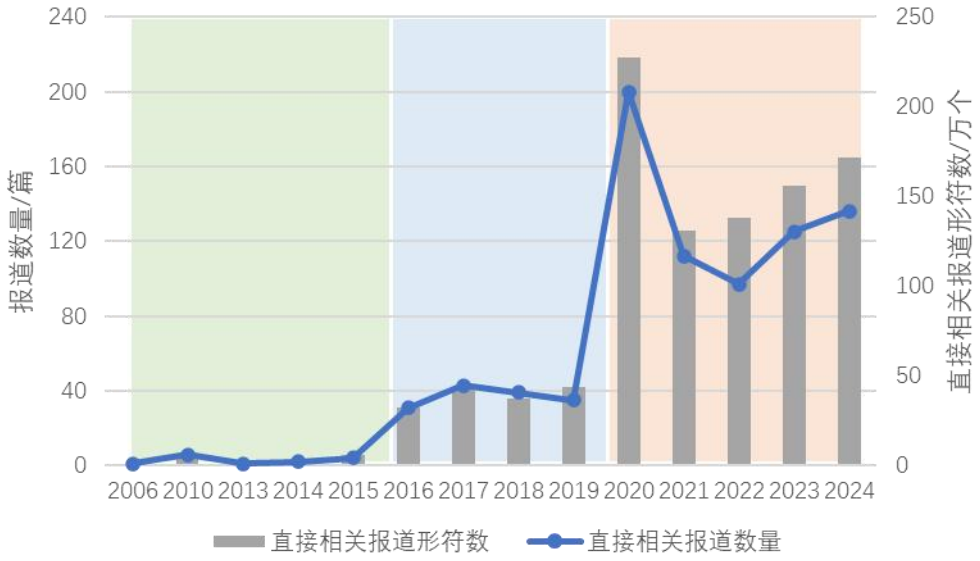


图 1 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》主播报道、直接相关报道数量、直接相关报道形符

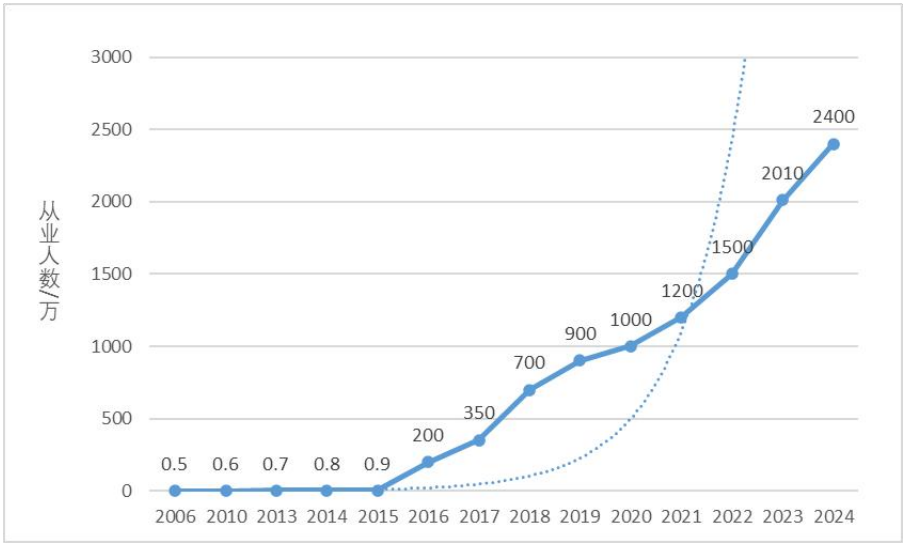


图 2 2006 年-2024 年我国网络主播从业人数（含全职和兼职）

参考网络主播在中国社会里发展的历史，将 2006 年至 2024 年分为三个历史时期：萌芽期、爆发期、规范期，如图 3 所示。每个时期的报道从文本到话语实践均有明显阶段性差异，同时也鲜明反映了不同的社会政治、经济、文化脉络（context）。

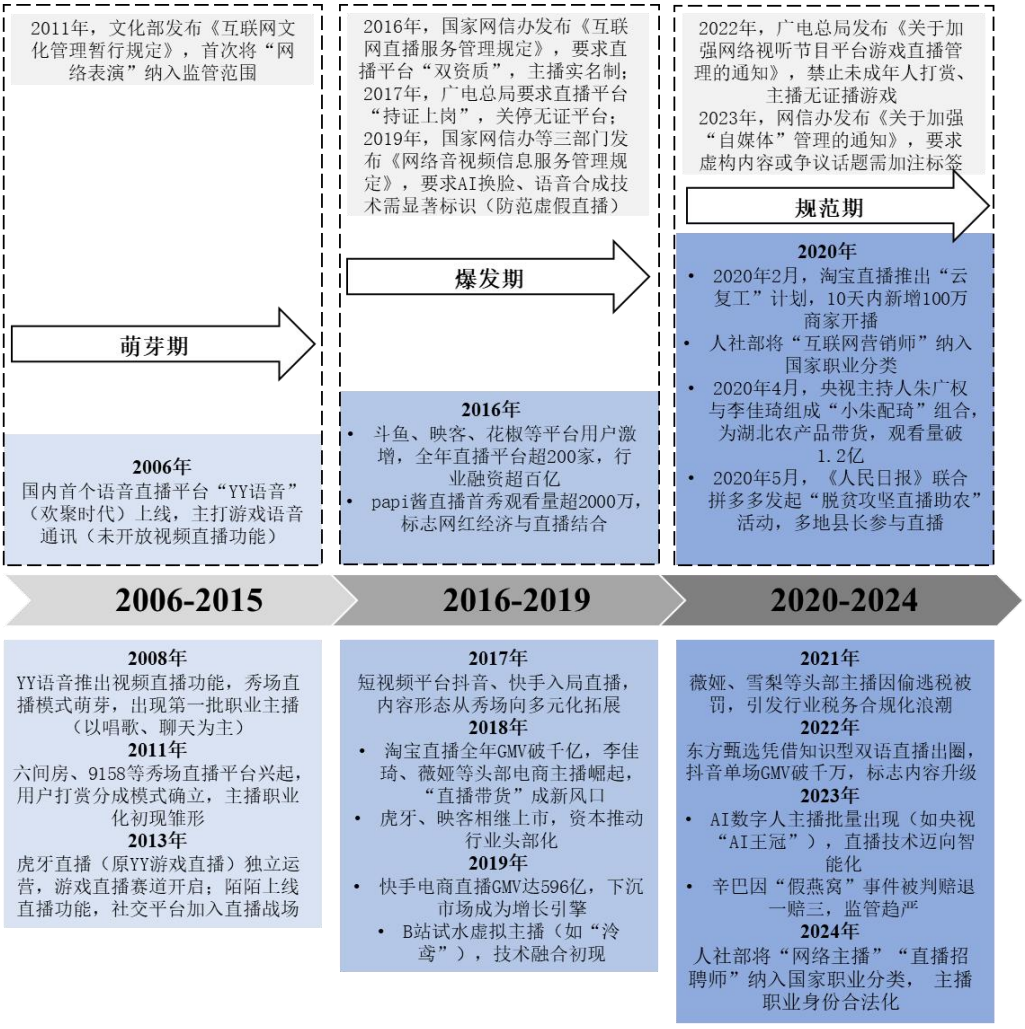


图 3 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》主播报道的时间段划分和社会实践

3.3 主播报道态度变迁：消极报道先增后减

研究者将全部主播报道文本分为三种不同报道态度：积极、中性/无和消极。报道态度积极指的是对主播、主播行为采取积极的评价，表达肯定、赞扬、鼓励等态度；消极指的是对主播、主播行为采取消极的评价，表达否定、批评、抨击、限制等态度；中性/无则是指较为中立地叙述主播、主播行为，没有明显的积极或消极倾向。有少数报道同时鲜明地呈现了积极和消极的态度，并不将它们纳入“态度中性”的类别，而是重复统计为“态度积极”和“态度消极”各一次。

图 4、图 5 清晰地展示了 19 年来《人民日报》对网络主播报道态度的变化趋势。2010 年至 2015 年，在零星的数篇关于网络主播的报道中，积极报道呈现逐年缓步增加的趋势。消极报道首次出现在 2010 年，此年共有 5 篇消极报道，批判网络主播进行淫秽色情表演（张贺，2010），随后，在 2010 年 6 月，一篇专家学者的文艺评论，直指主播对大众文化和文化生态的污染（2010）。

在 2016 年“网络直播元年”，网络主播就业人数爆发，网络主播行业大爆发，此时对网络主播的消极报道达到了有史以来最高，同年消极报道占比 56.3%，积极报道占比 28.1%，中性报道占比 15.6%，此

后两年，对网络主播的消极报道逐年增加，消极报道的占比超过积极报道和中性报道，而 2019 年一反常态，消极报道仅有 5 篇，降低至 13.9%，2016 至 2019 年，消极报道、积极报道和中性报道呈现交织状态。

2020 年之后，积极报道数量均远超过中性报道和消极报道，而消极报道的数量在这些年间也稍低于中性报道。2020 年，积极报道数量达到 171 篇，达到所调研时间段间最高值，占比达到 85.5%，此后几年间，积极报道数量回落至正常区间，但占比仍高于 70%。

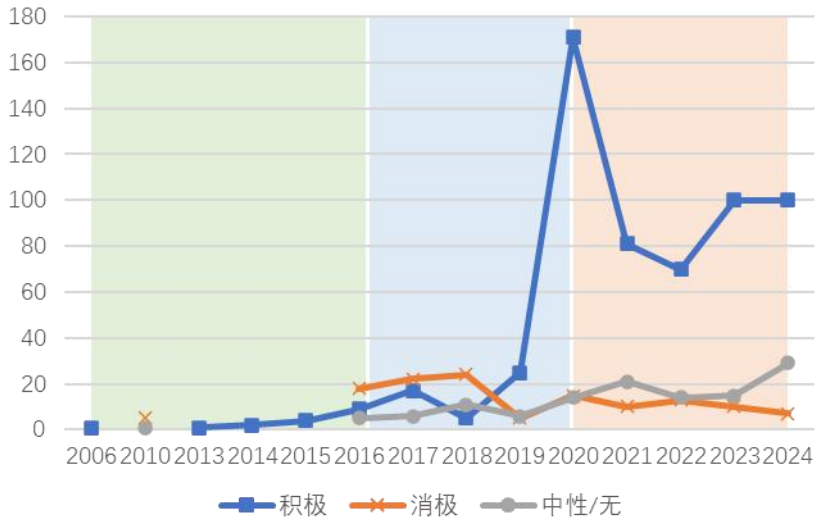


图 4 2006 年-2014 年《人民日报》持不同态度的主播报道的频次

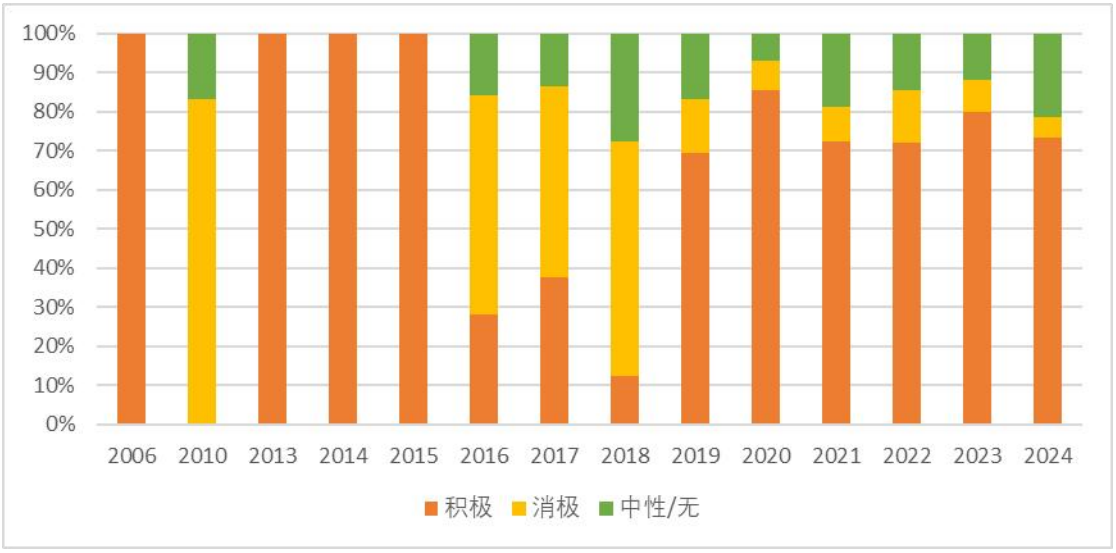


图 5 2006 年-2014 年《人民日报》持不同态度的主播报道占总数的百分比

3.4 主播报道话语实践：基于 LDA 主题模型分析

3.4.1 LDA 主题建模

主题建模的本质是通过对文本中词的分布规律的观察，生成主题集合并获取主题及各主题关键词的概率分布。LDA（Latent Dirichlet Allocation 潜在狄利克雷分布）是一种无监督生成概率模型，在主题建模方面具有显著的优势[5]。

采用 LDA 主题模型对主播文本进行主题抽取，以发现核心议题。由于 LDA 主题抽取的效果和主题数确定有直接的关系，最优主题数确定之前需要对文本中包含的主题数目有一定的先验估计[6]。因此，通过对文本进行语义分析，人工评估出 LDA 主题数目在 6-10 个，再通过测试分别计算主播文本在 6-8 个主题下的 Coherence 值，利用 Coherence 值确定最佳主题数目为 8，之后利用可视化工具 LDAvis 包对主题下的特征词进行可视化分析，选取频率相对靠前的 8 个词汇作为主题词代表，并根据主题词的语义关系进一步确认各个主题名称。

表 2 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》主播报道核心主题命名及关键词

主题编码	主题名称	主题特征词
topic1	主播+产业升级	乡村、村、产业、农业、农村、村民、农产品、脱贫
topic2	信息技术	数字、人工智能、技术、创新、国际、科技、加快、数据
topic3	产业经济	电商、市场、产品、消费者、企业、品牌、带货、商品
topic4	大众文化/网络生态	文化、媒体、创新、融合、艺术、观众、阅读、技术
topic5	文娱新方式	手机、直播间、网友、粉丝、曲艺、搞笑、赛事、喜马拉雅
topic6	治安管理/行业监管	互联网、行业、规范、未成年人、管理、监管、加强、保护
topic7	新就业方式	就业、企业、职业、提供、政策、保障、培训、创业
topic8	淫秽色情/低俗不良	视频、传播、淫秽、案件、网站、整治、色情、行动

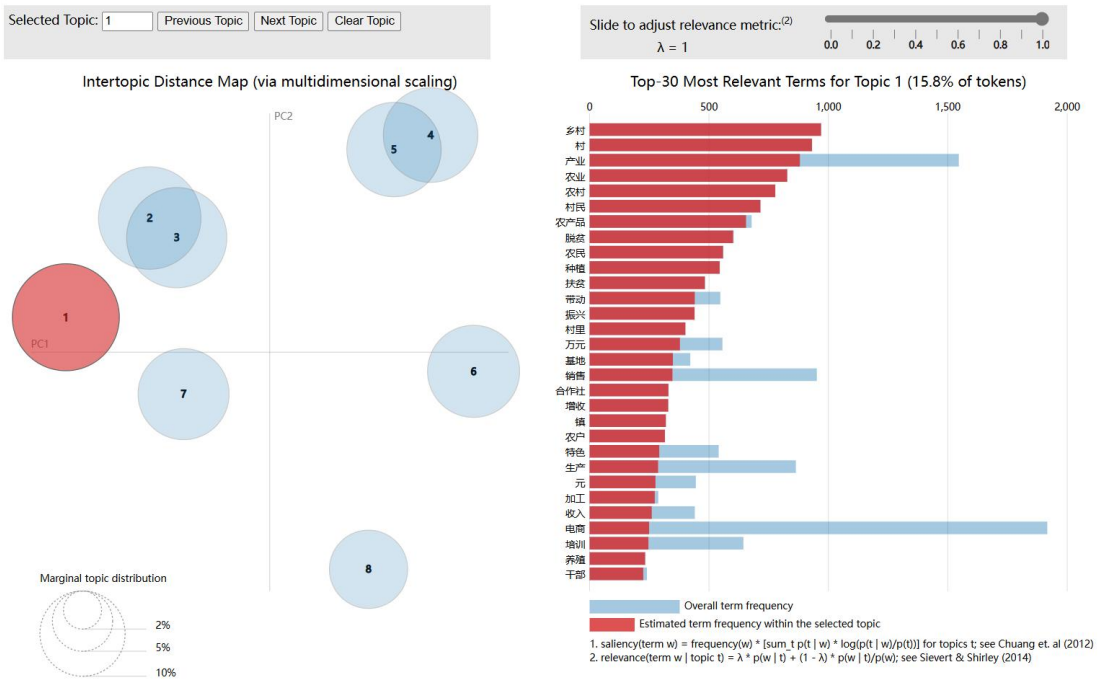


图 6 主题分布及特征词可视化

3.4.2 主播报道八大主题定义及报道实例

下文简单解释了每种主题的报道视角，并以若干报道实例来展示“主播”相关概念是如何被嵌入宏观命题之中。

（1）“信息技术”主题：与主播相关的数字技术、计算机技术、信息传播科技、人工智能技术的发展进步情况。常见的关键词如“数字人主播”、“数字虚拟主播”、“AI 合成主播”。相关报道如

例 3-4-1 “全球首个合成新闻主播——“AI 合成主播”亮相第五届世界互联网大会”（黄小希，史竞男，王琦，2019）；

例 3-4-2 “人工智能主播可以在发生灾难等紧急情况时，迅速向观众播报新闻内容，并可全天候持续工作，节省了大量人力、时间和费用成本”（牛瑞飞，马菲，2020）。

（2）“文娱新方式”主题：将主播行业视为一种新兴的文化样式、媒体形态、娱乐方式、生活方式。通常与传统娱乐方式相结合，如棋牌游戏、戏曲、博物馆、科技馆、传统艺术、非遗物质文化遗产等与网络主播相结合，成为新的娱乐方式。相关报道如

例 3-4-3 “如今，喜马拉雅平台上有超过 300 万发过声音的播主，认证主播 5 万余名。”（曹玲娟，2015）；

例 3-4-4 “加之近来，有城市将电话亭改造为可供录音的朗读亭；有网友发起“读睡节”，号召人们读首诗再睡觉；而移动音频平台让大批文学爱好者成为主播……线上线下共同发力，为朗读拓展了更多的空间与可能。”（石羚，2018）。

（3）“淫秽色情/低俗不良”主题：批评网络主播的内容和形式中涉及低俗不良、浮夸的内容，对青少年产生危害，或者是直播卖货的产品虚假，涉嫌欺骗消费者。如

例 3-4-5 “2009 年 4 月，荆州市公安局网监支队通过侦查，发现了 380 余个色情网站。它们的内容提供者是同一班人马——一群在视频上进行色情表演或“裸聊”的“主播小姐”。（田豆豆，2010）；

例 3-4-6 “为了提高关注度，增加点击量，有些网络主播铤而走险，做出不少刺激出格的举动：直播不雅行为，直播脱衣裸露，直播驾豪车撞伤人……”（张意轩，尚丹，2016）；

例 3-4-7 “一名 14 岁的男孩子为了换取游戏中主播的“友情”及代练升级，打赏花掉了父母辛苦工作近一年赚来的 3 万块钱”（袁勃，2016）；

例 3-4-8 “当下，网络直播行业进入了快速发展期，与此同时，网络直播行业存在的主体责任缺失、内容生态不良、主播良莠不齐、充值打赏失范、商业营销混乱、青少年权益遭受侵害等问题也日益突出，社会反映强烈。”（张璁，2021）。

（4）“治安管理/行业监管”主题：由政府部门发起的治理、整顿、打击主播等行动，或是颁布与执行政策法规，彰显法律或行政的力量，或是政府部门发起针对主播行业的监管、对主播群体的规范、支持、和对主播群体利益的维护。如

例 3-4-9 “建立违规网络直播平台和违规“主播”警示名单和黑名单制度，通过信用惩戒机制约束网络直播平台和“主播”的行为，加强行业自律。”（杨张若然，郑海鸥，2016）；

例 3-4-10 “据网信部门统计,1 至 6 月,各部门已查处关闭违法违规直播平台 73 家,累计关闭 91443

个直播间、清理 120221 个用户账号，封禁 38179 个违规主播账号，并将 1879 名严重违规主播纳入永久封禁黑名单。”（张贺，2017）；

例 3-4-11 “着力推动研究制定主播账号分级分类管理规范，提升直播平台文化品位，引导用户理性打赏，规范主播带货行为，促进网络直播行业高质量发展。”（倪弋，2020）；

例 3-4-12 “在仲裁和司法实践中，应重点审查企业与主播间的权利义务内容及确定方式，综合认定双方之间的法律关系性质，破除规避用工责任的‘障眼法’“（魏哲哲，2024）。

（5）“产业经济”主题：网络主播成为“网红”后进行商业变现，围绕其生发的商业链条和盈利模式，被称为“网红经济”，主要包括以下三个部分：一、网络主播通过树立自身在互联网的传播力和影响力，从而获得广告收入；二、电商卖货类主播，既包含早期的借助自己网络影响力，经营淘宝店卖货收益，如张大奕，也包括在淘宝平台上担任电商卖货主播，在网络上再现了店铺的原始形态，此时主播化身“导购员+模特+客服+产品代言人”的集合体，如薇娅、李佳琦等；三、此外，还有一些网红出道于用户众多的网络直播平台——任何人都可以在注册后成为直播平台的“主播”，并以弹幕的形式与网友实时交流，“主播”的内容分为游戏主播，兴起时间最早，主要针对网络游戏用户、秀场主播，在室内固定场景下通过 PC 或移动端对自己的生活进行直播、移动主播，直播生活日常。用户在直播平台购买虚拟货币为“主播”打赏，购买虚拟货币的金额再由主播与平台进行分成。主播得到的打赏越多，其与平台的收入也就越多。对一些颇受欢迎的“主播”来说，每天收获的打赏收入就已经相当可观，比如早期的斗鱼、花椒、映客等直播平台，后期发展起来的快手、抖音直播平台。

“网红经济”具备推动经济发展、提供就业等功能；主播行业本身由于能够进行商业变现。如：

例 3-4-13 “据报道，顶级游戏主播的年收入现已高达上千万元，不亚于当红娱乐明星。”（杨玲，2016）；

例 3-4-14 “2022 年，西安市新引进直播类项目 11 个，建设直播间 50 间，引进直播类人才 200 名，基本形成集跨境直播、短视频制作、主播培训为一体的“跨境电商+直播”生态圈”（窦皓，龚仕建，李蕊，2023）。

（6）“主播+产业升级“主题：主播与传统零售业或制造业等传统行业相结合，作为一种新的产业经济，助推传统行业发展，如：

例 3-4-15 “石狮凭借货源多、物流快、供应链完备等优势，让主播下沉与制造商对接，促进传统企业与电商产业的接轨互动，正在形成集聚效应。”（钟自炜，2020）。

其中更为常见的一种形式是主播行业与乡村振兴相结合，助力乡村事业发展，如：

例 3-4-16 ”从“县长”到“主播”的探索，既给老乡们带来实打实的收益，解决了部分农产品卖难问题，也为打通农产品网络销售、创新精准扶贫提供了示范引领。“（朱磊，2020）。

（7）“新就业方式“主题：主播作为一种新的就业方式，提供新的就业岗位。如：

例 3-4-17 “一些残疾人在知识技能共享领域找到就业机会，成为网络主播、设计师、培训师等。”（殷鹏，2020）。

例 3-4-18 “我国新就业形态劳动者超过 8000 万人，网约车司机、快递员、外卖配送员、网络主播

等新就业形态，在促进就业方面发挥“蓄水池、加速器”作用。(周人杰，2024)”。

(8)“大众文化/网络生态”主题：主播作为网络发展的新生事物，对于网络文明，文化生态产生强烈的影响和冲击。如：

例 3-4-19 “前几天看到一则新闻，在“非诚勿扰”的相亲节目中因语出惊人而走红的马诺，签约某视频网络主播即将到来的世界杯。之所以选用这位对世界杯和足球一窍不通的年轻女子，不是为了说球，只是为了眼球，目的就是搞笑。”(肖复兴，2010)。

表 3 呈现了采纳这八种主题的直接相关报道的篇数以及比例情况。由于同一篇报道中可能会涉及多种报道类型，因此八个主题的直接相关报道篇数要多于 832 篇。历年来该主播报道最常用的主题是“主播+产业升级”(44.4%)，其次是“治安管理/行业监管“(24.8%）和“淫秽色情/低俗不良”(15.1%)。

表 3 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》直接相关报道中采纳各种主题的篇数及比例

主题名称	直接相关报道篇数	占比（%）
产业经济	42	4.1
大众文化/网络生态	25	2.5
文娱新方式	94	9.3
新就业方式	100	9.8
信息技术	48	4.7
淫秽色情/低俗不良	127	12.5
治安管理/行业监管	207	20.4
主播+产业升级	373	36.7
合计	1016	4.1

3.4.3 主播报道主题的竞争

图 7 和图 8 清晰地呈现了《人民日报》主播报道对这八大主题的采纳情况是如何随年代变化的，在图 7 中，蓝色到红色的变化展示了主题数量的逐渐增多。这样的此消彼长、你增我减可视为主题之间的竞争：主播到底是什么？网络主播给个人和社会带来什么后果？观看网络主播的是什么人？采纳不同主题的报道在不断建构文本、提供受众解读方式的指引、营造社会群体共享的信念共识。

采纳“主播+产业升级”主题的报道占比最多，在 2020 年陡增，达到顶峰，此时新冠肺炎疫情导致多种实地场景转移至线上，直播内容更加多元化，直播行业迅速增长。此年，央视主持人朱广权与李佳琪组成“小朱佩琪“组合，变身带货主播，为湖北农产品带货，提升了网络主播的正能量形象。2021 年至 2024 年，”主播+产业升级“主题的相关报道虽回落至正常值，但在同年的主题中占比均超过 40%，相关报道意在提升网络主播体现的社会价值，成为拉动经济增长的”新业态“。

“治安管理/行业监管“主题从 2016 年开始，基本呈现逐年递增的状态，2016 年是”网络直播元年“，伴随着网络直播行业的兴起，网络主播人数的激增，政府对于主播行业的监管力度逐年增加，如“净网 2016”、“净网 2017”、“净网 2018”专项行动，查封查处涉黄涉暴平台，封禁违规主播，人民日报对此相关报道的数量随之逐年增加。而从 2020 年开始，随着网络主播行业受到人社部认证，直播电商成

为新经济形态，对网络主播行业的监管并没有减少，而是在 20%的占比中徘徊，但是报道忧虑的焦点不同，监管的内容由早期的“涉黄涉暴”转变为“带货产品虚假”，需要维护消费权益。

与此同时，可以明显观察到，“淫秽色情/低俗不良”的主题在 2010 年，2016-2018 年占比颇高，超过 25%，但在 2020 年，这一框架占比骤减，仅占 4%，在 2020 年之后，其占比也呈现逐年减少的趋势，由此可以看出《人民日报》中想要树立网络主播正面形象，推动网络主播形象转型的意图。

而从 2020 年开始，“新就业方式”的报道逐年增多，这与人社部正式认证“直播销售员这一工种有关，从此，网络主播成为“就业新形态”，成为吸纳就业的“蓄水池”。对网络主播这一行业的培训、权益保障报道增多，同时唱响了网络主播行业作为新时代青年奋发进取的赞歌。

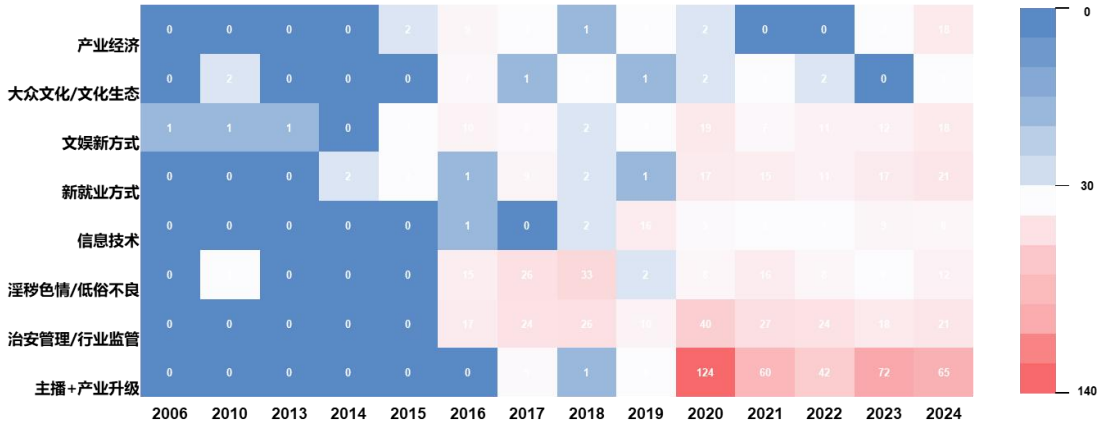


图 7 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》主播报道采纳不同框架的频次

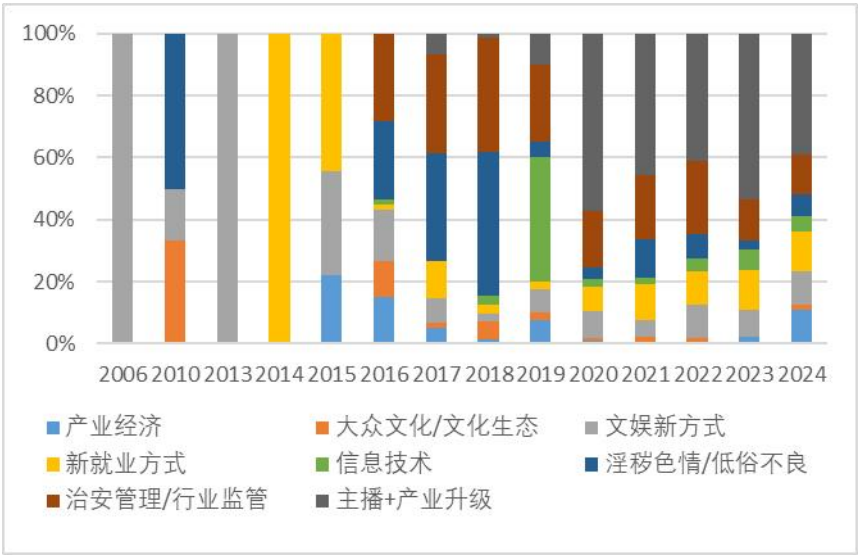


图 8 2006 年-2024 年《人民日报》采纳不同主题的主播报道占报道总数的百分比

3.5 主播报道文本与社会实践的互动

主播报道所采纳的话语是一种社会实践形式。报道并不是简单地命名与主播相关的人或物，而是将其概念化，其过程受到既有权力关系影响，并产生意识形态效果。报道话语既有助于维系和再生产社会

现状，也能改变社会现状（诺曼·费尔克拉夫等，2010/2015）。其间发生的，就是主播报道文本与社会文化实践的互动。

（一）2006-2015：纯真年代

2006 年，国内首个语音直播平台“YY 语音”（欢聚时代）上线，主打游戏语音通讯（未开放视频直播功能）

人民日报中第一次提到网络主播在 2006 年，这一年，上海在全国首次开放“未成年人网络天地”，未成年人可以在“互动地带”栏目，担任网络主播或选择喜欢的网络主播。

例 3-4-1 “未成年人网络天地”中的“互动地带”栏目，是专属未成年人的自主空间，在里面可以收听学生自己的网络电台，包括流行音乐、时尚生活、幽默笑话、感人故事等内容，学生们自己选出的小主播，还能在这里坐镇主播台呢。这里的特约小记者们，能通过视频、图文等多个视角去捕捉生活中的亮点。“（曹玲娟，2006）。

在 2016 年之前，少量报道中网络主播是指网站中出镜的视频主播，与传统主播相比，这种类型的网络主播出现渠道由电视荧幕改为网络荧幕，但是并没有主播与用户之间的反馈与互动。

2016 年之前，《人民日报》对网络主播作为一种文娱新方式的报道多体现为网络音频主播，专家认为，作为“互联网+”与音频行业碰撞出的结果，喜马拉雅 FM 这种新业态，比广播更前一步（2015）。受到“互联网+“的影响，蜻蜓 FM、考拉 FM 电台、凤凰 FM 等网络电台受到听众关注度较高，在《人民日报》上的报道也体现了一种文化新体验。在 2016 年之前，网络主播作为文娱新方式的报道大多以音频主播的形式呈现。

2009 年 4 月，荆州市公安局网监支队破获一批淫秽色情网站，2010 年 1 月出现了第一篇对国内网络主播现象的负面报道（张贺，2010），在这篇报道内，国内第一次将“主播”与“小姐”联系在一起，将“主播”与“淫秽色情”的概念联系在一起。

例 3-4-2 “而在淫秽色情网站的主播小姐中，不乏在校大学生及已毕业的大学生。”（张贺，2010）。

随后，在 2010 年 6 月，一篇专家学者的文艺评论，直指主播对大众文化和文化生态的污染，认为选择在相亲节目中因语出惊人走红的名人美女“马诺”作为世界杯的网络解说主播，只是为了哗众取宠，吸引眼球，

例 3-4-3 “更为荒腔走板的是，如此搞笑已经越发地蔓延，特别在网络中盛行。前几天看到一则新闻，在“非诚勿扰”的相亲节目中因语出惊人而走红的马诺，签约某视频网络主播即将到来的世界杯。之所以选用这位对世界杯和足球一窍不通的年轻女子，不是为了说球，只是为了眼球，目的就是搞笑……只是我们的趣味和品味，拉动着我们的大众文化一起跌进泥沼之中，却以为是在如茵草坪上狂欢。”。（肖复兴，2015）。

研究发现，报道中颇有“道德恐慌”（moral panic）之表现，将许多网络个人与社会问题简单归因于网络主播群体，是一种“污名化建构”。部分主播内容被批“低俗化”，引发媒体对“网络三俗”现象的早期讨论。

这个时期报道数量很少，针对的是“网站主播”和“音频主播”，态度多为中立，兼有正面，也深

受当时“互联网＋”等意识形态的影响，总体看来因距离产生美感，报道普遍带有“纯真年代”式的朦胧而浪漫的风格。

（二）2016-2019：爱恨交织

随着 4G 网络不断普及与发展，流量成本越来越低。2016 年，办公室的小野、Papi 酱等多个网络内容主播爆红网络。在网络世界里，Papi 酱是在不到半年时间里迅速蹿红，个人微博粉丝超过 760 万人，总粉丝数超过 1181 万人的“2016 年第一网红”。截至 2016 年 3 月 20 日，她的节目在各视频网站的总播放量达 2.9 亿次，集均播放量 753 万次。2016 年，报道中首次出现了“新业态”的字眼。

此外，2016 也被称为“中国网络直播元年”，快手用户突破 3 亿，抖音正式上线。斗鱼、花椒、映客等网络直播

尽管早期的网络直播兴起于 PC（个人电脑）端，进入移动互联网时代，直播也成为电商增长的新风口，2016 年直播电商首次出现。2016 年 3 月，蘑菇街正式上线视频直播功能，凭借“网红”资源优势，投入大量资金用于孵化旗下直播艺人，扶持相关的经纪业务。2016 年 5 月，淘宝推出了自己的直播功能，淘宝直播正式上线。接着，各个综合电商、跨境电商、母婴电商等也纷纷加入直播大军。

2017～2018 年，淘宝为了推动直播发展，开始大力扶持平台内的头部主播。不过当时淘宝设定的直播门槛还比较高，只有获得机构认证的主播，才有资格开通直播。后来随着快手、抖音等直播电商平台不断崛起，淘宝很快意识到必须改变对直播的定位，开始降低直播的门槛。2018 年，淘宝直播全年 GMV 破千亿，李佳琦、薇娅等头部电商主播崛起，“直播带货”成新风口。同年，虎牙、映客相继上市，资本推动行业头部化。

2019 年开始，直播电商的发展进入爆发期，主播数量迅速攀升，观看带货直播的用户规模也急剧壮大。闲来无事打开淘宝或抖音等平台，找到自己喜欢的主播进入直播间，已经成为越来越多用户的习惯。2019 年“双 11”期间，淘宝直播频道贡献了近 200 亿元的交易额。

2016 年，随着网络主播的爆火，对网络主播的讨伐也上升到了顶点。本年对网络主播的批判报道共 18 篇，占比 56.3%。2016 年，国内 20 余家从事网络表演（直播）的主要企业负责人共同发布《北京网络直播行业自律公约》，承诺从 4 月 18 日起，网络直播房间必须标识水印。全国“扫黄打非”办公室组织协调中央网信办、公安部、工信部、文化部、新闻出版广电总局等部门，部署开展了网络直播平台专项整治，“净网 2016”专项行动。同年，国家网信办发布《互联网直播服务管理规定》，要求直播平台“双资质”（视听许可证+ICP 备案），主播实名制。

2017 年，广电总局要求直播平台“持证上岗”，关停无证平台（如光圈直播倒闭），行业进入洗牌期。2018 年，全国“扫黄打非”办开展“净网 2018”专项行动，封禁违规主播超 3 万个。

2016 年的一篇报道，首次将出名的网络主播，或称网红，隐喻为网红“三俗”，担忧其会损害主流价值观：

例 3-4-4 “社会评论家忧虑网红“三俗”的成名方式，将损害“只有依靠才华和努力才能成功”的主流价值观”（杨玲，2016）。

此外，2017 年的报道中也将淫秽色情网站的主播称为“三俗”，称会“重点打击”违规主播：

例 3-4-5 “据悉，2017 年文化部将首先对网络表演市场开展“双随机一公开”执法检查，重点打击“三俗”等违规内容，对情节严重的平台依法予以关停，始终保持对网络表演乱象的高压态势。”（郑海鸥，2017）

在这一时间段，对网络主播的管理规定的发布，对违法网络主播的报道充斥着“深入打击”、“从严整治”、“高压打击”等贬义词。

例 3-4-6 “不久前，全国“扫黄打非”办发布通告，将严厉打击顶风制作传播淫秽色情信息的网络直播平台。”（张意轩，尚丹，2016）

例 3-4-7 “全国“扫黄打非”办公室负责人介绍，淫秽色情信息是当前打击重点，一季度，“扫黄打非”部门从严整治利用网络直播、短视频、网络文学、社交群组、“两微一端”等平台传播淫秽色情信息行为，坚决查办了一大批网络制黄、贩黄、传黄案件。”（张贺，2019）

抨击网络主播对青少年产生危害，呼吁“还网络清朗空间”：

例 3-4-8 “下一步，全国“扫黄打非”工作小组办公室及各成员单位将按照“净网 2016”专项行动的部署要求，进一步加强对网络直播平台的监管，加大对违法违规网络直播行为的查处力度，强化网络企业自律、履行主体责任，稳步建立长效管理机制，推动网络直播行业健康有序发展，为广大网民特别是青少年营造一个风清气正的网络直播空间。”（张贺，2016）。

2017 年出现了第一篇关于直播带货主播带动农村产品售卖，从而带动农村经济发展的正向报道。此时“主播+产业升级”框架应运而生。2017 年，中央经济工作会议提出，要把增加绿色优质农产品供给放在突出位置。“网上看打年糕、写春联、古法酿酒和炮制腊肉并不稀奇，但一边看一边与主播互动，还能网上下单随时购物，就有意思了……在淘宝上直播的同时，秀山本土的电商网站也趁热推出了土鸡蛋、蜂蜜等农产品促销，引发网友抢购热潮。

例 3-4-9 “促销的差价由政府补贴，相比活动期间的销售额，我们更希望借此次直播打响秀山农产品品牌，促进农民增收。”秀山县电商办相关负责人说。”（2017，龙明洁）。

2019 年，快手电商直播 GMV 达 596 亿，下沉市场成为增长引擎；B 站试水虚拟主播（如“泠鸢”），技术融合初现。而在 2019 年，“信息技术”主题占比在所调研 19 年间达到最高值，为 39%。在这一年，国家网信办等三部门发布《网络音视频信息服务管理规定》，要求 AI 换脸、语音合成技术需显著标识（防范虚假直播）。

在 2016 年-2019 年这一时间段，对网络主播的消极报道数量有了明显数量上的增加，并在同年报道中占比超过一半，由此可见，随着网络主播这一行业的爆发，公众和媒体对其保持谨慎的态度，在赞扬其作用之外，也对其危害进行了猛烈抨击。认为网络主播如水一般无处不在，它可以“载舟”也能“覆舟”；能否趋利避害，要看具体情况而非一概而论。

（三）2020-2024：双向奔赴

2020 年，新冠疫情导致线下经济停摆，直播电商成为“救市”主力。新冠肺炎疫情催化网络主播成为媒体报道的头号对象，主流媒体拥抱直播，推动行业形象转型。官媒通过直播强化“扶贫”“公益”叙事，消解“三俗”标签。2020 年之后，“主播+产业升级”框架在报道中占据主导地位。由此可以看出，

在网络主播这种新业态在被普罗大众和社会普遍接受后，对其本身娱乐性和经济性的报道不再占据主要地位，相反，网络主播作为一种新的营销和宣传方式，其赋能传统制造业、旅游、乡村、文化等社会服务的特性在报道中占据主要作用。直播从娱乐工具升级为基础设施，被《人民日报》评价为“数字经济新引擎”。 2020 年，对主播持积极态度的报道，采纳“主播+产业升级”框架的报道，比例均升至最高。在这一阶段，对主播持消极态度的报道持续走低，远低于积极态度的报道。

例 3-4-10 “在脱贫攻坚战中，电商平台将小农户与大市场连接，直播带货成为消费扶贫的新方式、新引擎，不少地方领导干部通过网络直播带货的方式推介当地特色农产品，帮助农民拓宽了销售渠道。”（韩立勇，2021）。

例 3-4-11“ 在一些地方，集赏稻收、品文化、尝美食、听音乐、做直播于一体的乡村旅游新场景，成为挖掘消费潜力、激发乡村市场活力的新引擎。”（许峰，2024）。

2020 年 7 月，人社部等发布了 9 个新职业，“直播销售员”就是其中之一（“互联网营销师”职业下增设的新工种）。这一新职位的发布代表着直播电商和带货直播获得了国家认可，带货主播也有了正式的称谓。“新就业方式”框架也得到了大幅度的占比提升。而到 2024 年 7 月 31 日，人力资源社会保障部正式将“网络主播”、“直播招聘师”等新工种纳入国家职业分类大典。

仅 2020 年，与网络直播直接相关的报道就达到了 200 篇，较 2019 年的 35 篇达到了大幅度的上升，也是所研究的 19 年间报道数量之最。在这一年间，关于网络主播的正面报道占比 85.5%，包括通过网络直播带货带动农产品销售，促进乡村振兴，各地方政府官员也纷纷下场担任网络主播，为乡村农产品进行直播站台和卖货，在此形势下，多地政府提出要打造“直播电商之都”、“直播经济总部基地”等，并围绕直播电商人才的引进出台了一系列方案，制定了相关人才培养政策，在全社会掀起了一场“直播热”；借助网络直播对传统制造业进行营销，提升销售额，截至 2020 年 9 月，我国网购用户的人数达到了 7.49 亿，直播电商的用户数量达到了 3.09 亿，边看直播边下单购物的人群在网购用户中的占比达到了 41.3%，在观看直播的用户中的占比达到了 55%。此外，受到疫情的影响，课堂、旅游都由线上搬到了线下，“文娱新方式”框架也得到了十足的提升。《中国网络视听发展研究报告（2024）》显示，截至 2023 年 12 月，全网短视频账号总数达 15.5 亿个，职业主播数量已达 1508 万人。

这一时期的主播报道，继续有“低俗”和“危害”的视角，对网络主播行业的监管报道也不减其势，但更多情况下把主播产业建构为新经济引擎，嵌入全球金融危机和中国推动电商产业振兴的语境，认为它是“推动传统产业升级”的朝阳产业。同时，主播报道话语又融入了这一时期“乡村振兴”主流叙事；也融入了“促进就业”等，频繁使用“新业态”等新概念。多次提及直播“赋能社会服务”，淡化娱乐属性。在这一时期的报道中，网络直播被赋予了重要期待，被称为“拉动经济发展的新动能”、“引领供给侧改革的新产业”、“丰富文化形式、激发消费活力的新业态”。

例 3-4-12 “直播带货作为互联网新经济业态，已经成长为我国电子商务市场最大增长点之一。”（朱巍，2021）。

例 3-4-13 “广州正用行动力证，要立足时代潮头，建设全球“直播电商之都”，让“直播经济”成为广州激发老城市新活力，特别是数字经济赋能实体经济，推动产业转型升级、供应链创新重构、内外

需加快复苏的强大引擎。”（罗艾桦，2020）。

例 3-4-14 ““手机成为‘新农具’，直播成为‘新农活’。”万源市委主要负责人表示，全市积极发展“村村直播”，出台相关措施，支持新农人利用网络直播、短视频推介特色农产品，叫响万源特色品牌。“（王明峰，2024）。

四、 结语

通过对《人民日报》近二十年来关于主播报道的深入分析，不仅描绘了一幅主流媒体视角下主播形象与话语变迁的生动图景，也深刻揭示了这一变迁背后复杂的社会、文化与意识形态的动态演变。

从“网络三俗”的标签到“三新业态”的崛起，主播报道的话语变迁不仅是对网络主播行业自身发展的镜像反映，更是中国社会转型、技术进步与文化观念更迭的缩影。2006 年至 2015 年间，主播作为新兴娱乐方式的形象初现端倪，虽报道数量有限，但正面评价居多，展现了社会对网络文化的初步接纳与好奇。然而，随着行业的快速发展，一系列负面问题逐渐浮现，2016 年至 2019 年间，《人民日报》对主播的报道转向批判，聚焦于行业乱象与文化生态争议，这既是社会焦虑的体现，也是对行业规范缺失的警示。

进入 2020 年代，主播报道的话语迎来了重大转折，从批判转向肯定，从负面聚焦转向正面价值挖掘。主播作为乡村振兴的新动力与就业蓄水池的角色被突出强调，关注“三新业态”带来的机遇和挑战，呼吁在规范发展的同时，为其创造良好的发展环境。这一话语变迁不仅是对主播行业正面贡献的认可，更反映出对数字经济时代新兴业态的支持态度。

通过对《人民日报》主播报道的话语变迁进行历时性分析，我们不仅看到了媒体话语与社会实践的互动关系，更深刻理解了话语变迁背后意识形态的微妙转向。从对网络主播行业的担忧与批判，到对其在社会经济发展中积极作用的肯定与鼓励，这一过程不仅是对网络主播行业的重新认识，也是对社会发展趋势与文化价值导向的深刻反思。

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六、 附录

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Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Brand Image Construction and Communication Effectiveness in Technology Enterprises—A Case Study of Xiaomi

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Abstract: In the context of digital business communication, the practice of technology enterprises constructing brand images through multimodal semiotic systems has become a core issue in business discourse analysis. Taking Xiaomi as a case, this study explores the multimodal discourse mechanisms and communication effectiveness of brand image construction in technology enterprises based on Kress and van Leeuwen' s visual grammar theory (2006) and Halliday' s systemic functional linguistics framework. Focusing on 10 core product launch videos released by Xiaomi through official channels from 2020 to 2025 (with transcribed texts totaling nearly 240,000 words and video duration of nearly 20 hours), the research reveals the collaborative construction logic of multimodal resources by integrating linguistic function analysis and visual symbol decoding.

The study finds that Xiaomi' s core product launches achieve tripartite brand construction through cross-modal semiotic integration: In technical narration, the conceptual function of language collaborates with the representational meaning of visuals, constructing a professional yet approachable brand image through technical terms + concrete demonstrations. For example, explanations of refresh rates at different hertz affecting screen smoothness are synchronized with animation of the refresh process, enhancing technical credibility. In emotional mobilization, the interpersonal function of language overlaps with the interactional meaning of visuals—challenging terms like unique combined with dynamic stage scheduling and data visualization create ritualized communication scenarios, increasing audience emotional resonance. In approachable expression, discourse function-guided user-preferred topics (such as real-time testing of the popular game *Genshin Impact*) and friendly camera language under compositional meaning (such as close-ups of hosts explaining with warm smiles) jointly cultivate a down-to-earth brand perception.

The research demonstrates that Xiaomi' s marketing success through product launches essentially results from the deep integration of linguistic functions guided by systemic functional linguistics and semiotic meanings within the visual grammar framework. Language conveys technical information through conceptual functions, maintains emotional connections through interpersonal functions, and organizes narrative logic through

discoursal functions, while visuals concretize abstract concepts through representational meaning, enhance social presence through interactional meaning, and construct cultural values through compositional meaning. These two modalities form complementary resonance in multimodal discourse. By integrating theories, this study clarifies the practical path of multimodal discourse analysis, validates the explanatory power of systemic functional linguistics and visual grammar in technology marketing contexts, and provides methodological support for optimizing multimodal strategies in global brand communication.

Keywords: Multimodality; Business Discourse Analysis; Technology Marketing; Xiaomi

1 Introduction

With the iterative development of mobile internet and social media, the landscape of digital business communication is undergoing profound transformation, driving further integration and innovation in theories and methods of multimodal discourse analysis empowered by digital technologies (Li, M. J., Feng, D. Z., & Deng, Y., 2024). As a core vehicle for brand construction in technology enterprises, product launches have evolved into three-dimensional communication arenas integrating multimodal semiotic systems—enterprises construct brand discourse systems that blend professionalism and appeal through the collaborative operation of diverse symbols such as linguistic narratives and visual performances. For example, Xiaomi' s "technology + approachability" communication paradigm in recent launches has drawn significant attention: by organically integrating high-density technical terms (e.g., touch sampling rate, Leica imaging module) with simplified explanations (e.g., describing motherboard component craftsmanship as building five floors on a mainboard), and pairing them with visual symbols like product demonstration animations and competitor comparison videos, Xiaomi not only showcases product performance but also reinforces its heartwarming and affordable product philosophy (Wang, X. J., 2019). This multimodal discourse strategy transforms complex technical parameters into perceivable consumption experiences (Xu, Y., & Feng, D. Z., 2020), constructing a professional yet approachable brand image in digital business communication and providing an innovative model for tech products to break through technical barriers and reach diverse consumer groups.

Product launches represent a typical form of multimodal discourse. In such contexts, leveraging multimodal semiotic resources effectively promotes products, establishes positive relationships with audiences, and stimulates purchase intent. Technology enterprises can enhance communication effectiveness and construct brand images through product launches by integrating multimodal symbols (e.g., language, visuals) (Huang, Y. N., 2024). Xiaomi' s "linguistic narrative + visual demonstration" model in product launches exemplifies this collaborative multimodal practice. Focused on the meaning-construction mechanisms of language (e.g., technical terms, emotional vocabulary, and people-friendly expressions) and visual elements (e.g., technical

showcases, stage speeches, and data demonstrations), multimodal discourse analysis has become a critical theoretical tool for decoding the communication effectiveness of tech brands. Despite existing research on multimodal symbols in advertising and social media, in-depth analysis of the specific business genre of technology enterprise product launches remains insufficient—most studies are confined to single-modality descriptions (Xu, Y., & Feng, D. Z., 2020), with limited mechanistic explanations of how linguistic functions and visual meanings achieve cross-modal collaboration. This research gap is particularly pronounced in the context of global communication by Chinese tech enterprises: when technology going global confronts cultural differences and cognitive barriers, the collaborative effectiveness of multimodal symbols directly impacts the cross-cultural adaptability of brand images (Gu, Y. X., 2025).

Unlike fragmented live-streaming discourse and short-video genres, product launches form a unique communication paradigm through systematic semiotic construction. Hosts deliver stage speeches using body languages while presenting product performance animations and promotional videos via PPT, highlighting key data to achieve an organic blend of technology and approachability. This communication form neither resembles the one-way information output of written business texts nor the instant interaction model of live-commerce (Liu, Q., & Cheng, W., 2025). Instead, it builds a bridge between professional technical interpretation and mass consumer cognition through a meticulously designed multimodal semiotic system.

From a theoretical perspective, the discourse construction of product launches aligns closely with the analytical frameworks of systemic functional linguistics and visual grammar: Halliday' s three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, textual) enable analysis of technical term transmission, emotional relationship maintenance, and approachable narrative logic (Halliday, 1968); Kress & van Leeuwen' s three meanings of visual grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) reveal the meaning-generation mechanisms of visual symbols—from the representational meaning of product close-ups for technical details, to the interactional meaning established through hosts' mid-shot eye contact with the audience, and the compositional meaning encoding of brand values through color and layout. This cross-modal collaboration elevates product launches beyond mere information-release events, making them core vehicles for three-dimensional brand image construction. Therefore, using systemic functional linguistics and visual grammar to decode the semiotic interaction between language and visuals in launches not only enriches the research dimensions of multimodal business discourse but also provides theoretical references for technology enterprises to optimize communication strategies.

In this study, we integrate Halliday' s three metafunctions from systemic functional linguistics with Kress & van Leeuwen' s three meanings of visual grammar to construct a language-vision dual-track analytical framework. Taking Xiaomi' s core product launches from 2020 to 2025 as the research object, we select 10 launch videos as a multimodal discourse corpus (240,000-word transcribed texts, 20 hours of video) for multimodal coding and qualitative-quantitative analysis. This aims to provide theoretical references for

multimodal marketing in technology enterprises and replicable strategic paths for the global communication of Chinese brands.

2 Literature review

2.1 Multimodal marketing strategies for technology enterprises

Multimodal marketing in technology enterprises, a core communication paradigm in the digital era, refers to a marketing model where enterprises construct brand images and deliver product value in three dimensions by integrating diverse semiotic systems—language, visuals, audio, and gestures (e.g., speech texts, product animations, body language, scene design) (Zhang, D., Ren, J., Li, X. A., & Wang, W. Y., 2023). Unlike traditional single-modality marketing (e.g., relying solely on text ads or static images), multimodal marketing creates communicative synergy through inter-semiotic resonance. For example, the combination of technical terms (linguistic modality) and product disassembly animations (visual modality) in product launches not only conveys technical parameters precisely but also lowers audience comprehension thresholds, balancing professional information with popular understanding. This marketing form relies heavily on situational narratives, simulating immersive experiences through dynamic symbol combinations, which significantly distinguishes it from the one-way information output of traditional marketing and serves as a key strategy for technology enterprises to reach diverse audiences.

Product launches represent a critical channel for multimodal marketing in technology enterprises, with their communication effectiveness deeply linked to brand attention (Chen, Q. G., 2020). Take Xiaomi as an example: as a tech brand with 685.8 million monthly active users globally, topics related to its annual new product launches frequently top Sina Weibo' s trending searches (data from official website). Through the organic integration of multimodal symbols—Lei Jun-style colloquial speeches, product performance animations, and live testing segments—these launches transform technological innovation into perceivable consumption experiences, generating strong market influence. Such events are not merely product information release venues but also stages for performing brand values, reinforcing the technology for all brand persona through multimodal narratives.

Despite growing academic attention to business discourse analysis in enterprises, research from the perspectives of systemic functional linguistics and multimodal discourse analysis remains insufficient (Li, Y., & Jiang, Y. J., 2022). Existing literature largely focuses on marketing strategy and translation practice, emphasizing the market positioning value of product launches and linguistic adaptability in cross-cultural communication. In translation studies, for instance, research using Xiaomi's launch corpus examines difficulties and strategies in different types of interpretation (Han, B. L., 2024), such as redundant information

processing (Wang, L. W., 2024) and discourse cohesion reconstruction (Zhang, M., 2023), to enhance the accuracy and efficiency of technical translation in launches. In marketing strategy, studies explore how enterprises adjust market strategies through product launches, such as Xiaomi' s brand segmentation to expand niche markets (Zhou, X. J., 2023), and the impact of mobile phone brand communication channels on consumer brand recognition (Gu, F. E., 2020).

A few studies have adopted pragmatic and multimodal discourse analysis perspectives, such as decoding the simplified translation strategies for technical terms in launches (e.g., translating chip process as 30% battery life improvement). For example, Zhang (2023) compared the pragmatic identity construction of CEOs from Apple and Xiaomi, reflecting brand positioning differences between China and the U.S.; Xiong (2022) analyzed metaphor strategies in Apple's launches and found that metaphors like products as artworks construct an innovation benchmark corporate identity; Liu (2020) used appraisal theory to show how Apple's launches achieve persuasive effects through appraisal resources such as amazing and leading. While these studies deepen our understanding of discourse construction, they have limitations such as overemphasizing linguistic modality and lacking mechanistic explanations. Therefore, integrating Halliday' s systemic functional linguistics with Kress' s visual grammar theory is necessary to deepen research on the integration logic of multimodal symbols in tech marketing, providing more targeted theoretical support for enterprises differentiated communication strategies.

2.2 Systemic functional linguistics & visual grammar theory

The theoretical foundation of this study originates from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the visual grammar theory in multimodal discourse analysis. Systemic Functional Linguistics was formally proposed by the British linguist Michael Halliday in the 1970s. Its core lies in regarding language as a social semiotic system, emphasizing the functional attributes of language rather than its formal structure, and proposing three metafunctions to reveal the meaning construction mechanism of language in social communication: The ideational function means that various fragments of human experiences and their logical relationships recognized by humans construct human experiences through transitive systems, classification systems, etc., and transform experiential fragments into conceptual meanings. For example, in Xiaomi's product launches, the language related to professional technology is encoded, and professional concepts are transformed into technical terms acceptable to users (Yang, X. Y., 2012). The interpersonal function refers to the function of speech and the speaker' s attitudes, judgments, etc., which can construct social relationships by means of modal verbs, evaluative vocabulary and personal pronouns (such as we Mi fans). For instance, in Xiaomi' s product launches, the use of inclusive discourse and personal pronouns is adopted to strengthen the emotional connection between the brand and users. The textual function means that language organizes words and sentences into coherent discourses through its own mechanisms to express ideational and interpersonal

meanings, and organizes narrative logic through cohesive devices, thematic structures, etc., to ensure the coherence of multimodal discourse (Huang, G. W., 2000). This theoretical approach provides precise analytical tools for analyzing how language in product launches conveys technical information, maintains emotional interaction, and constructs narrative frameworks, and is especially suitable for deconstructing core communication mechanisms such as the popularization of technical terms and emotional expression strategies.

This study also draws on the visual grammar theory developed by Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. . This theory extends the metafunctional framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics to the field of visual symbols and has become an important branch of multimodal discourse analysis. Based on Halliday' s systemic functional grammar (Zhang, D., Ren, J., Li, X. A., & Wang, W. Y., 2023), and starting from how and what meanings are conveyed by visual modes based on the three metafunctions of language, a visual grammar framework centered on representational meaning, interactional meaning, and compositional meaning has been constructed: Representational meaning presents objective things and their relationships with the external world in a certain context (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). For example, in product launches, through narrative or conceptual means such as product disassembly animations and data charts, abstract technologies are transformed into visual images, and a connection is established between product performance information and user cognition. Interactional meaning emphasizes the emotional interaction relationship between users and images, specifically including eye contact, distance, presentation perspective, and the level of modality between the audience and the host (Li, L., 2023). In product launches, the interactional meaning is reflected in the construction of audience participation through camera perspectives, visual contact, and body language. For example, when Lei Jun gives a speech, a front mid-shot is used, focusing on the speaker's facial expressions and gestures, which significantly enhances the audience's interactive experience. Compositional meaning mainly refers to the information value and information relationship constructed by the layout and positional relationships of various elements in visual images (Feng, D. Z., & Zhao, X. F., 2017). For example, product launches organize the hierarchy of visual information through color symbolism and screen layout to achieve the implicit encoding of cultural values.

In recent years, with the development of digital communication technologies, the application of the visual grammar theory in fields such as dynamic image analysis and cross-cultural communication has been continuously expanded, providing cutting-edge theoretical support for this study to analyze how visual symbols collaborate with language to construct brand images (Li, M. J., & Feng, D. Z., & Deng, Y., 2024). For the purpose of this study, the combination of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the visual grammar theory forms a language-visual dual-track analysis framework, achieving cross-modal integration by establishing the corresponding meaning relationships between different modalities: At the level of the ideational function and representational meaning, the encoding of technical attributes by language and the demonstration of technical principles by visuals form a complementary meaning, reducing the threshold for users to understand technology.

At the level of the interpersonal function and interactional meaning, the evaluative expressions in language and the body language symbols and camera perspectives in visuals work together to strengthen emotions. For example, the linguistic expression of challenging Apple paired with the speaker' s gestures constructs the brand personality of an enterprising person. At the level of the textual function and compositional meaning, the narrative structure of language and the compositional logic of visuals form cross-modal narrative synchronization, achieving the logical unity of information transmission. This theoretical integration not only breaks through the limitations of single-modal analysis, but also provides an operable analysis path for analyzing the interaction mechanism of multimodal symbols in product launches by corresponding the three functions of Halliday' s Systemic Functional Linguistics theory with Kress' s classification of representational meaning, the mechanism of interpersonal function and interactional meaning, and the strategies of textual function and compositional meaning. Thus, it reveals how technology enterprises achieve a balance between technical communication and emotional appeal through the strategic integration of language and visuals, and provides an analytical paradigm with both theoretical depth and practical value for the construction of brand images in the context of digital business communication.

2.3 Research questions

In view of the practical needs of technology enterprises in digital business communication to construct brand images relying on multimodal semiotic systems, this study takes the core product launches of Xiaomi Corporation from 2020 to 2025 as the research objects. Based on Halliday' s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the visual grammar theory of Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T., it explores how the multimodal discourse mechanism can achieve brand image construction and the improvement of communication effectiveness. Systemic Functional Linguistics analyzes the meaning generation of linguistic symbols through three metafunctions: the ideational function, the interpersonal function, and the textual function (Halliday, 1985), while the visual grammar theory reveals the social construction logic of visual symbols from three meaning dimensions: representational meaning, interactional meaning, and compositional meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The integration of the two provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the cross-modal collaboration between technical narration and emotional resonance. This study focuses on the core issue of the construction of brand images realized through the strategic integration of linguistic functions and visual meanings, aiming to answer the following two questions:

RQ1: In Xiaomi' s product launches, what are the respective distribution characteristics of the three metafunctions of language (ideational function, interpersonal function, textual function) defined by Systemic Functional Linguistics and the three meanings of visuals (representational meaning, interactional meaning, compositional meaning) proposed by the visual grammar theory?

RQ2: How do linguistic functions and visual meanings form collaborative resonance in multimodal

discourse to achieve brand image construction?

Through the exploration of the above questions, this study attempts to reveal the meaning generation mechanism and collaborative logic of multimodal symbols in technology enterprises' product launches, and provides an analytical path with both theoretical depth and practical value for the construction of brand images in the context of digital business communication.

3 Methods

3.1 Data collection

The data was collected from official platforms such as Xiaomi Corporation' s official website and Weibo. The product launches of Xiaomi Corporation were selected as the research objects because, as a leading enterprise in China's technology industry, its product launches not only serve as a concentrated display of technological innovation achievements but also lead the industry's communication paradigm through the strategic integration of multimodal symbols, which can typically reflect the multimodal communication practices of technology brands in the digital business context (Gu, X. J., Yu, P. R., Zhang, T. T., et al., 2025).

In this study, a total of 10 product launches in the form of live broadcast replays were selected from Xiaomi Corporation' s product launches between 2020 and 2025. These product launches were chosen using a purposive sampling method, taking into account factors such as the number of new product releases, influence, and comprehensive viewership. Ten product launches were randomly selected from all the product launches from January 2020 to March 2025, and the video clips related to the core product releases of each launch were analyzed intensively. Each clip had an average duration of 15 minutes and covered the most core product release process of each launch.

The processing of these 10 video clips was divided into three stages. First, the videos were transcribed using the Youdao Jianwai Workbench (https://jianwai.youdao.com/), an open-source web-based speech recognition tool for transcribing Chinese and English speeches. Second, the transcribed texts were manually reviewed and corrected. Finally, the Nvivo15 analysis tool was used to code the corpus. NVivo is a powerful qualitative analysis software that can effectively analyze various types of data, such as texts, pictures, audio recordings, and video recordings, and it is the best tool for conducting qualitative research. The corpus was manually coded for linguistic elements and visual elements in combination with the original videos and the transcribed texts. During the coding process, strictly referring to the three functional theories of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the linguistic elements were coded into secondary nodes, that is, the linguistic elements were divided into three categories: 1) technical terms, 2) emotional vocabulary, and 3) people-friendly expressions; the visual elements were also coded at the secondary level, that is, the visual elements were divided into three categories: 1) technical showcases, 2) data demonstrations, and 3) stage speeches. The total

number of Chinese characters in the final coding reached 29,978, with an average of 2,998 characters per video clip.

3.2 Data analysis

This study employs Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the visual grammar theory as analytical frameworks to conduct cross-modal analysis of the multimodal corpus of Xiaomi' s product launches. Based on Halliday' s (1985) metafunctional theory, linguistic elements are placed within the analytical dimensions of ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. At the same time, in combination with Kress and van Leeuwen' s (2006) visual grammar framework, the social construction logic of visual symbols is deconstructed from three aspects: representational meaning, interactional meaning, and compositional meaning, forming a language-vision dual-track coding system.

Combining the above two theoretical models, the author uses the method of discourse analysis to analyze the data. First, with the help of the open-source speech recognition technology of Youdao Jianwai Workbench, the speech in the videos is transcribed to generate preliminary textual corpora. Subsequently, manual proofreading is carried out. Technical terms such as AMOLED screen and 200W fast charging are transcribed in a standardized manner, and potential semantic ambiguities in colloquial expressions are corrected to form accurate written transcripts. After that, the original video corpora and the transcribed texts are repeatedly compared, and visual elements are marked on the textual corpora according to time. Finally, the NVivo 15 qualitative analysis software is used for multimodal coding of linguistic elements and visual elements, and in combination with the original video images, the interaction relationships between linguistic symbols and visual symbols are marked synchronously.

After the coding process, a total of 29,978 Chinese characters have been transcribed, with an average of 2,998 characters per single video clip, achieving a systematic deconstruction of linguistic functions and visual symbols. During the coding process, the research team ensures reliability through multiple rounds of cross-checking. For key issues such as the boundary division between people-friendly expressions and emotional vocabulary and the corresponding relationship between visual elements and linguistic elements, a consensus is reached in combination with Halliday' s (1994) systemic functional grammar and the visual grammar theory, laying a solid data foundation for the subsequent exploration of the collaborative construction logic of multimodal symbols and the communication effectiveness of brand images.

4 Results and discussion

Table 1. Frequencies of Reference Marks in speech transcription of press conference

Subcategory	Reference Marks	%
Language Nodes	**503**	**69.4**
Technical Terms	259	35.7
Emotional Words	134	18.5
People-friendly Expressions	110	15.2
Visual Nodes	**222**	**30.6**
Data Demonstrations	92	12.7
Stage Speeches	68	9.4
Technical Showcases	62	8.6
Total	**725**	**100**

The frequencies of occurrence of various metadiscourse resources are shown in Table 1. The results indicate that Xiaomi' s product launches employ a rich variety of linguistic and visual modal symbols. Linguistic and visual modal symbols appear a total of 725 times, with an average of approximately 73 occurrences per video clip. All subcategories under the three metadiscourse functions of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the three meanings in the Visual Grammar Theory are utilized, but there are differences in their frequencies of use.

Among the linguistic nodes, Technical Terms have the highest frequency of use, followed by Emotional Words, while People-friendly Expressions have the lowest frequency of use. Among the visual nodes, Data Demonstrations have the highest frequency of use, followed by Stage Speeches, and Technical Showcases have the lowest frequency of application.

Based on the frequencies of reference points of linguistic nodes and visual nodes, it can be inferred that the ideational function of the linguistic nodes and the representational meaning of the visual nodes constitute the most commonly used combination of semiotic functions in Xiaomi' s product launches. The following text will further analyze how the unique application of the three functional models of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the three meanings of the Visual Grammar Theory in product launches.

4.1 Systemic functional linguistics--the analysis of the functions of linguistic elements

The three metafunctions of Systemic Functional Linguistics (ideational function, interpersonal function, textual function) constitute the core framework for the construction of linguistic meaning (Halliday, 1985). The ideational function represents the experiential world through the transitive system, focusing on how language conveys objective information; the interpersonal function constructs social relationships with the help of resources such as modality and evaluation, reflecting the interactive and emotional connection functions of language; the textual function organizes the discourse logic through cohesive devices to ensure the coherence of meaning. In the communication of enterprise business discourse, as a typical persuasive communication

scenario (Ma, X. Y., Xu, F. M., & Wu, X. L., 2012), product launches highly rely on linguistic symbol resources to achieve the transmission of technical information, the shaping of brand emotions, and the construction of narrative structures.

Next, we will elaborate on how the strategic application of each function in Xiaomi' s product launches enhances the communication influence of business discourse and persuades the audience to participate in interactions.

4.1.1 Ideational function

Technical Terms have the highest frequency of use, accounting for 69.4% of all reference points. Conceptual meaning is the product of the joint action of the human cognitive system and the linguistic system. (Yang, X. Y., 2012). Through the ideational function, speakers can clearly output high-density technical terms and then transform these technical terms into concepts that the audience can easily understand through popular metaphors, adding professionalism and credibility to the output discourse.

（1）它是 AMOLED 的四曲面的柔性屏啊，而且是微曲的柔性屏。（<Documents\Video-2021-1> ）

In Example 1, the main processes include 1 core verbs (underlined as follows): " 是 " (repeated), representing a relational process. The carriers are both "它" (referring to the product), and the attributes are respectively "AMOLED 的四曲面的柔性屏" and "微曲的柔性屏". The special grammatical phenomenon is zero ellipsis. By repeatedly using " 是 " through a parallel structure, the superposition of attributes is strengthened. There is no verb group or nominalization phenomenon, and the reference is clear and uniformly points to the product itself. Based on this, this discourse segment reflects that the field of discourse is characterized by an intuitive description of technical parameters and an emphasis on the advantages of the material, serving the information transmission of the product' s basic performance.

（2）这就是我们的冰封液冷的散热系统，创造性的加入新型相变散热材料，形成三态转换的高效立体散热系统。

（<Documents\Video-2021-2> ）

In Example 2, the main processes include 2 core verbs (underlined as follows): "加入" represents a material process. The actor is implicitly "我们" (associated through the possessive "我们的"), and the participant is "新型相变散热材料"; "形成" represents a material process, and the result is "三态转换的高效立体散热系统". The clause group constructs the dynamic process of technological research and development through the causal logic chain of "加入.....形成". Based on this, this discourse segment reflects that the field of discourse is characterized by the engineering presentation of research and development achievements and the interpretation of the technical advantages of the heat dissipation system.

4.1.2 Interpersonal function

Emotional Words account for 18.5% of the frequency of all reference points, and People-friendly Expressions account for 15.2% of the frequency of all reference points. The realization of their functions is closely related to Halliday' s theory of speech functions. At the lexicogrammatical level, speech functions are manifested through the mood system of clauses.

（1）我相信小米的自动亮度的表现，会是今天安卓手机里面最出色的。

（<Documents\Video-2020-1> ）

In Example 1, at the level of evaluative vocabulary, "最出色" serves as an explicit appreciative word. By using the gradation resource "最", it strengthens the emotional intensity and constructs the leading position of Xiaomi' s automatic brightness within the Android camp. At the level of mood structure, the declarative mood "会是……" directly conveys a deterministic judgment, focusing on the one-way output of information. As a whole, it shapes the brand image of technical confidence.

（2）很多人都说 888 的续航不如 870，那得看谁家的 870 是吗，别人的 870 也没有我们强大。（<Documents\Video-2022-1> -）

In Example 2, at the level of evaluative vocabulary, "没有我们强大" is a implicit judgment word. Through the contrastive rhetoric of "别人的" vs "我们", it constructs an evaluation of technical superiority. "强大" serves as an appreciative word to convey a positive attitude. As a whole, it establishes technical confidence through interaction with the audience and refutation of negative evaluations.

4.1.3 Textual function

People-friendly Expressions account for 15.2% of the frequency of all reference points. As one of the three metafunctions of the linguistic system, the core of the textual function lies in constructing a coherent discourse as a whole through the discourse mechanism, enabling the orderly transmission of ideational meaning and interpersonal meaning. The discourse mechanisms of language itself include the thematic structure and information structure of clauses, as well as non-structural cohesive devices such as reference, ellipsis or substitution, conjunction, and the repetition, collocation, and semantic relations of vocabulary (Yang, X. Y., 2012)

（1）我在微博上看到了非常多用户的吐槽，其实我自己也经常吐槽，就是该亮的时候经常不亮。 （<Documents\Video-2020-1> -）

In Example 1, the textual meaning is realized in three aspects: In terms of referential cohesion, the

pronoun “我” repeatedly refers to the speaker, forming an interactive relationship with users in the process of communication. In terms of lexical cohesion, the core word “吐槽” appears twice, associated with contextual elements such as “微博” and “该亮的时候不亮”. In terms of thematic progression, the first sentence sets the context of the information source with “我在微博上”. As a whole, through first-person reference, repetition of problem-related words, and experiential thematic progression, it shortens the psychological distance between the brand and users.

（2）最近呢大家都流行跑个原神，要不呢我们跑个原神试试。好，我们来看一眼。（<Documents\Video-2021-1> -）

In Example 2, the textual meaning is realized in three aspects: In terms of referential cohesion, the pronouns “大家” and “我们” both refer to the speaker and the audience, ensuring that the topic revolves around the shared experience of game actual measurement. In terms of lexical cohesion, the core phrase “跑个原神” appears twice, associated with contextual elements such as “流行”, “试试”, and “来看”, strengthening the topic of actual measurement of product performance. In terms of thematic progression, the first sentence sets the current context with “最近呢”, and the theme of subsequent clauses continues to be “我们”. As a whole, by achieving discourse coherence and a sense of participation, it guides the audience to immerse themselves in the actual measurement experience.

4.2 Systemic functional linguistics--the analysis of the functions of linguistic elements

Multimodal discourse analysis is theoretically rooted in Halliday’ s social semiotic theory and functional grammar. Kress & van Leeuwen creatively extended the three metafunctions of language to the visual semiotic system (Zhang, D. L., 2018), forming three corresponding visual meanings: Representational meaning (corresponding to the ideational function of the linguistic node), Interactive meaning (corresponding to the interpersonal function of the linguistic node), and Compositional meaning (corresponding to the textual function of the linguistic node). This theoretical transfer provides a systematic framework for analyzing the visual symbols in product launches. Visual elements construct the experiential world of products through Representational meaning, build an emotional bridge between the communication subject and the audience through Interactive meaning, and organize the logical levels of multimodal discourse through Compositional meaning, forming a semiotic system that synergizes with linguistic functions (Pan, H. Y., 2018). Below, we will elaborate on how the analysis of each visual symbol in Xiaomi’ s product launches collaborates with linguistic symbols to enhance the communication influence of business discourse.

4.2.1 Compositional meaning

Data Demonstrations account for 12.7% of the frequency of all reference points, mainly reflecting the

Compositional meaning in the Visual Grammar Theory.

Compositional meaning constructs the logical framework of multimodal discourse through the hierarchical organization of spatial layouts and visual elements (Zheng, Q., & Zhang, B., 2015). The scene design with black, white, and silver as the main colors strengthens the sense of technology through color symbolism. Paired with the symmetrical layout of text on the left and image on the right (as shown in the example), it ensures the semantic cohesion between technical terms and visual evidence. The centrally focused composition highlights the core selling points, similar to the emphasized presentation of core process verbs in language, allowing the audience' s gaze to naturally converge on the key information. Through the orderly division of visual hierarchies, the product launch ensures the clear communication of complex information, corresponding to the systematic organization of data visualization in Data Demonstrations.



Figure 1. Screenshot: Data demonstrations in video clip.

4.2.2 Interactive meaning

Stage Speeches account for 9.4% of the frequency of all reference points, mainly reflecting the Interactive meaning in the Visual Grammar Theory.

The construction of Interactive meaning relies on the implicit emotional connection between visual elements and the audience (Pan, H. Y., 2018). The host' s front mid-shot (such as the direct gaze during a speech) simulates a real dialogue scene through eye contact, forming a modal synergy with the question like Do you think this design is good? in the language, conveying the brand' s affinity and credibility, corresponding to the visualization of interactive expressions in Stage Speeches. The body language, together with gesture guidance (the speaker pointing to the key area), forms a visual invitation, guiding the audience to focus on the core selling points, making the technical discourse more approachable and professional.



Figure 1. Screenshot: Stage speeches in video clip.

4.2.3 Representational meaning

Technical Showcases account for 8.6% of the frequency of all reference points, mainly reflecting the Representational meaning in the Visual Grammar Theory.

At the level of Representational meaning, visual symbols construct the experiential world of products through technical visualization means (Zheng, Q., & Zhang, B., 2015). Shots such as product disassembly animations and circuit board close-ups transform the technical principles in Technical Showcases into perceivable visual narratives through the presentation of details. For example, high-speed shots capture the opening and closing trajectories of the hinge of a foldable screen mobile phone, intuitively conveying the precision of the product structure through process reproduction. Similar to the encoding of professional technical terms in the ideational function of language, visual symbols reduce the threshold for technical understanding through detailed close-ups and animation displays, strengthening the audience's intuitive perception of product performance.



Figure 1. Screenshot: Technical showcases in video clip.

4.3 The correlation between language elements and visual elements

Table 2. The correlation between language elements and visual elements

	People-friendly Expressions	Emotional Words	Technical Terms
Technical Showcases	6	3	34
Data Demonstrations	2	3	42
Stage Speeches	36	12	5

By organizing and comparing the data in the table 2, the top three combinations with the most overlapping intersections are as follows:

1) Data Demonstrations are associated with Technical Terms: The number of overlapping intersections is 42, which is the highest among all combinations. This indicates that the data demonstration part highly depends on technical terms to convey information.

2) Stage Speeches are associated with People-friendly Expressions: The number of overlapping intersections is 36, reflecting that stage speeches focus on establishing connections with the audience through people-friendly expressions.

3) Technical Showcases are associated with Technical Terms: The number of overlapping intersections is 34, indicating that the technical showcase section mainly uses technical terms to present content.

The modalities of visual symbols and linguistic symbols cooperate with each other, shaping the enterprise image from dimensions such as technology, emotion, and innovation, and enhancing the brand' s influence as well as the audience' s cognition and favorability towards the brand.

5. Conclusion

In digital business communication, tech enterprise product launches, as key multimodal discourse scenarios, shape brand images and convey tech value via linguistic and visual symbol integration. This study analyzes Xiaomi' s 2020-2025 core product launches, using 10 video clips as data, based on Halliday' s SFL and Kress & van Leeuwen' s Visual Grammar Theory, exploring brand image construction through linguistic and visual integration.

Findings show that language' s three metafunctions and visuals' three meanings have distinct distributions in product launch discourse. The ideational function, with high-frequency technical terms and the transitive system, pairs with visual Representational meaning to present tech principles, dominating discourse output. Data Demonstrations and Technical Terms have the most overlapping intersections, indicating heavy reliance on terms for data communication. Strategic integration of linguistic functions and visual meanings builds the brand image mechanism. The ideational function and Representational meaning transform tech parameters into perceivable advantages, shaping an authoritative image. The interpersonal function and Interactive meaning create an approachable brand via "linguistic empathy + visual" invitation, reducing audience cognitive distance.

The textual function and Compositional meaning ensure clear complex tech info communication, strengthening brand discourse. Multimodal synergy balances tech rationality and emotion, establishing a professional and approachable brand image.

These findings have theoretical and practical value. Theoretically, the study breaks single-modality analysis, integrating SFL and Visual Grammar Theory in tech launches, revealing multimodal symbol collaboration and offering an interdisciplinary research model. It innovatively explains the interaction between language and visual functions, expanding business communication semiotics. Practically, it guides tech enterprises in optimizing launch strategies. Content design can enhance tech term and visualization tool matching, emotional connection can use people-friendly expressions with camera language, and narrative architecture can unify discourse cohesion and visual composition. These strategies help achieve tech value transmission and brand shaping in digital communication, providing an industry reference.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that this study has some limitations. Firstly, since the analysis is limited to the data of Xiaomi Corporation, the research conclusions mainly reflect the multimodal discourse characteristics of the product launches of a single technology enterprise, and there may be limitations in the universal interpretation of the common laws of the industry. The future research direction is to expand to comparative studies of product launches of technology enterprises in different countries. For example, exploring the cultural differences in the use of technical terms and visual composition strategies between Chinese and American technology enterprises can more comprehensively reveal the cross-cultural communication logic of multimodal discourse in technology product launches. Another limitation of this study is that the video duration extracted from the database is short, mainly focusing on the demonstration clips of core products, ignoring the overall integrity of the corpus in multimodal research. Short-duration samples may not be able to fully capture the complete process of product launches and the long-term collaborative effects of multimodal elements. Therefore, future research can include the full-duration videos of product launches, analyze the dynamic interaction mechanism of multimodal symbols in combination with a longitudinal timeline, or introduce the Ethnographic observation method to record the audio-visual experience data at the product launch site, so as to more comprehensively understand the meaning generation and communication laws of this business discourse genre.

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Meituan Posters from the Perspective of Frame Theory

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Abstract: Meituan is an integrated life service platform that incorporates food delivery, hotel reservation, etc., and it is a widely used life-type software among young people in China. As it expands from serving young people to target the elderly, it constructs the meaning of "caring for parents" to realize its purpose. This study makes a detailed analysis of three posters of Meituan in the Double Ninth Festival and by means of frame theory and critical discourse analysis, the realization of Meituan's marketing goal can be probed into. Based on frame theory, textual and discourse practice, Meituan constructs itself into a life helper, assigns the consumers (children who are browsing the advertisements) the responsibility of caring for their elderly parents, and constructs the elderly parents into ones who are in need of children's care. Through its construction of these identities and the construction of "caring for parents", Meituan has achieved its marketing goals to call on those consumers (children with the responsibility of caring for parents) to make an order from Meituan app to show care to their elderly parents. After analyzing the realization of Meituan's marketing goals, this paper analyzes the sociocultural context behind its marketing goals (social practice). The study finds behind the achievement of Meituan's marketing goals lies traditional Chinese culture. China has a history of thousands of years of filial piety culture and it's the filial piety that contributes to the realization of Meituan's marketing goals. Actually, by delving into filial piety, it's found that the realization of Meituan's marketing goals conceals filial piety expectations and beliefs, which is the very foundation for the achievement of Meituan's marketing goals. Nevertheless, what the elderly parents really expect or desire is not the delivery or service from Meituan, instead the care from their children. Actually the deliveries or service from Meituan are merely the form of children's care. What the elderly parents need are their children's care and this gives implications for children on how to care for their elderly parents and better understand elderly people's inner needs. As is shown in Meituan's advertisements, the major life service platform has targeted the elderly people for its further

development into the elderly economy. To some extent, it also implicates the whole nation on how to develop the "silver" economy and how to care for the elderly people under the macro background of an aging society.

Keywords: Meituan Posters; Frame Theory; Critical Discourse Analysis; Identity; Marketing Purposes

1 Introduction

According to Yang and Gu (2005), discourse analysis is a perspective and approach to revealing the full involvement of advertisements in social life and their profound impacts on social culture. Critical discourse analysis is an important part of discourse analysis. Zhang and Liu (2011) thought critical discourse analysis put its focus on why language is the way it is, aiming to expose the influence of ideology on discourse through the surface language forms, instead on what language is. Fairclough (1995) believed that any discourse can be analyzed from three dimensions and proposed the "three-dimensional concept of discourse" model, arguing that any discourse consists of the three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice. Critical discourse analysis is carried out from these three dimensions. It is a perspective for viewing problems. In the past, many studies have explored advertisements from the perspective of critical discourse analysis. For example, Liu and Li (2020) studied how yoga advertisements construct their fashionable business cards, and Wang and Hu (2020) studied advertisements of off-campus tutoring institutions related to education. However, they did not focus on the essential characteristics of advertisements, that is, marketing and promotion. Regardless of the form of advertisements, the purpose of advertisements is the same: to achieve marketing and promotion. From the perspective of Wang and Hu (2020), to achieve its marketing purpose, an advertisement needs to share a communication framework with the audience so that viewers can understand what the advertisement text expresses. There is a "discourse pattern" in the advertisement text, which is implicit and not directly shown but serves as the basis for viewers to understand the advertisement. Meituan's posters also construct a "discourse pattern" which mainly includes two aspects: "social situational identity" and "social situational activity", referring to "who" and "what" in communication respectively (James Paul, 2011, p. 23-24,72-73). Actually, what is reflected in the "discourse pattern" in the advertisement is a framework constructed by the advertisement, and meanwhile different identities and contents are constructed.

This paper analyzes the construction of the identities of "parents", "children", and "Meituan" in Meituan advertisements and the activities of "caring for parents" and interprets the realization of

Meituan's marketing. Finally, through critical discourse analysis, this paper interprets the realization of Meituan's marketing as well as the ideology and values behind it. Exploring the implicit ideology behind Meituan's marketing can clarify the underlying logic of its marketing and enable children to truly understand the needs of their parents, and provide inspirations for current elderly care services or the development of "silver" economy under the macro background of an aging society.

2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework in this paper is the frame theory proposed by Fillmore in his frame semantics. Fillmore (1982) believed that a frame is an interconnected conceptual system. To understand a certain concept within it, one needs to understand the entire conceptual structure. There are several important basic concepts in frame theory, namely perspective, windowing of attention and framing. Lin (2011) argued that the most important analysis method in critical discourse analysis (systemic functional grammar) ignores the analysis of cognitive elements in critical discourse analysis, while frame theory advocates exploring meaning from a cognitive perspective. Therefore, frame theory and systemic functional grammar are complementary and frame theory has the potential to become a tool for critical discourse analysis. Lin (2011) also conducted critical discourse analysis on specific discourse examples by means of frame theory. Chen (2022) constructed a news discourse analysis model based on cognitive frame theory. To further distinguish the connotations of "frame", she differentiated the two concepts of "frame" and "framing process". And "frame" is a cognitive concept, a thinking framework for understanding the reality and "framing process" is a discourse strategy, a process of activating a specific cognitive frame by using specific vocabulary, grammar, rhetoric, and discourse structures. Chen (2022) believed that the analysis of the framing process belongs to the analysis of the text in critical discourse analysis, and the analysis of the frame belongs to the analysis of the cognition of the participating subjects in discourse practice. This paper adopts frame theory to conduct critical discourse analysis on Meituan posters. The analysis of vocabulary, etc. in the framing process is text analysis and the meaning construction in the frame analysis process is discourse practice analysis. At last, through social practice analysis, the ideology and values behind the design of Meituan posters are analyzed.

3 What Kind of Frame Has Been Constructed? (Textual and Discourse Analysis)

As the background of the posters of Meituan is in the Double Ninth Festival, the parents in the posters are regarded as the elderly parents. In Figure 1, the first poster of Meituan in the Double Ninth Festival is divided into two parts. The upper part is a vision chart for testing "presbyopia". The words presented can be divided into two categories: one is the words that parents can "看清" about their children in the distance, and such words show concern for children, such as "孩子吃好点" and "别忘了带伞"; the other is the words that parents "看不清" about themselves nearby and the words show that they neglect to take good care of themselves, such as "小感冒我扛一扛就过去了" and "中午就咱俩午饭随便吃点吧". These words construct the image of traditional Chinese parents who care about their children but don't care for themselves. The lower part is the advertising discourse of Meituan on the occasion of the Double Ninth Festival. The core discourse is "哪怕远在天边 让爱近在眼前" which points out the theme of the Meituan advertisement, that is, "Let far-away you bring love to your parents", and also indirectly shapes Meituan into the image of a life helper.

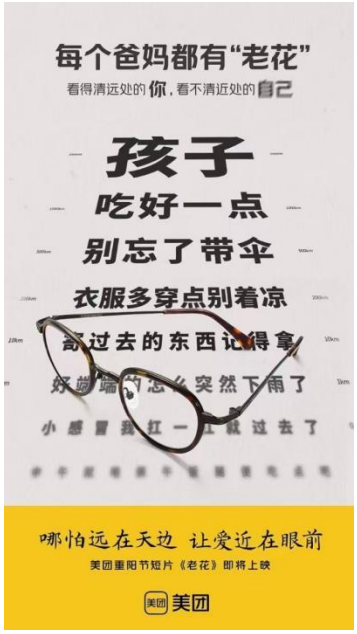


Figure 1: the first poster



Figure 2: the second poster



Figure 3: the third poster

According to the Figure 2 and Figure 3, in the second and third poster of Meituan in the Double Ninth Festival, the identity of Meituan as a "美好生活小帮手" is directly presented at the top of the posters and directly conveyed to the children (consumers). Among them, the words "帮你照顾咱爸妈" at the top of the poster with the largest font, on the one hand, points out the role of Meituan as a "美好生活小帮手" (helping you take care of our parents), on the other hand, shortens the distance with the

children (you or consumers). “Your parents” become “our parents”, and it also implies that “parents need to be taken care of”. It is our responsibility and obligation to take care of our parents. In addition, the two slogans, “即使离家千里 也能照顾爸妈的身体” in the Figure 2 and “不在爸妈身边 也能一早送去新鲜” in the Figure 3, use the end rhymes “i” and “an” respectively to enhance the rhythmic sense of the language, making it easier for consumers (children) to remember the content and triggering their emotional resonance to make an order.

Looking at the three posters as a whole, based on traditional Chinese culture, Meituan portrays parents as traditional Chinese parents (devoted to their children and caring about them) and children as filial ones. Meituan positions itself as a “美好生活小帮手” and acts as an intermediary for children to take care of their parents. Parents and children are placed within the framework constructed by Meituan. That is, “parents who care about their children” need “the care of their children”, and children need and are obliged to take care of their parents. Even if children are far away and cannot take care of their parents in person, they can still do such a thing with the help of “美团，美好生活小帮手”.

4 The Construction of the Meaning of “Caring about Parents” in Meituan Poster Advertisements

Among the three Meituan posters, the first one is themed on “presbyopia”, while the second and third ones focus on “美团,美好生活小帮手”. In the first poster, the parents with “presbyopia” are depicted, exhorting their children with words like “吃好一点，别忘了带伞，衣服多穿点别着凉，寄过去的东西记得拿”. These words are much larger, clearer, and more prominent in terms of distance, size, and legibility than the words directly related to parents below, such as “好端端的怎么突然下雨了，小感冒我扛一扛就过去了，中午就咱俩午饭随便吃点吧”. Through the recontextualization of “presbyopia”, traditional Chinese parents who care deeply about their children are portrayed. Children are the whole world to these parents, who neglect themselves and put all their attention on their children. This can make children who see the poster think about their own parents and resonate with it. The words “哪怕远在天边让爱近在眼前” at the bottom of the poster are the purpose of this poster. The sentence “即使离家千里 也能照顾爸妈的身体” in the second poster and “不在爸妈身边 也能一早送去新鲜” in the third poster depict that parents need their children’s care and have filial expectations of their children. Influenced by traditional Chinese filial piety culture, especially such concepts as “Filial piety is the most important of all virtues” and “Children should not travel far while their parents are alive”, children who are far away feel that they owe their parents and have not fulfilled their filial duties. At this time, Meituan shapes its image as a “美好生活小帮手” “帮你照顾

咱爸妈” by buying medicine and groceries.This provides children with specific ways to “care about their parents”. In this process, the designers of Meituan posters have already assumed that the “presbyopic” parents are traditional Chinese parents and that the children are influenced by filial piety culture. They have the obligation and the filial heart to take care of their parents. At this moment, Meituan is designed as a “美好生活小帮手” to concretize the process and actions of “照顾咱爸妈”, thus constructing the meaning of “caring about parents”. In the activity of “caring about parents”, parents are the receiver of children’s care, children are the subjects who care about their parents, and Meituan is the tool that helps far-away children take care of their parents.

5 The Specific Construction Path of Meituan’s Poster Marketing Goals (The Realization of Meituan’s Marketing Goals)

In the first poster, the picture is divided into two parts, upper and lower, the upper is white and the lower is yellow. The white part is a “presbyopia” test chart designed to imitate a myopia vision test chart, and the yellow part below is composed of the iconic color of the Meituan app.

The white part at the top of the poster is a vision test chart. The text at the head of the test chart reads, “每个父母都有老花” in relatively large font with high prominence, indicating the theme of the test chart. Below this line, the text “看得清远处的你，看不清近处的之间”further explains the test chart. In vision problems, “presbyopia” means that one can see distant objects clearly but has difficulty seeing nearby ones. Here, “presbyopia” is recontextualized into an emotional state: being able to see the children in the distance clearly but not oneself up close. At the same time, in the sentence “看得清远处的你，看不清近处的自己” the Chinese character “你” is bold, which not only highlights the fact that it can be seen clearly but also serves an emphasizing function to show its importance, while the two Chinese characters “自己” are blurred, indicating that it cannot be seen clearly and it has a sense of self-downplaying.

Below is the specific content of the vision test chart. Obviously, the test subjects are parents, but the target person is still “you”. The font size at the top of the chart is large, and the further down you look, the smaller and more blurred the font becomes. The distances are marked on the left and right sides of the content in the chart. Normally, the closer the distance, the clearer the vision; the farther the distance, the more blurred the vision. The distances are marked on the left and right sides of the content in the presbyopia table. Generally speaking, the closer the distance, the clearer the vision, and the farther the distance, the more blurred the vision. Meanwhile, according to iconicity, a concept in cognitive linguistics. It refers to the phenomenon that there is a similarity between a sign and its referent in terms of sound, form or structure. Iconicity mainly includes distance iconicity, quantity

iconicity, and markedness iconicity. The main focus is on distance iconicity and quantity iconicity. The closer the physical distance, the closer the psychological relationship. The larger the font size (the greater the quantity), the more important it is; the smaller the font size (the fewer the quantity), the less important it is, and the less chance it has to draw attention. In this table, the two characters “孩子” are the largest. At the same time, they are the farthest from the tester, about 2,000 kilometers away. On the contrary, the smallest and even blurred line of text, “中午就咱俩午饭随便吃点吧” is less than 0.5 kilometers away from the tester, and it can even be regarded as having a zero distance. This conforms to the visual characteristics of “presbyopia”. At this time, “presbyopia” has a metonymic meaning, taking “the ‘presbyopia’ of parents’ eyesight”, which means “seeing clearly in the distance but not up close”, to refer to “the emotional characteristics of the parents’ generation”, that is, “caring about the children in the distance while ignoring themselves up close”. In addition, combined with the content in the specific vision test table, the font size, language quantity, and clarity of phrases like “孩子吃好一点，别忘了带伞，多穿点衣服别着凉”are much larger than those below “好端端的怎么突然下雨了，小感冒我扛一扛就过去了，中午就咱俩午饭随便吃点就行了”. According to the principle of iconicity, the larger the font, the greater the quantity, the clearer it is, the more important it is, the more attention it attracts, which also shows parents’ concern for their children who are far away, yet they neglect to take good care of themselves. Meanwhile, the glasses in the picture are placed at the lower part of the table. The content at the lower part of the table is directly related to the parents, indicating that parents should use the glasses to see themselves clearly at close range. However, the orientation of the glasses is the opposite of the normal position when we test our eyesight, suggesting that even with the glasses, “presbyopic” parents don’t really want to see clearly what’s near to them. They don’t focus on themselves but on their children.

For the yellow part at the bottom of the picture, the target group here is the “you” who is far away. At the upper part of this section is “哪怕远在天边 让爱近在眼前”clarifying the advertising purpose of Meituan. Further down is a line of small characters, “美团重阳节短片《老花》即将上映” points out the content of the promotional short film.

In Figure 2, the second poster, according to the status system, a subsystem of the relationship between image and text, the image and the text in the second poster have an equal status. That is, the image and the text should be understood as a whole, and they complement each other. The image of the mother holding the takeout with the “美团买药” icon, the text in the yellow box beside it, and “美团 美好生活小帮手帮你照顾咱爸妈” together form the meaning. Even if you are “离家千里”, you can still take care of your parents’ health through Meituan,”美好生活小帮手”. The mother’s eyes in the image are directed at the “美团买药” takeout, which is an offering image. At the same time, the satisfied expression on the mother’s face also shows her satisfaction with the “美团买药”takeout, or

with the “you” far away. Below the poster are the Meituan App and a search box with the words “买药”, which represents the practical situation for realizing the ideal of Meituan, “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈”. Only by starting from the reality, searching for “买药” on the Meituan App and placing an order can the above ideal situation be achieved.

In Figure 3, the third poster, the image and the text also have an equal status. In the image, the mother smiles as she picks up the red pepper, and the father smiles while looking at the green vegetables in his hand. Their eyes are both directed at the vegetables, which is also an offering image, telling the viewer “you” that your parents are satisfied with the vegetables bought from Meituan. Together with the text in the yellow box beside it and “美团美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈” above the image, it forms the meaning that you, who are “不在爸妈身边” can send fresh food to take care of your parents early in the morning through Meituan, “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈”. Below the poster are the Meituan App and a search box with the words “买菜”. This is the practical situation for realizing the ideal of Meituan, “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈”. Only by starting from the reality, searching for “买菜” on the Meituan App and placing an order can the above ideal situation be achieved.

According to Festinger’s Cognitive Dissonance Theory, when an individual’s behavior is inconsistent with his beliefs or attitudes, psychological discomfort will occur. To avoid this discomfort, the individual will adjust his behavior or attitude. When one’s behavior is inconsistent with the belief in filial piety, the child will feel psychological discomfort. Combined with the first poster, the “老花” parents are very concerned about the far-away “you” but neglect or even can’t clearly see themselves. When the child senses that his parents care too much about the far-away child while the child doesn’t care enough about his parents (lacking practical acts of caring for parents), which is inconsistent with his belief in filial piety, and there is a large gap between the insufficient care for parents and filial piety belief, he will take action to reduce this cognitive dissonance. For example, children can provide some daily life help for their parents. At this time, in the second and third posters, Meituan, “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈” by buying medicine for parents at night to take care of their health and buying fresh vegetables for parents early in the morning, providing specific action plans for the far-away “you”. It’s almost like directly urging the audience, that is, “you”, to search for “买药” and “买菜”on Meituan and place orders.

6 The Interactive Relationship between Discourse and the Social Environment

In critical discourse analysis, the analysis of social practice is based on textual analysis and conducts explanatory analysis and discussion of the social context. Its aim is to reveal the relationship of the

interactive construction between the social environment and discourse. The achievement of Meituan's marketing goals is closely related to the current Chinese social and cultural background. The following will discuss the current Chinese social and cultural background to explore the implicit ideologies and values behind the construction of the discourse for realizing Meituan's marketing goals.

6.1 Parents' "Presbyopia" : Filial Piety Expectations and Beliefs

When discussing the changes in the Chinese family structure, Fei (1983) pointed out that, different from the "relay model" in Western societies, the inter-generational relationship in traditional Chinese families is the "feedback model", that is, "parents raise children, and children support parents in their old age". This inter-generational reciprocity includes not only economic exchanges but also two-way exchanges in multiple aspects such as emotional communication and life care. Among them, children supporting their parents is an important part of the feedback model. Chinese parents raise their children until they start working, and then the children take care of their parents in return. This kind of feedback is an acceptable concept for both parents and children in China. At the same time, Chinese parents regard their children as everything and care far more about their children than themselves. The "presbyopia vision chart" on Meituan's first poster vividly represents how Chinese parents treat their children. They care about their children far away, understand their children's needs, and ignore or even fail to see their own needs.

According to van der Pas et al. (2005), filial piety expectation is a social attitude that adult children are obliged to meet the needs of their elderly parents, especially the expectation of filial support from children. It reflects both general social norms and focuses on the specific expectations of the elderly for their children's appropriate behaviors. The first poster designed by Meituan aims to arouse children's psychological state (out of filial piety to their parents) of meeting their parents' filial piety expectations. While caring for their children, parents also have expectations for them, hoping that their children will care about them. The second and third posters reflect the filial piety belief of "taking care of parents" achieved through Meituan, "美好生活小帮手". The satisfied smiles on the parents' faces when they pick up the medicine and vegetables also show their feelings of having their filial piety expectations met. Li & Kou (2010) pointed out that in an individualistic culture, the filial piety expectations of elderly parents often tend to be "maintaining autonomy as much as possible", and the filial piety beliefs of children are "just enough". Different from the individualistic culture, in a collectivist culture, the filial piety expectations of elderly parents often tend to be "the more, the better", and the filial piety beliefs of children also tend to be "meeting as much needs as possible". China is different from Western countries, and our country emphasizes and values collectivism.

Therefore, the filial piety expectations of elderly parents in China are that the more, the better, and the filial piety beliefs of children to meet their parents' filial piety expectations are to meet them as much as possible. When parents outside the posters see the "midnight medicine" and "fresh vegetables in the morning" on the second and third posters and the smiles of the "parents of their peers" in the posters, the parents outside the posters will have filial piety expectations for their children outside the posters, hoping that their children can also bring them "midnight medicine" and "fresh vegetables in the morning". At this time, the children outside the posters will try their best to meet their parents' filial piety expectations.

6.2 Meituan, "美好生活小帮手帮你照顾咱爸妈": Chinese Filial Piety Culture

"Filial piety" originated in the Yin Dynasty. Initially, "filial piety" was infiltrated into the political level, and the ethical aspect of "filial piety" became prominent during the Confucius period. During the turbulent Spring and Autumn Period, Confucius tried to achieve social stability by restoring the Rites of Zhou. In Yang and Zang's (2024) view, Confucius believed that one should "serve parents with propriety while they are alive; bury them with propriety when they die, and sacrifice to them with propriety", realizing the transformation of filial piety to human relations and laying the most influential genetic shaping for the personality traits and behavior patterns of the Chinese people over the past two thousand years.

In modern society, with the increase in the aging population and the intensification of aging, China is stepping into an aging society, and the state attaches great importance to the elderly care cause. In the report of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, it was proposed to build a policy system and social environment of "providing for the elderly, showing filial piety to the elderly, and respecting the elderly". The scope and meaning of "showing filial piety to the elderly" are greater than those of "providing for the elderly" and "respecting the elderly". Filial piety is a means to promote social governance. The Analects of Confucius holds that "filial piety" is the foundation of being a person, the basis of self-cultivation, and the need for governance. In family ethics, filial piety is the most basic and important component. As is evident, "Filial piety is the most important of all virtues." Yuan, Ma et al (2023) pointed those who respect and care for their parents will be respected and praised; those who disobey their parents will be spurned and abandoned. It can be said that "filial piety" is a cultural gene deeply rooted in the bones of the Chinese people. Supporting, being filial to, and loving the elderly have become an internal responsibility and awareness of children, not just a matter of form. When children work away from home and cannot be with their parents to take care of them, they will feel guilty. At this time, Meituan, with the marketing

slogan “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈” provides a practical and viable way for children who are not with their parents to take care of them. In sociology, the elderly are regarded as passive recipients of social welfare and care, thus strengthening the demographic discourse and regarding population aging as a social crisis. Besides achieving the goal of taking care of parents, Meituan’s marketing slogan “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾啊咱爸妈” also conforms to the national level and provides a solution to alleviate the social crisis of population aging. Additionally, Meituan’s poster design is for the Double Ninth Festival. The Double Ninth Festival is an important traditional Chinese festival, containing the concepts of respecting, loving, and promoting filial piety in China. It is a traditional festival for caring about, respecting, and being filial to the elderly and is also a traditional festival on the national intangible cultural heritage list. Taking the Double Ninth Festival as an opportunity, Meituan launched the slogan “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈”. Based on the background of Chinese filial piety culture, it has well achieved its marketing goals, enabling far-away you to place an order through the Meituan app and send care and support to your elderly parents.

Starting from the role positioning of traditional Chinese parents, filial piety expectations, filial piety beliefs, and filial piety culture, Meituan has undoubtedly played a good card by shaping itself as the “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈 successfully achieving its marketing goals and gaining a wave of attention. However, it cannot be ignored that Meituan starts from the filial piety culture. It achieves its marketing goals and promotion by enabling children to offer material help to their parents. However, what parents truly need is not the so-called “mid-night medicine” and “fresh vegetables in the morning” that Meituan provides. Parents can buy these by themselves. What they really long for is the care and love from their far-away children. Meituan’s marketing slogan, “美好生活小帮手 帮你照顾咱爸妈” merely concretizes the unspoken “care and love” from children into tangible items (medicine and vegetables). But this also reminds people, especially children, that in addition to showing filial piety through practical actions, parents also need communication with their children and their children’s spiritual care. When parents and children live far apart, parents may feel lonely and their mental health will be affected. Shen, Zhou et al. (2003) believed that the more support behaviors elderly people receive from their adult children, the less lonely they feel and the better their mental health is. Children providing sufficient support (both material and spiritual) to their parents will undoubtedly reduce their parents’ loneliness and improve their mental health. Besides, some studies have shown that only when the filial piety expectations match the filial piety behaviors they receive from their children (high expectations with high support, low expectations with low support), their happiness can be promoted. Mismatches (high expectations with low support, low expectations with high support) may reduce happiness. This also indicates that if children only offer material support to their parents without much spiritual communication, the filial piety behaviors of children may not

match their parents' filial piety expectations, thus reducing their parents' happiness. Material support from children to parents is necessary, but only by communicating with parents in a timely manner, understanding their spiritual needs, meeting their emotional needs, and matching parents' filial piety expectations with their own filial piety behaviors can parents' happiness be ensured.

7 Conclusion

Through the analysis of the design of three Meituan posters, it is found that Meituan achieves its marketing goals mainly through constructing a frame where the elderly parents are in need of children's care, children under the influence of filial piety have the obligation to care for their elderly parents and Meituan is the helper for children to care about their elderly parents. Moreover, behind the achievement of Meituan's marketing goals lies traditional Chinese culture, which can only be realized in the context of Chinese social culture, that is, China has a history of thousands of years of "filial piety" culture. Actually, the realization of Meituan's marketing goals conceals filial piety expectations and beliefs, which is the very foundation for the achievement of Meituan's marketing goals. However, all the things children do through Meituan: the helper can also be done by parents themselves. In fact, the covered is what parents truly need is not the material goods but the care from their children, the material goods or the deliveries or services merely take the form of children's care. Children pay for their filial piety to meet parents' expectation and parents accept the deliveries or services from Meituan and treat them as their children's care. For children, they can do more to care for parents than just place orders from Meituan to bring material goods to their elderly parents. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Meituan successfully realized its marketing goal but it and the other life service platforms should and could do more things than just for their profits by means of filial piety in Chinese culture. Under the macro background of an aging society, those who can grasp the needs of the elderly can also hold the lifeline of the "silver" economy. On the way to the development of "silver" economy, the core lies in holding the true needs of the elderly. Major life service platform like Meituan can delve into the old people's needs to thrive themselves and make good use of the "silver" economy.

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傣族古典叙事诗《娥并与桑洛》译介概况及价值——雨林文学译介初探

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摘要：《娥并与桑洛》从古早的口耳相传直至约 14 世纪编录成文，再到 20 世纪中叶以来大规模的发掘整理译介传播；历经老傣文到新傣文、汉译文到英译文，足见其审美价值与生命力。本文基于现有文献及相关研究，梳理已出版或未出版的各种译文及异文，不限于各语种文本、连环画、戏剧、歌舞等；概述众前辈的研究成果，涉及比较、叙事、修辞、美学、宗教、戏剧、英译实践等方面；以期呈现更加清晰且综合的面貌，为未来更好的译介《娥并与桑洛》尽绵薄之力。综上，基于翻译学素养，窥见个中缺憾并提出笔者的思考与拙见；依托傣族赖以生存的雨林环境，浅探雨林文学译介的可行性。新兴的翻译学不应囿于汉英及传统的翻译研究。鉴于少数民族文学的声音至今仍显微弱且不均衡，笔者期盼少数民族文学不仅可以通过译介走出中国，沟通世界文学；还可以真正地走进中国，沟通各民族文学，构筑更加和谐包容的中华文明。

关键词：娥并与桑洛，傣族古典叙事诗，雨林文学译介，翻译学

Significance of *E'bing and Sangluo* the Classical Narrative Poetry of Dai Ethnic Group: from the perspective of translation-transmission of rainforest literature

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Abstract. *E'bing and Sangluo*, followed an age-long oral tradition, had been written in about 14th century. The poetry earned its fame thanks to the extensive collection, translation and transmission during the 1950s. From colloquial to literary Dai language old and new as well as from Chinese to English, each translation and transmission has enriched the language of the poetry and witnessed its aesthetic value and vitality. On the basis of relevant literature and studies available, this paper with the main focus on the poetry itself first made an overview of pertinent versions published or unpublished, including multiple variants, comic books, plays, songs and dances. Second, by outlining various perspectives of current studies, such as comparison, narration, rhetoric, aesthetics, religion, drama, and translation practice, this paper made a comprehensive observation of *E'bing and Sangluo* in hope of contributing to more prospective translations and dissemination. Based on translatology, the author expects to explore the possibility of translation and transmission of rainforest literature considering the rainforest that Dai people live on for generations. The emerging translatology in China should not be limited to Chinese-English translations or traditional translation studies. Given the relatively weak voice

of ethnic minorities, the author holds that diverse literatures of ethnic groups should not only go out worldwide via translation and promotion, but also go in nationwide for a more harmonious civilization.

Keywords: *E'bing and Sangluo*; classical narrative poetry of Dai ethnic group, rainforest literature, translation and transmission, translatology

一、《娥并与桑洛》概况

《娥并与桑洛》是一首以凄美爱情悲剧为主题的傣族古典叙事诗，为傣族三大悲剧叙事长诗之一。广泛流传于云南德宏、西双版纳、耿马（临沧）、景谷和孟连（普洱）、新平和元江（玉溪）、马关（文山）等傣族地区，在邻近的缅甸掸邦等部分地区也有传播（刀承华，2024）。有傣族的"梁山伯与祝英台"、"罗密欧与朱丽叶"之称，据此改编的戏剧——傣剧《娥并与桑洛》，曾轰动一时，被誉为"东南亚的明珠"（张玉芝，2016）。

一般认为，"娥并与桑洛"早期以口头文学的形式在民间流传，约 14 世纪编录成文，有不同的异文散见于各傣族聚居区。及至 20 世纪四五十年代专家学者搜集整理时，多为老傣文手抄本，间或夹杂多种文字；据述，傣族叙事诗音乐性强，句长参差，押韵灵活自由，且《娥并与桑洛》原本并无标点符号与明显分段（云南省民族民间文学德宏州调查队，1960）。自 1958 年秋，云南省民族民间文学德宏州调查队与地方人民群众通力合作，翻译并整理出了一众底本及译本；后经有关专家综合评估整合、去芜存菁，在忠实原作风格的前提下，逐字逐句推敲、兼顾文学性与情节完整合理；反复修改优化，最终成就了经典汉译本。据传，傣族民间文艺家刀保乾在参与《娥并与桑洛》的汉译后，又根据汉译本重新回译为新傣文（文学辞典，时间不详）。至此，汉、傣文本的问世为此后的翻译传播与相关研究奠定了基础。

二、《娥并与桑洛》出版概况

除公开出版发行过的汉、傣、英等单语或双语单行本，连环画或各系列丛书的收录外，还有个人或团体收集整理的内部资料、戏剧手抄本、歌舞编曲等。现就仍见于市面的各种版本列表如下：

名称	系列丛书	出版社	时间及版次
《娥并与桑洛》	傣族民间叙事长诗	云南人民出版社	1960 年 2 月第一版 1978 年 12 月第二版
《娥并与桑洛》	中国民间叙事诗丛书	人民文学出版社	1960 年 4 月北京第 1 版
《亚碧与山罗》 《娥并与桑洛》	（连环画）	上海人民美术出版社	1961 年 5 月第 1 版 1962 年 9 月第 2 次印刷
《娥并与桑洛》	中国经典文化故事系列	广东教育出版社	2007 年 9 月第 1 版

（汉英） *Ebing and Sangluo*			
《娥并与桑洛》	云南民族民间文学典藏·傣族	云南人民出版社	2009年4月第1版
《苗族古歌》（苗汉） 《娥并与桑洛》（傣汉）	云南少数民族经典名著双语书系 第三卷	云南民族出版社	2019年11月第1版
《娥并与桑洛》（汉英） *Ebing and Sangluo*	云南少数民族经典作品英译文库	云南人民出版社	2020年2月第1版
《娥并与桑洛》（汉英） *E'BING AND SANGLUO*	中国南方民间文学典籍英译丛书	武汉大学出版社	2020年7月第1版
其他			
《云南民族文学资料》 （第四、五集）	（内部资料）	中国作家协会昆明分会民间文学工作部编	1962年7月、8月
《娥并与桑洛》	（根据傣族同名长诗改编）	云南省歌舞团印	1959年
《娥并与桑洛》	（根据傣族同名长诗改编）	云南人艺歌舞剧团	不详
《娥并与桑洛》	（傣族民间叙事长诗改编傣剧）	潞西县傣剧团	不详
《娥并与桑洛》	（电影文学剧本）	不详	1980年9月
《娥并与桑洛》	（傣歌）	/	/
《南娥洛桑蒙面情歌》	（歌舞）	/	/

此外还有中国国家图书馆收藏“娥并与桑洛：傣戏[民语文献]：[傣文]/刀保乾，云南民族出版社傣纳组整理（1962）”，以及新加坡国家图书馆管理局受赠“娥并与桑洛：傣族民间叙事长诗/云南省民族民间文学德宏调查队搜集翻译整理（1978）”（或为云南人民出版社1978年12月第二版）。

综上可见其传播曾盛极一时。值得注意的是以上正式出版的各版本中，除上海人民美术出版社的连环画版（1961）与广东教育出版社的汉英双语版（2007）为改编外，其他各版本的中文均以云南人民出版社第一版（1960）的汉译文本为主，仅个别词汇、语句或排版作了增删移改。傣语及注音版则罕见，有待进一步搜集。

目前可见的关键词有：娥并与桑洛/ 娥並與桑洛/ Ebing yu Sangluo/ Ebing and Sangluo/ E'Bing And SangLuo、朗娥与桑洛/ Lang'e and Sangluo、Opem and Saamlua、朗娥罗三、道三朗娥、道桑婻娥、召桑婻娥、婻娥桑洛、囡娥桑诺、南娥桑洛、南娥洛桑、娥娘和罗三/ 罗三和娥娘、亚碧与山罗。

据相关资料显示，傣族传统人名具有体现等级结构与社会功能的特点（周庆生，1998），可简略概括为称谓等级化、有名无姓、几易其名（随年龄、生活、事业阶段而变）。如男子的一生通常有乳名、佛名、还俗名、父名、官名等，而女子因不可入佛寺当尼姑或从政做官，故一般只有乳名和母名。就乳名而言，贵族多用音译为召（男性用）或楠（女性用）的等级称谓+名，平民则多用音译为艾（指男性）或玉（指女性）的性别称谓+名。其取名规则多样，如根据子女出生的先后顺序，参照七组（老）傣文字母组合及发音，依序选取对应且寓意好的字音；或以出生的时间日期、崇尚的动植物、喜好的颜色、金银财宝等取名（高立士，2016，页 32-36）。

就作品的主人公名字而言，有学者认为按照傣族男子“岩、依、桑、俄”的长幼顺序排名以及女子“月、玉、安、艾、娥”的排名，桑洛指家中排行老三名为洛的小伙，婻娥即排行老五的姑娘（屈永仙，2023）。但根据高立士（1980，2016）的研究著述，有四点值得注意：一、判断一个有两字音的名字所暗含的排行，应以名字中第二字音的发音出自第几组为准；二、取名常见音译的（老）傣文第一组与第六组中分别有“俄”与“并”两字，第三组音译中兼有“桑”与“洛”两字；三、（老）傣文字母组合构成的七组字音为男女通用，仅以名前的男女称谓加以区分；四、有新老傣文、新旧传统以及不同支系取名依据不一的可能性。故笔者以为主人公名字所依据的取名规则及其具体含义有待进一步考证。

三、《娥并与桑洛》研究现状

《娥并与桑洛》的现有研究主要是从比较、叙事、修辞、美学、宗教、戏剧、英汉翻译实践等角度展开，其中比较研究又分为与国内外其他民族或本民族的悲剧文学互比。如与英国戏剧《罗密欧与朱丽叶》或与泰国古典叙事诗《帕罗赋》的对比研究；与国内汉族叙事诗《双合莲》、叙事吴歌《孟姜女》、乐府叙事诗《孔雀东南飞》的对比研究，与彝族叙事诗《阿诗玛》或与侗族叙事诗《娘梅歌》的对比研究，以及与本民族叙事诗《线秀》或同源异文的对比研究。

（一）比较研究

1、与国外悲剧文学互鉴

（1）与英国《罗密欧与朱丽叶》比较

陈莫京（1986）从两部作品中的自由恋爱到悲剧出发，指出所处社会阶段的不同导致了深化悲剧式结局与和解式结局的差异。首先以悲剧的必然与偶然切入，说明较之《罗密欧与朱丽叶》（以下简称罗朱）悲剧中必然与偶然相结合的复杂性，《娥并与桑洛》（以下简称娥桑）悲剧之必然则稍显平淡。其次指出娥桑的个人与家庭矛盾不及罗朱的家族世仇牵涉广，且罗朱除反封建外，还批判资本主义的金钱罪恶。此外与娥桑中美丑对比的艺术手法不同，罗朱是以美中美、情中情互比突出；娥桑重人物行动和性格的刻画，而罗朱重心理描写和内心矛盾。最后表示娥桑中想象比喻丰富、民族色彩浓厚，而罗朱善于变化和制造悬念，因而各有千秋。

林忠亮（1986）点明两部作品悲剧的不同——门第与世仇。首先探析为纯洁爱情而斗争这个相似点，指出两部作品均诞生于相似的社会发展阶段，即封建社会。其次分析两部作品有早期与晚期的时代背景之别、乡村与城市的环境差异、生活习俗和宗教观念的迥异、口头文学与书面文学的艺术特色和文学风格之分、以及理想寄托式与人文主义式结局的不同。最后把人类社会比作一个整体系统，用

整体与部分以及对立统一的观点说明两部作品异同的原因；又进一步指出影响其差异的因素，如国别地域、气候条件、生产发展、生活习惯、信仰观念、语言表达方式等。

张永芳（2008）着眼于两部作品背后的文化体系，即农耕文化与佛教、古希腊海洋文明与基督教；探究傣族含蓄依附人格与西方热情独立人格之别，指出爱情婚姻体现了民族文化的深层结构。由于悲剧制造者不同，且爱情捍卫者的行动有消极软弱与积极斗争之分，加之娥桑情节相对单一，不比罗朱震撼人心的戏剧冲突，因此营造出两种不同的美——悲哀美与悲壮美。

（2）与泰国《帕罗赋》比较

刀承华（2024）从同质元素与源流关系着手，由主人公名字及爱情悲剧主题等的广泛相似现象，推及民族历史记忆中的领袖人物及其时代背景，认为《娥并与桑洛》与《帕罗赋》是源流关系。结合社会历史和环境变迁以及文学传统的稳固性和传承性，追溯傣泰源流，指出民族及文化的迁徙、融合、变异。

2、与国内悲剧文学互鉴

（1）与汉族《双合莲》、《孟姜女》、《孔雀东南飞》比较

张俊娟、黄永林（1988）以《双合莲》作参照，立足于民族学探析两部作品背后的傣、汉文学风格及其成因。从反封建的爱情悲剧与对立的美丑观念着笔，指出作家文学中内外的美丑既可统一亦可对立，具复杂性；但劳动人民则以爱憎分明之情统一内外美丑，自然质朴。虽然两部作品悲剧的社会根源同为腐朽的封建统治，但在人物形象塑造上有浪漫主义与现实主义之分、在情节上有平直抒情与曲折复杂之别、有直率的对唱和独白与大量心理描写的不同侧重、还有语言风格参差与整齐的差异。正是各自的文化形态和文学传统、自然环境和经济基础、民族信仰和风俗习惯、民族社会和婚姻制度等因素导致了这些差异。

梁树人（1988）以《孟姜女》等多部民族作品作参照，说明我国 56 个民族是有机的整体，其先民及文化有亲缘关系。指出封建时代具社会性悲剧，叙事诗多取材于爱情悲剧，反映人民群众意愿。并分出两种类型，即富传奇性和神话色彩的爱情悲喜剧与占主流的爱情悲剧，认为中华民族的悲剧意识强烈且具独特的审美意识和美学特征。

高徽南（2010）以《孔雀东南飞》作参照，关注悲剧人物的不同性格，指出不同民族文化的审美差异。首先，主人公性格有开朗质朴与温文儒雅之别，因此反抗的强度有所不同。其次，语言风格有活泼质朴与精致典雅之分，一个自由灵活错落，一个遣词精炼整齐。再次，故事发生的场景不同，有别于多室内场景的《孔雀东南飞》，《娥并与桑洛》多户外开阔背景与自然风物。最后，对比了傣族原始宗教和佛教与汉末儒道文化之审美差异。

（2）与彝族《阿诗玛》比较

秦丽辉（2004）从叙事学角度解析两部作品的篇法，指出其本身即一种隐喻与象征，优美与凝重的篇法差异印证了如水火般不同的民族文化性格与审美追求。先以同为抗婚题材且叙事及故事顺序高度一致立论，对比段落语形，揭示静态抒情与动态急促两种叙事方式。随后进一步比较叙事句法，考察修饰成分的密度加以佐证。最后引入速度概念考量叙述节奏，依据两者的故事时间跨度和叙述时间长短均具可比性，用统计数据证明了叙述节奏的缓急悬殊。从一般的关注语义转向语形，更加直观地凸显出傣、彝两族柔婉细腻与刚劲粗旷的审美及民族文化性格差异。

（3）与侗族《娘梅歌》比较

陈丽琴（2008）聚焦根植于民族文化的审美差异，指出两族同为百越后裔、同处稻作文化与山地阔叶林文化交汇点，但宗教信仰有所不同。首先分析同为恋爱交往自由但婚姻不自主所引发的悲剧，

但二者一反传统的由顺转逆结局有区别。其次指出两部作品主人公形象塑造的内外美之一致，且对比与烘托并举增强了效果。最后剖析长诗在结构布局、抒情叙事、修辞方法等艺术风格上的异同。说明民族文学这个子系统的发展受民族文化大系统的制约与影响，民族文化间的互动促进了共同繁荣。

（4）与本族《线秀》或同源异文比较

伍奇（1992）以早期的《线秀》作为参照，揭示平民思想的兴起。从强调世俗生活而淡化宗教思想、个性意识觉醒两方面，指出随商品经济的发展，人民追求个性解放和自由发展，体现了家庭、社会、人生的新观念。

屈永仙（2023）对比多个傣族支系的异文本，追溯母题链。通过拆解叙事的 14 个主要情节单元，揭示文本间的互文交融；而后又分别与汉族梁祝及壮族刘三姐比较，进一步说明民族文学间的互文互鉴。

前辈们以异国、异族、同族的同类型题材作比较的研究精彩纷呈，在对照互鉴下各民族文学及文化特色更显生动与深刻，令人耳目一新。

（二）其他相关研究

1、作品文本

就作品本身展开的研究丰富多样。有关注作品的爱情描写，反思当下文艺界爱情题材的文艺创作存在问题，并借《娥并与桑洛》启示高质量的艺术创作（肖玉明，1982）；也有探讨作品的修辞种类及特征，通过大量傣汉双语例证，展现丰富的修辞，凸显傣族的自然、文化及审美特色（杨荣芳，2013）。有从美学角度深挖作品中自由和谐之美、爱情之美、意境之美的哲学（朱松峰、王进，2016）；也有从佛教与傣族文学的视角分析作品中的佛教思想观念（张玉芝，2016）。有聚焦作品的叙事与抒情，结合文本逐一阐释其中蕴含的傣族特色文化（苏雄娟、玉温香，2020）；也有细致剖析作品的艺术技巧，如语言表达、诗体结构（念诵体+歌唱体）、人物形象塑造、悲剧构建手法等（刀承华，2020）。

值得一提的是，尽管上述各研究都指出作品富于修辞是傣族文学特色，但似乎忽略了一点，即佛经“有不同程度的文学色彩”“在论述中大量使用各种形象的比喻”“十分生动贴切”（王向远，2007，页 99）。因此在谈论深受佛经文学影响的傣族文学修辞时，怎能只字不提佛经文学修辞呢？毋庸置疑，滋养于自然风物与万物有灵信仰的傣族文学修辞自是别具一格，但也需要意识到文学发展过程中必然的交流互鉴与融合。

2、戏剧及其他

还有一些学术研究与期刊杂志论述傣剧及其发展，如杨穆（2019）梳理傣剧《娥并与桑洛》的历史沿革、调查分析本体、探讨文化和社会功能、探索非遗传承发展。至此，可见围绕《娥并与桑洛》展开的研究已相当丰富且成果丰硕，但仍有可开拓空间。

四、译介价值——雨林文学译介初探

（一）翻译与译介

虽然早在上世纪中叶《娥并与桑洛》已陆续出版数次，但就汉译或英译本身的研究却鲜少，目前仅可见陈甜（2017）作了英译实践报告（或为前 8 节，全诗共 13 节）。今喜闻刀承华（2024）提及译介，却并未展开论述。笔者就尚浅薄的翻译学素养，聊表拙见。

首先，需要明确《娥并与桑洛》具翻译性。唐代贾公彦注疏的《周礼·秋官·序官》有言“译即易，谓换易言语使相解也”（谢天振、何绍斌，2013，页 2）；俄国罗曼·雅各布森（Roman Jakobson, 1959）有语内（intralingual）、语际（interlingual）、际符（intersemiotic）翻译三分法；美国乔治·斯坦纳（George Steiner, 1975）也有理解亦翻译（understanding as translation）之说。从新老傣文到汉英译文，《娥并与桑洛》的翻译性质了然且翻译实践丰富，极具翻译研究价值。

其次，除了研究翻译层面的语言转换，还可引入译介学概念——“关心翻译（主要是文学翻译）作为人类一种跨文化交流的实践活动所具有的独特价值和意义”（谢天振，2013，页 1）。因此需要全面了解《娥并与桑洛》，深入研究文本和语言及其蕴含的文化，关注出版与传播情况、各版本与各译本的差异及原因等，为更好的译介作准备。在此必须提及，或有必要再组织专家学者，根据原始资料再做田野调查，更进一步修订现有汉译本。因为目前的汉译本中仍有几处或稍显突兀、或语义不明、或逻辑不严谨甚至矛盾之处，如（以下示例均节选自 2020 年云南人民出版社的汉英双语版）：

第一节“口弦在竹楼上弹奏”（页　2）、第七节“你是要买口弦？家里还有四五个，每个都吹得响，每个都吹得好听”（页 68）以及第八节“口弦弹响了”（页 100），分别用弹和吹形容口弦，不免叫人困惑此乐器的演奏方式，因此建议加注说明这个可弹可吹的民族乐器。第九节中“她告诉桑洛：‘你不要在猛根住得太长了，我已经怀孕了。你快快离开猛根吧，告诉母亲再来接我’”（页 122）暗含了深层的傣族婚恋习俗（屈永仙，2023），也应当加注说明。现有各版的注释均寥寥可数，或有必要加以丰富。

第三节中“桑洛的姨妈，有两个女儿，一个叫阿扁，一个叫安佐”“听说桑洛母亲喜欢阿扁、安佐，阿扁的母亲.....”“母亲要桑洛娶阿扁，说阿扁是他家的亲戚”（页 22，26，28），前文点明阿扁和安佐是姐妹，但后文涉及人物关系时却绝口不提安佐，难免让人心生疑惑，或可考虑再措辞。第十一节的“衣裙浸透著鲜血”（页 152）改换为“衣裙浸透着鲜血”或许更恰当。

第十节“刀割破了她的手指，娥并痛得昏了过去。她急忙去开门，门上的竹针又刺进了手心”（页 146），何以昏了过去的人又能急忙去开门呢？反观现有两个完整英译本，都作了处理。云南人民出版社双语版（页 147）译作“The knife cut her fingers. Ebing almost fainted with pain. She hurried to open the door, But the needles in the door pierced her palm”，巧妙处理为痛得差点儿晕过去。而同年稍晚武汉大学出版社双语版（页 151）译作“the knife cut her fingers and she passed out from the pain; when she later reached for the door, her palm was pierced by the bamboo thorns on it”（原本均为单句单行，此处并列是为写作之便），虽然因刀割破手指而痛昏过去稍显夸张，但增加“later”（稍后）一词，表明时间先后，倒也规避了前后矛盾的问题。

笔者在梳理各版本时，经字比句对发现各汉译文本并不完全一致，甚至汉英双语版的中文与其明确列出的参照本也有些许出入。几乎每版都在初版的基础上作了不同程度的增删或词句段落调适，但均未就其他潜在问题作进一步的改动或加注；甚至武汉大学出版社的汉英双语版（2020）中文部分不知何故未附任何注释，而其英译又频频加注。综上，重新整理出版一个更加完善或学术的汉译本迫在眉睫。劳苦功高的云南省民族民间文学德宏调查队（1960，页 106）的学者们在初版中自谦道：“由于

担任整理工作的主要是学生，没有经验，水平也有限，这个整理本仅仅是一个开始，一个起点。我们衷心盼望同志们提出意见和批评，帮助我们作进一步的修改”，但经他们翻译整理的初版已是经典。这可从人民文学出版社（1963）发行的单行本中看出，许多变动读来不及初版够味，如“桑洛成了小伙子”（页 15）变为“桑洛成了小伙子了”（页 9）、“碰肿了膝头”（页 18）变为“膝头都碰肿了”（页 13）、“母亲一个也不选”（页 19）变为“桑洛的母亲一个也不选”（页 13）、“风吹树叶哗哗响”（页 33）变为“风吹着树叶哗哗的响”（页 31）、“河水哗哗地流”（页 45）变为“河水啊，哗哗地流”（页 46）等。诚然种种改变都不失为有益的尝试，但为何多年来未再有更进一步的修订以尽善尽美呢？

此外，傣语及其注音单行本的出版亦刻不容缓，是为研究之便，更为广泛传播原汁原味的傣族语言与文学，同时可为更多有识之士提供翻译便利，活跃翻译氛围。亦可效法荷马史诗等典籍网站，建立傣族文学典籍网站，分门别类共享傣语原文及其注音、汇总出版情况、拓展相关知识等。

（二）译介雨林文学

探讨如何译介同样需分三步走。首先应认识到“远在公元前 1 世纪，汉文史籍已有关于傣族的记载。《史记·大宛列传》、《汉书·张骞传》称傣族先民为‘滇越’”，《史记·大宛列传》载“‘然闻其西可千余里有乘象国，名曰滇越’”（《傣族简史》编写组，1986，页 4-5）。说明傣族与汉族交往的历史悠久，加上特殊的地理位置以及与周边国家的往来，种种因素都不同程度地成就了别具一格的傣族文化；前述研究中傣族文学与其他民族文学的交融也证明，我国各民族优秀文学与文化都是中华文化的重要组成部分，共同构成了博大精深、源远流长的中华文明。在这个认知下，要践行好一带一路、讲好中国故事、提升文化软实力、实现中华民族伟大复兴，我国各民族优秀文化都不可或缺。

同时不仅要更好地走出去，而且要真正地走进来。虽然对民族文学的翻译整理古已有之，如春秋时期《越人歌》、汉译朝鲜歌谣《箜篌引》、汉译鲜卑《敕勒川》以及汉译匈奴诗歌等（王向远，2007，页 95-97）；尤其是 20 世纪五六十年代以来的大规模发掘、翻译、整理、出版，硕果累累，为此后更加广泛的翻译与传播奠定了坚实基础。但因种种困难，无论是对内汉译还是对外英译，仍有很多优秀的民族典籍尚待译介。此外，译介的效果也不容忽视——怎样才能真正走进各民族？就国内而言，是否可加强少数民族文学与文化专题教育、积极探索多模态深度文旅等？至于走出去与走进来的先后顺序，笔者以为不限，走出去或可更好地带动走进来，走进来也未尝不可更好地带动走出去，二者应是相辅相成。

最后据笔者在云南多年的生活与观察以及受海洋文学概念的启发，试浅探雨林文学译介的可行性。自然、文化与文学之间有着千丝万缕的联系，国内外关于热带雨林文学的探讨早已屡见不鲜（Proctor, 1989；黄万华，2023），也早有学者探析中国大自然文学译介出版及跨文化传播的策略（夏侯勤，2020）。《娥并与桑洛》中多次出现槟榔这一典型热带作物，其中嚼槟榔这一陈旧风俗更能唤起许多民族的共同记忆。“地球上的热带雨林是以赤道为中心呈带状分布的，并向南北延伸至接近南、北回归线，主要分布于南美洲亚马孙河流域、亚洲的东南亚及非洲的刚果盆地。中国的热带雨林，西起喜马拉雅山南麓，向东延伸到云南南部的西双版纳，经广西南部进入广东、海南岛、福建及台湾的南端，呈一条不连续的细带状分布，面积较大的仅有海南岛及西双版纳，其他地区仅零星分布”（兰国玉、曹敏、朱华，2014，页-前言）。由此可见，依托雨林可以云南傣族为中心串联起其他与雨林相互依存的民族——我国雨林区域的其他民族、其他印度马来雨林群系的民族、非洲雨林群系的各民族、美洲雨林群系的各民族。自古以来崇尚万物有灵的傣族人民与雨林和谐相处，别具智慧；而在倡导人与自然

和谐共生、人类命运共同体的今天，这份智慧尤为珍贵。从云南傣族雨林文学出发，联通世界雨林文学，共同构建多姿多彩的世界文学；如此，我国雨林文学的译介价值便不言而喻。同时还可进一步推动雨林医药学等相关译介，让独具特色的傣医药走向世界。

翻译作为一项伴随人类沟通交往而开始的古老活动，在我国历史上有过众多辉煌时刻——古代佛经翻译、自汉迄明初的世俗翻译、明末及清的西学翻译、五四以来的文学翻译、建国后百花齐放的翻译；也历经过早期倍受轻视的黯淡、闭关锁国的百年沉寂、文革时期的一落千丈（谢天振、何绍斌，2013）、现当代机器翻译与人工智能的挑战；如今翻译又迎来新的时代使命——传播中国好声音。翻译学作为新兴却又有着深厚底蕴的学科，随着科学的研究及理论体系的进一步发展，必将熠熠生辉。

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浙江泰顺（莒江）方言文白异读

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摘　要：文白异读是语言接触的产物，莒江方言中的文白异读现象可以分为四类：同声同调异韵、同韵同调异声、同声同韵异调、声韵调两处有别。莒江方言的文白异读具有系统性、渐变性以及选择性的特点。其形成原因可以从内外两方面进行分析，内部原因是语言有朝着简便性发展的要求，外部原因主要是受到普通话和闽语的影响。

关键词：浙江泰顺；库村；莒江方言；文白异读

1　引言

泰顺县位于浙江省南部，介于北纬 27°17′58″—27°48′42″，东经 119°37′12″—120°14′44″之间，东面是苍南县、东北是文成县、西北是景宁畲族自治县、南面是福建省的福鼎市、柘荣县、西面是福建省的福安市、寿宁县，位于浙、闽交界处。全县总面积 1768 平方公里,东西长 62 公里，南北宽 57 公里。截至 2023 年末，泰顺县常住人口 26.94 万人。

此次调查点为泰顺县南浦溪镇库村村。据记载，库村自唐朝元和年间的包全从会稽山迁徙来此隐居开村伊始，至今已逾 1200 多年。此处的村民多讲莒江方言，莒江方言分布于吴语瓯江片、处衢片和闽东话的交界地带。独特的地理位置和悠久的历史，使莒江方言的发展变化有了更多可能。

文白异读现象被认为是由于语言演变和接触所造成的，李如龙在《汉语方言学》中提到：“从纵向看，文白异读是方言的不同历史层次的语音成分的叠置；从横向看，是共同语与方言语音互相影响的结果，都是方言共时系统整合方式的重要表现。”一般来说，白读代表某一方言的土语，即口语音，能反映当地方言的某些特点，是自源的；“文读是在本土方言的音系许可范围内吸收某一标准语或优势语言的部分成分，从而在本方言某些字词的部分语音上向这一标准语靠近”，是异源的。

本文采用田野调查法，对莒江方言文白异读现象进行分析。通过《汉语方言调查实习手册》（未刊）及徐森博士的《浙江泰顺(莒江)方言同音字汇》（文内记音用例参照此文）对语料进行整理。主要发音人：①夏婉君，女，1949 年生，世代居住在原莒江乡莒江上村（现为百丈镇），受珊溪水库移民搬迁

安置，迁至泰顺县城罗阳镇。中专文化水平，教师，说地道的莒江方言，还会说罗阳话。②翁士亮，翁山人。③夏克乐，筱村人。④刘日丰，横坑人。

本文采用的体例为方括号内注音，白读在前，文读在后。用例也是白读在前，文读在后，中间用竖线隔开。

2 莒江方言的文白异读现象

莒江方言的文白异读大致可分为五大类：①同声同调异韵，指同一个字的文白异读仅韵母不同，如螺[lʊ^{31}, lai^{31}]~蛳|~丝刀，他们的声母、声调相同，韵母有区别；②同韵同调异声，指同一个字的文白异读仅声母不同，如乳[ɛy^{33}, ŋy^{55}]豆腐~|麦~精，他们的韵母、声调相同，声母不同；③同声同韵异调，指同一个字的文白异读仅声调不同，如倒[ta^{24}，ta^{55}]~立|~车；④声韵调两处有别，指同一个字的文白异读两处有差别，如嬉 [ɛj^{42}，sŋ^{42}]~闹|~皮笑脸，他们的声母、韵母不同，只有声调相同。

调查中发现，莒江话的文白异读中仅存在声调差异的字较少且有很大的随机性。因此下文所举条目中，只选取每个韵摄中同声同调异韵、同韵同调异声、声韵调两处有别的三类文白异读进行初步分析。

2.1 果摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
何	ʊ^{31}	何人	kɑ^{31}	姓何	果开一平歌匣
大	tɑ^{213}	大小	tʊ^{213}	大衣	果开一去歌定
个	kɛ^{24}	两个	kai^{24}	每个月	果开一去歌见
螺	lʊ^{31}	螺蛳	lai^{31}	螺丝刀	果合一平戈来
裹	kʉ^{55}	裹粽子	kuai^{42}	包裹	果合一上戈见

果摄字文白异读多是一等字，且大多为开口呼（“裹”等少数字属合口呼）。这些字的文白异读往往呈现同声同调但韵母分化的特点；其声母主要分布于双唇音、舌尖音以及舌根音。当果摄字与来母相拼时，文读的韵腹常为/a/，白读的韵母常为单元音或半元音，从而形成与文读不同的口语读音。

2.2 遇摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位

舞	ʉ^{55}	舞龙耍	mʉ^{55}	跳舞	遇合三上虞明
乳	ɕy^{33}	豆腐乳	ŋy^{55}	麦乳精	遇合三上虞日
戍	ɕy^{24}	房子	tɕ^{h}y^{24}	戍守	遇合三去虞书
锯	tɕy^{24}	锯粉	tsʅ^{24}	锯木头	遇合三去鱼见
去	tɕ^{h}y^{24}	昨晡日尔去无	k^{h}i^{24}	倒下去	遇合三去鱼溪
寓	ŋy^{33}	猜寓猜谜语	ŋ^{213}	公寓	遇合三去虞疑

遇摄字文白异读多为合口三等，其中的变化复杂，有同声同调异韵、同韵同调异声或声韵调有两处发生变化。白读音的韵母多为[y]。白读音为零声母的，文读音通常有声母。

2.3 蟹摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
苔	t^{h}e^{31}	青苔	te^{31}	舌苔	蟹开一平咍定
来	le^{31}	来去	li^{31}	本来	蟹开一平咍来
盖	ke^{24}	盖瓦	kuai^{24}	盖人家戍	蟹开一去泰见
底	ti^{55}	家底	te^{55}	城底	蟹开四上齐端
配	p^{h}ai^{24}	配饭菜	p^{h}e^{24}	分配	蟹合一去灰滂

蟹母字的文白异读多为同声同调异韵。开口一等字的白读韵母都为[e]，文读音则可能裂化为复元音，如“盖”文读[kuai^{24}]或高化，如“来”文读[i]。

2.4 效摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
膏	kəu^{42}	蟹黄膏	ka^{42}	蛎膏牡蛎	效开一平豪见
讨	t^{h}əu^{55}	讨论	t^{h}a^{55}	讨饭人	效开一上豪透
倒	ta^{24}	倒立	ta^{55}	倒车	效开一去豪端

爻	kɑɔ^{31}	走爻	ka^{31}/ kœʔ^{45}	做爻做完	效开二平肴匣
调	tiɑɔ^{213}	空调	tiɑɔ^{31}	调音	效开四平萧定
鸟	ŋiɑɔ^{55}	小鸟	tiɑɔ^{55}	鸟读字	效开四上筱端

效摄字的文白异读中，除了“鸟”的声母有区别外，其余字的文读音和白读音声母相同，文读音的韵腹多为/a/。

2.5 流摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
猴	əu^{31}	猴狲	ŋəu^{31}	猴子	流开一平侯匣
母	m^{55}	鸡母	mʉ^{213}	亲家母	流开一上侯明
丘	tɕʰiəu^{42}	一丘田	kʰəu^{42}	姓丘	流开三平尤溪
臼	tɕiəu^{33}	舂臼	kəu^{33}	窠臼	流開三上有羣

流摄字的文白异读中，文读音的韵母多为[əu]。文读音和白读音声母有差别的，文读音的声母发音部位常常更靠后，如“丘”白读音为[tɕʰiəu^{42}]，文读音为[kʰəu^{42}]，声母的发音部位一个为舌面前，一个为舌面后。

2.6 咸摄、深摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
含	e^{31}	含一口水	kɑ̃^{31}	包含	咸开一平覃匣
砧	tœ^{42}	菜砧板	taŋ^{42}	铁砧	深开三平侵知
深	saŋ^{31}	深浅	tɕʰiaŋ^{42}	深圳	深开三平侵书
缉	tɕiʔ^{45}	缉鞋底	tɕʰiʔ^{45}	通缉	深开三入缉清

在咸、深摄的文白异读中，文读音的韵母主要为鼻化韵尾和鼻化元音。文白异读的深摄字都是开口三等。

2.7 山摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
坛	tɑ̃^{31}	花坛	tœ^{31}	酒坛	山开一平寒定
干	kue^{42}	事干事情	kue^{24}	干日旱灾	山开一平寒见
穿	tɕ^{h}yœ^{42}	穿过去	tɕ^{h}ioŋ^{55}	读字	山开三平仙昌
轩	ɕyœ^{42}	轩然大波	ɕi^{42}	人名用字	山开三平元晓
别	piɑʔ^{11}	别人	peʔ^{11}	别针	山开三入仙帮
扁	piã^{55}	扁担	pi^{55}	扁豆	山开四上先帮
团	tœ^{31}	糯米团	taŋ^{33}	团鱼	山合一平桓定
暖	nœ^{55}	暖水	naŋ^{55}	暖水壶	山合一上桓泥
卵	lœ^{55}	鸡卵鸡蛋	laŋ^{55}	阴茎	山合一上桓来
断	tœ^{33}	断气	taŋ^{33}	判断	山合一去桓端
关	kuɑ̃^{42}	关门	kaŋ^{31}	关心	山合二平删见
环	uɑ^{31}	环水提水	kuɑ̃^{24}	耳环	山合二平删匣
软	ŋyœ^{55}	柿子软	noŋ^{24}	身体软	山合三上仙日
卷 玄	tɕyœ^{55} ɕyœ^{31}	卷袖子 玄孙	tɕioŋ^{55} yœ^{31}	打卷斗翻筋斗 玄妙	山合三上仙见 山合四平先匣

莒江方言文白异读现象中山摄字最多。文读音的韵母主要为鼻化韵尾和鼻化元音。在开口三等字中白读音为撮口呼，文读音为齐齿呼；在合口一等字中，白读音为开口呼，韵母都为[œ]，文读音也都为开口呼，韵母为[aŋ]；在合口二等字中，文读音都是合口呼，且声母都为[k]。白读音韵母为[œ]，文读音的韵母多为[aŋ]。

2.8 臻摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
伸	saŋ^{42}	伸手	ts^{h}aŋ^{42}	伸展	臻开三平真书

人	saŋ^{31}	那个人	neŋ^{31}	人民	臻开三平真日
臀	tœ^{31}	股臀屁卵屁股蛋	taŋ^{31}	赤股臀	臻合一平魂定
粪	faŋ^{24}	粪箕	pe^{24}	化粪池读字	臻合三去文帮
屈	tɕ^{h}io?^{45}	屈腰弯腰	k^{h}ue?^{45}	屈原	臻合三入文溪

臻摄字的文白异读多出现在三等字中，“臀”除外。在开口三等和合口一等的平声字中，文读音的声母都为[aŋ]。

2.9 宕摄、江摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
昨	so?^{11}	昨晡天昨天	tɕ^{h}io?^{11}	昨先读字	宕开一入唐从
壮	tsɔ̃^{24}	肥壮	tɕiɔ̃^{24}	壮丁	宕开三去阳庄
窗	ts^{h}ɔ̃^{42}	窗户	tɕ^{h}iɔ̃^{42}	门窗	江开二平江初

宕摄、江摄字的文白读音中，白读音为开口呼和齐齿呼，文读音主要是齐齿呼。宕摄文读音的声母主要为[tɕ]。

2.10 梗摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位
澄	tseŋ^{213}	澄一澄	teŋ^{213}	澄清	梗开二平庚澄
樱	ŋai^{42}	樱桃	ieŋ^{42}	金樱（石榴）	梗开二平耕影
梗	kai^{55}	菜梗	kuai^{55}	橘梗（药材）	梗开二上庚见
杏	ŋai^{213}	杏梅	ai^{213}	银杏	梗开二上庚匣

梗摄字的文白读音中，白读音都是开口呼。白读音声母为[ŋ]的，文读音的声母为零声母。在开口二等和开口三等的平声字中 文读音的韵腹都为[e]。

2.11 通摄字的文白读音

调查条目	白读	例词	文读	例词	中古音韵地位

浓	noŋ^{31}	浓茶	ɳ̍iɔ̃^{31}	浓厚	通开三平鍾娘
涌	ioŋ^{55}	涌入	iɔ̃^{55}	汹涌	通开三上鍾以
丛	ɕioŋ^{31}	树丛	soŋ^{31}	读字	通合一平东从
雄	ioŋ^{31}	雄壮	xɔ̃^{44}	英雄	通合三平东云

通摄字的文白读音中，主要为齐齿呼和开口呼，通常白读音为齐齿呼时，文读音为开口呼。白读音的韵母多为[oŋ]和[ioŋ]，文读音的韵母多为[ɔ̃][iɔ̃][oŋ]。

3 莒江方言文白异读的特点

3.1 具有系统性

莒江方言文白异读有一定的规律可循，其读音不同与古音类相关，由此可推导出不同的字音层次。

（1）声母

文白异读中的滂母字声母均为[pʰ]。

文白异读的定母字均为一等字，开合都有，他们的声母大多为 t。

文白异读中的来母字声母都为[l]，且均为一等字，开合都有。

莒江方言文白异读现象中的古见母字最多，他们的声母多为[k]和[tɕ]，与[k]相配的见母字韵母都是开口呼，与[tɕ]相配的主要是齐齿呼。

（2）韵母

莒江方言文白异读现象中山摄字最多。在合口一等字中，白读音主要为清音，文读音主要为[aŋ]。当白读音韵母为[œ]时，文读音的韵母多为[aŋ]。

文白异读中的宕摄、江摄字，文读音都是齐齿呼。

文白异读中的通摄字，主要为齐齿呼和开口呼，通常白读音为齐齿呼时，文读音为开口呼。白读音的韵母多为[oŋ]和[ioŋ]，文读音的韵母多为[ɔ̃][iɔ̃][oŋ]。

3.2 具有渐变性

随着社会的发展和不同方言间的频繁互动，语言之间不可避免地互相交流和相互影响，导致方言逐渐发生演变。但同时，作为社会交流的核心工具和桥梁，语言需要保持一定的稳定性。这两种性质决定了它的变化通常是渐进的，不是一蹴而就的。这表现为声母的逐步清浊分化，在莒江话中声母已经大体实现浊音清化。同时蟹摄定母字“苔”，白读为送气清音[tʰe^{31}]，文读为不送气[te^{31}]，反映了声母清化过程中送气规则的区域性差异，如吴语保留全浊声母，而闽语清化为送气音。也表现为韵母的裂化与简化，

如“盖”文读复元音[kuai^{24}]，白读单元音[ke^{24}]，反映复元音增生与简化并存。这种差异可能源于权威方言的渗透与本地音系的保守性竞争。

3.3 具有选择性

文白读音的区别会在词汇组合中更加明显，不同词语中的文白读音是不可随意互换或混淆的，他有固定的搭配，具有一定的选择性。如“日”在“一日、生日、日头”等词中都读[ɳiei?^{2}],在“日本”中读[zɐɯ?^{5}]。再如“软”，在表示物体结构疏松，受力后易变形（跟“硬”相对）时读[noŋ^{55}]；在表示身体无力时读[ɳyœ^{55}]。某些字的文白读音表示的是不同的义项，具有区分词义的作用，不能随意更换。

4 莒江方言文白异读产生的原因

语言发展是有自身规律的，但在自身演变过程中又不可避免会受到外部环境的影响，其中，内部规律是语言演变的主要动力，因此从语言自身的发展来看是有方向性的，只是由于种种原因，发展的快慢有所不同。与外部环境的接触会对发展起推动作用，越是复杂的语言环境，不同语言间的交流影响就越明显。

4.1 内部因素

《历史语言学》中曾提及：“不少方言都经历了从鼻化韵尾到鼻化元音、再进而消失鼻化成分而成为口元音的发展。”语言在发展的过程中会向方便和省力的方向发展，莒江方言也不例外。这主要表现在鼻化韵不再鼻化和鼻音韵尾方面。如雄 [ioŋ^{31},xɔ̃^{44}]~壮|英~；坛[tɑ̃^{31}, tœ^{31}]花~|酒~。

4.2 外部因素

（1） 受普通话影响

由于普通话的大力推广以及多媒体时代的快速发展，普通话对方言的影响也逐渐加大，最显著的表现就是莒江方言的文读音逐渐向普通话靠近。如“环”，它的白读音为[uɑ^{31}]，文读音为[kuɑ̃^{24}]，普通话中读音为[xuan^{35}]。通过三者的比较可以发现，文读音与白读音间的联系并不紧密，而与普通话的读音联系更紧密，显然是受普通话影响，从而出现文读音与白读音声韵都大相径庭的情况。

（2） 受闽语影响

泰顺位于浙江最南端，与福建交界。根据《中国语言地图集》，泰顺县为吴语和闽语的交界地区。在这样的环境下，莒江方言极易受闽语的影响。

在果摄字中，大部分白读音的韵腹为/ʊ/，文读音的韵腹为/a/，而“大”的读音却恰恰相反，白读音的韵腹为/a/，文读音的韵腹为/ʊ/。这一现象可以考虑是受方言的内部层次影响。“大”字的白读[tɑ^{213}]符合

闽语底层对果摄主元音低化的保留，如闽东话果摄开口字（如“大”）多保留/a/类主元音，如福州话“大”白读[tuai]。文读[tʊ²¹³]则体现吴语或官话的影响，蒙元以后，果摄元音不断高化ɒ>ɔ>o>u（开合不分），如温州话“大”文读[du]后推动文读向[ʊ]演变。由于莒江方言处于吴闽交界方言中，“大”的文读吴语高化影响，白读反而保留闽语底层，这也显示出莒江话与闽语的密切接触。

莒江方言中的非母字有[f][h]两种读法，在温州瓯江片中非母字一般读作[f]，而在闽语中则有[h]，例如“夫妻”的“夫”在闽语区的漳平读为[hu]，在莒江话中读为[hɵ]。所以在莒江方言非母字中的[h]应该是来自于闽语。

按闽语方言的读音规律，古船母今读音同生书禅三母。在莒江方言中，也受这一规律影响，出现了古船母与古禅母合流的现象，他们都读为[ɕ]或[ʑ]。同时在闽语中，这四母字文读都是[s]，这在莒江方言中也得到了印证，如“神”的文读音为[saŋ³¹]。

莒江方言中的日母字有[ɳ][n]两种读法。在福州“日”读[niʔ⁸]，“人”读[nyŋ²]。在莒江“日”白读为[ɳ̍ieiʔ²]，“人”白读为[neŋ³¹]。“温州方言日母字白读的[n]是底层方言留下来的。”由此可见莒江方言中的日母字读音，受到了底层方言也就是闽方言的影响。

莒江方言中匣母字应读零声母，但在厦门、潮汕和福州话中的匣母字白读为[k][g]，受到闽方言的影响，莒江方言中的匣母字白读也变成了[k]，如“怀里”的“怀”白读为[kuɑ³¹]。

余论

人们在政治、经济、文化等多种的因素的推动下，使存在大大小小各种差异的方言不断接触，而这种接触又是复杂的，它使得文白异读的判定并非一件易事，通常情况下需要结合语音、语境及语用等多角度来考察，这也是值得我们对文白异读进一步思考的地方。通过分析，我们看到了莒江方言中文白异读的特点以及它产生的原因。在当今普通话盛行的大环境下，文白异读的现象日益减少，我们更要注重对方言的整理与研究，以达到保护方言的目的。

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豬與龍：一千年來突厥語十二生肖的詞彙演變與文化互動

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Pig and Dragon: The lexical change and cultural interaction of the Twelve Chinese zodiac animals in the Turkic language over the past thousand years

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ABSTRACT:

The Turks and Mongols have been using the twelve Chinese zodiac-animal cycle for a thousand years. Among the twelve animals, this article focuses on pigs and dragons. Pigs are forest animals that eat fruits and roots, but cannot digest grass leaves and unable to live on grasslands. Nomadic peoples cannot raise domestic pigs. Domestic pigs are alien to nomads. An eighth-century Eastern Turkic Khaganate inscription refers to the Year of the Pig in the Turkic word “laγzin”. But after the 10th century this word was lost and replaced by another Turick world “tonguz” which means wild boar. This article argues that laγzin was actually a Mongolian word, which is muddy “laγ” combined with the suffix -ljin. This word *laγljin means "muddy creature", which describes the pigs' love of mud. This should come from the ancient language of Xianbei people (*Serbi). The word domestic pig was probably created by the Xianbei people who ruled the settled farmers in North China. This loanword in Turkic inscriptions suggests that the ancient Mongolian language of the Xianbei people once left a profound influence on the Turkic language.

The dragon is not something that nomads can see; it is a foreign word that comes from the myths and legends of the Han-Chinese. The Eastern Turkic Khanate used the Chinese loanword “luu”. As the Turkic-speaking peoples expanded to Central Asia and West Asia, they were far away from the influence of

Han-Chinese, forgot what a dragon was, and began to use snake god *nāga*, or crocodile, and finally fish instead. The Turkic-speaking peoples are divided into the east and the west, which represents the division of the "Year of the Dragon" and the "Year of the Fish". And Islam took root in the Turkic culture of Central Asia. Islam came eastward, and eventually the Uyghur people in Xinjiang (Chinese Turkistan) gave up the "Year of the Dragon" and used the "Year of the Fish". In comparison, the Mongolians still use the "Year of the Dragon" to this day, which has not changed for thousands of years, showing the deep cultural connection between the Mongolians and the Han people.

一、 前言

十二生肖紀年在亞洲大陸十分盛行。這紀年方法源自中國，二千多年前戰國時代已有紀錄。這方法在西域綠州的城廓諸邦也十分盛行，佉盧文、和田塞文、吐火羅文、粟特文都有自己語言版本的十二種動物紀年。[1] 今日新疆的維吾爾族也是使用十二生肖紀年；而維吾爾族的遠祖、漠北回鶻汗國，他們在蒙古高原生活的時候，已經使用十二生肖紀年，留下石碑銘文。[2] 比回鶻汗國更早的突厥汗國，早在六世紀末已經使用十二生肖紀年，更留下了最早的紀年碑銘。[3] 突厥人是不是最早使用十二生肖的遊牧民族呢？恐怕不是。似乎，鮮卑人更加早使用十二生肖。《周書·晉蕩公宇文護傳》記載：

昔在武川鎮生汝兄弟，大者屬鼠，次者屬兔，汝身屬蛇。

武川鎮，是北魏拓拔鮮卑為了防止柔然人所建立的六鎮之一，位於今日內蒙古呼和浩特以北。當地的鮮卑兵將仍然保有古老的遊牧傳統。宇文護自少就跟朋友計算出世的生肖，沒有寫文言文的十二地支。這使人推想，鮮卑人在遊牧時代已經使用十二生肖紀年了。但是，還有沒有漢文以外的資料去證明鮮卑人使用十二生肖呢？下文將會以突厥汗國碑文的十二生肖動物用字，考訂出鮮卑語的借詞，證明突厥人並非最早，突厥人只是跟鮮卑人學習使用十二生肖紀年。而且，本文會以十二生肖之中的「豬」以論證遊牧民族的經濟生活；再以「龍」去闡述內陸亞洲的東與西之文化互動。

二、 野豬與家豬

[1] 林梅村：〈十二生肖源流考〉，《西域文明——考古、民族、語言和宗教新論》(北京：東方出版社，1995 年)，頁 111—129。

[2] 伊斯拉非爾·玉蘇甫、安尼瓦爾·哈斯木：〈維吾爾十二生肖文化源流考〉，張定京、阿不都熱西提·亞庫甫 (Abdurishid Yakup) 編：《突厥語文學研究——耿世民教授八十華誕紀念文集》(北京：中央民族大學出版社，2009 年)，頁 191—205。

[3] 路易•巴贊 (Louis Bazin) 著，耿昇譯：《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》(北京：藏學出版社，2014 年)，頁 140—249。

八世紀突厥語碑文的十二生肖擁有兩個特別的詞匯：龍與豬。兩詞皆是 L- 聲母。在突厥語中，這個 L 作為詞中與詞末是龍是正常的，用作詞首聲母卻是反常，一律都是外來語的借詞。[4] 法國的突厥史學者巴贊指出：龍是中原漢人的神話之物，並非真實的動物，突厥人就借了漢語讀音；至於豬，內陸亞洲只熟知野豬，卻對中原漢人馴養的家豬十分陌生，沒有家豬的詞匯，只能借用了外來詞 (laγzïn) 以書寫豬年。[5]

突厥語 toŋuz 是豬的泛稱。[6] 巴贊判斷，突厥語 toŋuz 原意是野豬，laγzïn 是家豬。這個推論是可能的。遊牧民族賴以生存的就是動物，他們對動物的分類很仔細，尤其是家畜，雌與雄各有名字，老與少各有名字，留種的或閹割的各有名字，甚至以一歲、兩歲、三歲等年齡去給牲口特別的稱呼。在漢人，只叫馬；遊牧民族，比如蒙古人卻將馬分類超過十個名字。[7] 所以，遊牧民族將動物區分為野生的與馴養的，是很基本的。藏人對野牦牛、家牦牛、混種牦牛分作三個稱呼；蒙古人稱野驢做 čikidei 或 qulan，稱家驢為 eljigen。[8] 突厥人也是如此。比如，突厥語野驢與家驢是分作二字：qulan 野驢，[9] äšgäk 家驢。[10] 兩字都是突厥語的原有字，並不是借詞。但是，突厥語家豬 laγzïn 是借自外語。這卻又是為甚麼呢？

人類史上馴養的牲口，十三種都是標準的草食動物，只有豬這一種是雜食的——既吃動物也吃植物。[11] 豬需要活在植物品種豐富的環境，尤其是濕潤多水的地方。人類馴養家豬，分別發生於西亞兩河流域與東亞黃河流域。古代西亞的居民雖然最早馴養家豬，但西亞氣候乾燥，家豬遠不及山羊與綿羊那麼流行。豬進食漿果、堅果、根塊莖塊、蚯蚓、昆蟲、蟹、蛙、蛇、鳥蛋、鼠類，不能獨吃草。[12] 家豬根本無法在蒙古草原生存。而且，家豬適合永久定居的小農，在定居點的垃圾堆找尋食物，卻不像馬、牛、

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4 Gerard Clauson, “The Foreign Elements in Early Turkish”, Louis Ligeti ed., *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), pp. 43-49 (p.45). 克勞森 (Clauson) 著，魏萃一譯：〈早期突厥語的外來成份〉，《民族語文研究情報資料集》第一輯 (北京：中國社會科學院民族研究所語言室，1983 年)，頁 44—48。

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6 Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 527.

7 Ruth I. Meserve, “The Expanded Role of Mongolian Domestic Livestock Classification”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 53, no. 1/2 (2000), pp. 23-45.

8 何啟龍：〈突厥語蒙古語的熊、野馬、騸馬、犛牛與牲口——以歷史語言學理論分析游牧經濟史〉，《中西元史》第一輯 (2023 年)，頁 26—71。

9 Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 622.

10 Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 260.

11 賈雷德•戴蒙德 (Jared Diamond) 著，謝延光譯：《槍炮、病菌與鋼鐵》(上海：上海譯文出版社，2000 年)，頁 158。

12 H. B. Graves, “Behavior and Ecology of Wild and Feral Swine (Sus Scrofa)”, *Journal of Animal Science*, vol. 58, Issue 2 (1984), pp. 482–492.

羊是一大群在草原驅趕遷徙。[13] 因此，自古以來，遊牧民族就沒有飼養家豬。自從二千年前司馬遷《史記•匈奴列傳》就記載匈奴人逐水草遷徙，隨畜牧而轉移，有馬、牛、羊、橐駝（駱駝）、驢等，就是沒有豬。宋代與明代的漢人紀錄，蒙古人是沒有豚（家豬），只有狩獵的野彘（野豬）。[14] 歐洲人也記載蒙古人擁有很多駱駝、黃牛、綿羊、山羊、馬匹，但不養豬。[15] 直至近代，仍然如此。[16] 既然遊牧民族沒有家豬，因而借入外語詞匯稱呼家豬，也是合乎邏輯的。

敦煌藏經洞保存的突厥魯尼文《占卜書》(英藏 Or.82129161)，第六行：「熊 (adïγ) 和野豬 (toŋuz) 在山嶺上碰上。熊的肚子破裂，野豬的獠牙折斷。要知：此為凶。」[17] 內文是野外山嶺的熊與豬，toŋuz 就是野豬。

同樣是出自敦煌藏經洞的回鶻文《善惡兩王子故事》(P. Chinois 3509)，講述善友太子出外觀看農夫的生活。第三段：馬、牛、羊、豬等動物都被宰殺，太子看到國民的惡行，非常憂傷云云。[18] 伯希和 (Paul Pelliot) 指出這裏證明 laγzïn  一字可以用在十二生肖循環之外，而且跟野豬 toŋuz 不同。它跟家馬 (yunt)、家牛 (ud)、水牛、[19] 綿羊 (qoy) 並列，都是家畜。所以，突厥語 laγzïn 就是家豬。

敦煌藏經洞的突厥魯尼文、回鶻文文書，上限是公元 840 年漠北回鶻汗國瓦解，其時回鶻人南下入主河西走廊，建立甘州回鶻國、沙州回鶻國；下限是十一世紀，藏經洞封閉的時候。[20] 期間不過二百年，野豬 toŋuz 和家豬 laγzïn 可信是屬於同一時代的突厥語詞。換句話說，十世紀以前的突厥語是並存野

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[13] Bruce D. Smith, *Emergence of Agriculture* (New York: Scientific American Library, 1995), pp. 62-65.

[14] （南宋）彭大雅、徐霆：《黑韃事略》：「其畜牛、犬、馬、羊、橐駝，胡羊則毛氈而扇尾 …橐駝有雙峰者、有孤峰者 … 獵而得者曰兔、曰鹿、曰野彘 …」（明）蕭大亨：《夷俗記•北虜風俗•牧養》：「夷人畜產，惟牛羊犬馬駱駝而已 … 若雞、豚、鵝、鴨，皆其所無 … 野產之物，若黃羊、盤羊、野豬、野牛、野馬、野駝、野鹿之類，皆不可馴致，惟大獵時則能獲之。」

[15] 貝凱 (J. Becquet)、韓百詩 (Louis Hambis) 注，耿昇譯：《柏朗嘉賓蒙古行紀》[*Jean de Plan Carpin*](北京：中華書局，2002 年)，頁 30—31。

[16] 札奇斯欽：《蒙古文化與社會》(台北：臺灣商務印書館，1992 年)，頁 17—24。Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier – Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 20-24.

[17] 耿世民：《古代突厥文碑銘研究》(北京：中央民族大學出版社，2005 年)，頁 288。Talat Tekin, *Irk Bitig – the Book of Omens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 8-11.

[18] Paul Pelliot, “La version ouigoure de l'histoire des princes Kalyāṇaṃkara et Pāpaṃkara”, *T'oung Pao*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1914), pp. 225-272 (p. 231). James Russell Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours de Touen-Houang. Le conte bouddhique du bon et du mauvais prince en version ouïgoure* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), pp. 10, 164. 牛汝極：《回鶻佛教文獻——佛典總論及巴黎所藏敦煌回鶻文佛教文獻》(烏魯木齊：新疆大學出版社，2000 年)，頁 280—319。

[19] 經文 čoγar 一字未可解。這可能是突厥語 sïγïr 的變音，原意是大型的牛科動物：Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, pp. 814-815。既然佛經記載很多印度大陸的農業生活，牠很可能是水牛。

[20] 斯坦因 (Aurel Stein) 與藤枝晃 (FUHIEDA Akira) 認為敦煌在十一世紀早期已經流行印刷佛經，那些古老的抄本與殘卷，成為了「神聖的垃圾」，就被佛寺放置在藏經洞，封閉起來。哈密屯 (James Hamilton) 著，牛汝極、王菲譯：〈敦煌回鶻文寫本的年代〉，《西域研究》，1995 年第 3 期，頁 92—97。

豬和家豬兩個概念，而他們的十二生肖紀年是使用家豬 laγzïn。

三、 家豬是鮮卑人的詞匯

當初，學者解讀八世紀突厥語碑文，只能從上文下理推斷出 laγzïn yïl 是豬年。[21] 該字在十一世紀以後已不見記載，今日突厥語系的各支方言都不存在。由於 L- 詞首，學者估計是外來語借詞進入突厥語。但至今仍找不出源頭。起初，湯木森 (V. Thomsen) 懷疑是不是漢語借詞，但未有考證。這明顯不對。李蓋提 (Louis Ligeti) 懷疑這字是借自某一個古代西伯利亞的語言，可能是葉尼塞語 (Yenisseian)、科楚奇語 (Chukchi)、堪察加語 (Kamchadal)，甚至是已經滅絕的語言。[22] 克勞森 (G. Clasuon) 指出這字不是粟特語；[23] 曾懷疑是不是吐火羅語，但沒有考證。[24] 可是，laγzïn 這字也不見於吐火羅語文獻，也不屬於印歐語系詞匯，也不屬於葉尼塞語。[25] 武阿勒 (Alexander Vovin) 懷疑是突厥人繼承自上一任草原霸主柔然人的語言，卻不敢肯定柔然人是否屬於蒙古語系，對 laγzïn 這字也未及分析。[26]

其實，武阿勒猜想的方向是正確的。不過，不是柔然人，而係鮮卑人。鮮卑人入主華北漢人居住區，家豬成為了王朝的重要牲口。因此，鮮卑人用自己的語言創作了家豬的名詞。這個字也傳給了同言同種的柔然人，最後借進突厥語之中。鮮卑語、柔然語，跟蒙古語擁有共同祖先，同屬廣義的蒙古語系。[27] 有學者提議稱鮮卑語、柔然語、契丹語等為「旁蒙古語族」(Para Mongolic)。[28] 也有學者提議將廣義的蒙古語系改為鮮卑——蒙古語系 (Serbi-Mongolic)，屬下兩支姊妹語言：一、蒙古語族；二、鮮卑——烏

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[21] 丹麥語言學家湯木森 (V. Thomsen) 發表突厥魯尼文《毗伽可汗碑》初步研究，碑文南面第 10 行，記載毗伽可汗死於狗年 (ït yïl) 十月，葬於 「NYZΓL[1]」年五月——按十二生肖順序就是豬年。V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions De L'Orkhon Déchiffrées* (Helsinki: La Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1896), pp. 130, 183. 突厥魯尼文（Turkic Runic script 或稱鄂爾渾字母 Orkhon script）的輔音字母可以在字母後加元音，也可在字母前加元音。因此，L[1]ΓZYN 當時誤讀做 alγazïn。後來，吐魯番的高昌遺址出土回鶻文突厥語摩尼教經文 (T. II. D. 173a)，才糾正了豬年的正確寫法：laγzïn。A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. I* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), pp. 12, 39.

[22] Louis Ligeti, “Histoire du lexique des langues turques”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. 17 (1951), pp. 80-91 (pp. 85-86).

[23] Gerard Clauson, “The Foreign Elements in Early Turkish”, Louis Ligeti ed., *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), pp. 43-49 (p.45).

[24] Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 764.

[25] Alexander Vovin, “Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Old Turkic 12-Year Animal Cycle”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 48:1 (2004), pp. 118-132 (pp. 123-124). 米熱古麗•黑力力：《鄂爾渾文回鶻碑銘研究》(北京：中國社會科學出版社，2022 年)，頁 99。

[26] Alexander Vovin, “Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Old Turkic 12-Year Animal Cycle”, pp. 128-130.

[27] 何啟龍：〈蒙古國新發現６世紀婆羅米文原始蒙古語碑文與柔然—鮮卑語考證〉,《清華元史》第七輯（2022 年），頁 1—88。

[28] Juha Janhunen, “Para-Mongolic”, *The Mongolic Languages* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 391-402

桓語族 (Serbi-Avar)，包括烏桓語、鮮卑語、吐谷渾語、契丹語等等。[29] 無論如何，蒙古語跟鮮卑語擁有很多共同的詞匯 (word)；[30] 詞幹 (word stem) 與詞綴 (affix) 也是相同的。以下論證突厥語借詞 laγzïn 其實是一個蒙古語系的詞匯：*laγlǰin。

雖然 L- 聲母在蒙古語也是少見，卻比突厥語要多一些。蒙古語 laγ 是泥濘。[31] 這是蒙古語的原生字，不是借字。這字有派生出動物的詞匯：水魚（鼈），蒙古語是 laγ melekei，字面意思「泥濘的青蛙」。[32]

蒙古語詞綴 -lǰin 能夠派生名詞，可以派生出圖形，比如：數字三 γurban ＞ 三角形 γurbalǰin，四 dörben ＞ 正方形 dörbelǰin。這詞綴也可以派生植物：灰色 boro ＞ 艾菊 borolǰin，黃色 sira ＞ 黃蒿 siralǰin。它也能派生昆蟲，比如駱駝 temege ＞蜻蜓 temegelǰin。[33] 名詞圍獵 aba，派生名詞 abalǰin～aγalǰin 是蜘蛛。[34] 又如動詞鑽進去 sirγu- ＞ 蟻 sirγulǰin，比較名詞空隙 sirγuγan。[35] 它更能派生鳥類，比如名詞 öbög 是頂上鬃毛和羽冠，派生名詞 öbögelǰin 是戴勝鳥，這種鳥的頭上豎立高冠。[36]

我估計，鮮卑人使用過詞匯 *laγlǰin 代表家豬。這字是由 laγ 泥濘嫁接詞綴 -lǰin 派生而來，取意自豬隻熱愛在泥濘中玩耍、喜歡讓滿身塗滿淤泥。鮮卑人入主中原，統治了華北農業地帶，認識到家豬。由於家豬是漢地十分重要的牲口，也成為了北魏的重要收入，因此他們創造了家豬的專有詞匯。可惜，鮮卑語文的紀錄都失傳了，無法確證以上推論。

假設，蒙古語系的詞匯 *laγlǰin 借進了突厥語，為甚麼會演變成 *laγzïn 呢？原來，原始突厥語發生複輔音 (consonant cluster) 合併、簡化：-lǰ- ＞-z-。突厥語「鉛」qoruγžïn，十一世紀《突厥語大辭典》拼寫作 قرغژين，[37] 十四世紀也門國拉蘇里朝《國王字典》拼寫作 قرقشين (qorqašïn)。[38] 突厥語專家克

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[29] Andrew Shimuned, *Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), chapter two, "A brief ethnolinguistic history of the Serbi-Mongolic peoples", pp. 37-78.

[30] Peter A. Boodberg, "the Language of the T'o-Pa Wei", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, (1936), pp. 167-185.

[31] Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley: University of California, 1960), p. 514. 內蒙古大學蒙古學研究院蒙古語文研究所：《蒙漢詞典增訂本》(呼和浩特：大蒙古大學出版社 1999 年)，頁 846。

[32] 栗林均、呼日勒巴特爾：《『御製滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑』滿洲語配列対照語彙》(仙台：東北大学東北アジア研究センター，2008 年)，頁 17。汪睿昌 (1888-1939)：《蒙漢字典》，蒙文書社 1928 年版，葉一八五。栗林均編：《蒙漢字典——資料編原本影印》(仙台：東北大学東北アジア研究センター 2014 年)，頁 404；栗林均：《蒙漢字典——モンゴル語ローマ字転写配列》(仙台：東北大学東北アジア研究センター，2016 年)，頁 305。比較蒙古語「龜」yasutu melekei，字面意思「有殼的青蛙」。《蒙漢詞典增訂本》，頁 815、846、1388。

[33] Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), p. 43.

[34] Hans Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages* (Utrecht: LOT, 2011), p. 347.

[35] Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, p. 717；《蒙漢詞典增訂本》，頁 934。

[36] Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, pp. 627-628；《蒙漢詞典增訂本》，頁 274、501。

[37] Mahmud Kashghari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects - Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk*, trans. by Robert Dankoff (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1982-1985)*, part I*, p. 378 [MS 256]。麻赫穆德•喀什葛里著，何銳、丁一、校仲彝、劉靜嘉譯：《突厥語大詞典》(北京：民族出版社，2002 年)，第一卷，頁 536。

勞森 (G. Clauson) 指出，突厥語「鉛」一字的構成法，以及使用了突厥語很罕用的輔音 ǰ /ž/，指出這必定是借詞；而且，他指出這字跟蒙古語「鉛」qorγolǰin 擁有共同來源。[39] 既然是蒙古語系詞綴 -lǰin，鉛這字應當是蒙古語系的詞匯，qorγolǰin 才是原字。此字傳入突厥語之後，複輔音 /lǰ/ 就簡化為 /ž/ 或 /š/。

另一個蒙古語 /lǰ/ 對應突厥語 /š/ 的，是家驢。[40] 突厥語家驢 äšgäk，[41] 對應蒙古語 elǰigen。[42] 這對無關詞綴 -lǰin，只是剛好碰上複輔音 /lǰ/。[43] 蒙古語的畜牧業術語擁有特別多的突厥語借詞。[44] 蒙古語系先民是從突厥語系先民引入家驢，因而留下了突厥語借詞。可以相信，家驢的原始突厥語是跟蒙古語詞極之相似，擁有複輔音 /lǰ/～/lč/；到八世紀的共同突厥語時代，這組複輔音已簡化為 /z/～/š/，讓共同突厥魯尼文碑銘只寫出後來的簡化輔音：äšgäk。

同一道理，自四世紀起，北魏拓跋鮮卑人、柔然人雄據蒙古草原，他們的蒙古語系詞匯 Laγlǰin「家豬」與十二生肖紀年傳到草原西陲的突厥人，成為突厥語借詞。及後，突厥語發生複輔音簡化，就成為 Laγzïn。

四、 家豬在突厥語的消失

北魏孝文帝推行漢化政策以後，鮮卑語言在華北與漠南（內蒙古）開始衰落；柔然為突厥所滅，鮮卑語在漠北蒙古高原也漸漸被突厥語取代。鮮卑語滅絕。鮮卑語詞匯家豬 Laγlǰin ＞ Laγzïn 在突厥語使用了三百年後，亦告絕跡。

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[38] Tibor Halasi-Kun, Peter B. Golden and Louis Ligeti, *The King's Dictionary – the Rasulid Hexaglot: Fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 304 [205C21].

[39] Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, pp. 656-657.

[40] N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), p. 86. Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Band I* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963), pp. 191-192. Marcel Erdal, *A Grammer of Old Turkic* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 102.

[41] Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 260. 克勞森認為家驢是突厥語的原生字，由突厥語 äš-「動物慢慢前行」派生出來的，取意驢比馬慢。

[42] Hans Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, p. 328.

[43] *The King's Dictionary – the Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 216 [199B11]. 突厥語家驢 äšgäk 以阿拉伯字母拼作 *áÙCũ*，蒙古語 elǰigen 拼作 ايلجكان。

[44] Ц. Д. Номинханов (Ts. D. Nominhanov 諾明汗諾夫), "Термины животноводства в тюркских и монгольских языках" [突厥語和蒙古語中的養畜業術語], *Труды сектора востоковедения* [東方學學部論文集], алма-ата 阿拉木圖, 1959, pp. 87-116. 呼格吉勒圖：〈從土耳其語和蒙古語畜牧業共有詞看蒙古突厥遊牧民族的歷史文化關係〉, 劉鐘齡、額爾敦布和主編：《遊牧文明與生態文明》(呼和浩特：內蒙古大學出版社，2001 年), 頁 257—266。丁石慶：〈遊牧民族的物質文化〉，張公瑾主編：《語言與民族物質文化史》(北京：民族出版社，2002 年)，頁 172—222。

突厥語借詞家豬 Laγzïn 在十一世紀消失於一切文字紀錄。無論是在東方敦煌、吐魯番的回鶻人，或是移居中亞、信奉伊斯蘭教的突厥語民族，甚至居於東歐伏爾加河上游的不里牙耳人 (Volga Bulgar)，其十二生肖豬年均改用野豬 Toŋuz。[45] 原因恐怕是突厥語系民族漸漸西遷，遠離了中原漢地這個最繁盛的家豬飼養地，家豬看不見、吃不到，家豬從生活中消失，家豬的借詞 Laγzïn 也漸漸遺忘。

不過，當突厥語民族西遷至內陸亞洲的西陲，到達東歐的森林區域，當地是適合飼養家豬的。結果，當地的西突厥人、楚瓦什人 (Chuvash) 使用了獨立的另一個字 disno ～ sïsna 去稱呼家豬。[46]

內陸亞洲最東端，大興安嶺以東、白山黑水之地，是通古斯——滿洲語系民族的居地。當地滿佈沼澤與森林，十分適合豬隻生長。因此，家豬從來都是女真人、滿洲人的重要牲畜；女真人、滿洲人最喜愛吃豬肉，祭神也以豬肉為先。[47] 女真語、滿洲語也使用十二生肖循環，其中豬年的豬 ulgiyan，既專指家豬，也泛指豬類。滿洲文以 bigan i ulgiyan「野外的豬」表達野豬。[48] 女真文，野豬則是 *udige ulgiyan「山野密林的豬」。[49]

廣義的蒙古語系之中，還有一支契丹語。契丹人從四世紀起生活在內蒙古遼河上游，一直生存至公元十三世紀。契丹語跟十三世紀蒙古語頗為相似。[50] 契丹語也有十二生肖，動物名詞多數跟蒙古語的相同。[51] 蒙古語豬是 γaqai。[52] 但是，契丹語「豬」卻是借詞 *ui，是來自渤海語或女真語「家豬」ulgiyan 的詞幹 *ul。[53] 反去推論，蒙古語詞匯 γaqai 是野豬。想來，契丹人本來是純遊牧，沒有家豬這概念。及後，契丹人吞併了燕雲十六州的漢人居地，又統治了通古斯語系的渤海人和女真人。漢人、渤海人、女真人都飼養相當多家豬。家豬成為遼王朝的重要物產，因此女真語「家豬」就被借進了契丹語。

十三世紀成吉思汗興起。八百年來，蒙古人對豬的稱呼都很穩定：γaqai。十三世紀《蒙古秘史》第 166 節、268 節，豬年寫作 γaqai jil。蒙古語對家豬的取向有所不同。元朝入主華北，首次將草原與

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[45] 路易•巴贊 (Louis Bazin) 著，耿昇譯：《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 151、264、270、438—443、566。

[46] András Róna-Tas & Árpád Berta, *West Old Turkic – Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian, Part I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), pp. 296-298.

[47] 聶卓慧：〈清宮薩滿祭祀用豬考〉，《滿語研究》，2023 年 1 期（總第 76 期），頁 130—138。

[48] Jerzy Tulisow, "Terms for Pig and Wild Boar in the Manchu Language", ed. by Michał Németh, Barbara Podolak & Mateusz Urban, *Essays in the History of Languages and Linguistics* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017), pp. 725-744.

[49] Gisaburo Norikura KIYOSE 清瀨 義三郎則府, *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script: Reconstruction and Decipherment* (Kyoto: Hōritsubunka Sha, 1977), pp. 100, 106-107.

[50] 小澤重男 (OZAWA Shigeo) 著，呼格吉勒圖、胡樹、南敬銘、徐坤譯：《中世紀蒙古語諸形態研究》(呼和浩特：內蒙古教育出版社，2004 年)，頁 1—7。卡拉 (G. Kara) 著，范麗君譯，喬吉審訂：《蒙古人的文字與書籍》(呼和浩特：內蒙古人民出版社，2004 年)，頁 2—6。

[51] Chinggeltei, "On the Problem of Reading Kitan Characters", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 55, No. 1/3 (2002), pp. 99-114.

[52] Hans Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, pp. 336-337.

[53] Daniel Kane, *The Kitan Language and script* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 8, 66-67, 111.

中原混一統治。蒙古人得以享受漢地的農業物產：五穀與家豬。《元史•刑法志三•盜賊》，記載盜竊牲口的懲罰，由重至輕順序：駱駝、馬、牛、驢與騾、羊與豬。家豬跟家羊排序相同，前者是農民的主食，後者是牧民的主食。駝馬牛驢騾都是能工作的牲口，排序較高。從而可見，蒙元是很明白家豬的功能。或者，蒙古語豬 γaqai 的原意也是野豬。但是，十四世紀起看見的蒙古文資料，豬 γaqai 似乎是廣義的豬類，更常常代表家豬。其野豬的意思已經流失了。蒙古語習慣以 bodong 公豬、qaban 種公豬去代指野豬。[54] 即使明朝取代元朝，蒙古人返回草原區，仍無減蒙古人對家豬的認知。雖然草原無法養豬，蒙古人入居的黃河河南地——河套，是農牧皆宜，當地蒙古部落招來漢人流民務農安居。明人亦發現當地蒙古人擁有雞與家豬。明《夷俗記》〈北虜風俗•牧養〉:「若雞、豚、鵝、鴨，皆其所無，惟板升諸夷稍有之。」板升，就是河套，今日內蒙古呼和浩特一帶。[55] 及清代統一滿蒙漢三地，長城南北再無戰爭。蒙漢交流頻繁，內蒙古的有些蒙古人也學會種田、養豬養家禽，長城交界尤其如此。清末民初內蒙古喀喇沁左旗蒙古族學者羅布桑却丹 (Lobsang Čoidan) 撰寫了蒙古文《蒙古風俗鑒》，記載蒙古人自古經營牧業，養馬、牛、羊、駱駝、驢、騾；除此之外，也提家豬、狗與貓，又說蒙古的家禽只有雞，並無鴨鵝，並指出只在擁有農業的旗才會有豬與雞。[56] 其中直接使用蒙古文 γaqai 代表家豬。八百年沒變，各支蒙古語方言也沒變。[57]

相比起來，十一世紀以來的突厥語言變化十分劇烈。一、突厥語民族已經遠離蒙古高原超過三百年，他們西遷至中亞與西亞，距離東亞這個家豬產地十分遙遠。二、定居中亞綠州的印歐語系農民都被突厥人同化。他們說的吐火羅語、和田塞語、粟特語都消失了，他們全都改為說突厥語，成為突厥語民族的成員。同時，這些中亞定居者的宗教與生活文化也薰陶了突厥遊牧民。三，突厥人漸漸被伊斯蘭教同化。波斯語借詞和阿拉伯語借詞源源不絕輸入突厥語。伊斯蘭教也開始改寫突厥人的衣食住行。伊斯蘭教禁止吃豬肉，對豬有所忌諱。四、經歷蒙古西征，蒙古人在伏爾加河建立了金帳汗國（欽察汗國），在中亞建立察合台汗國，在伊朗建立伊利汗國。蒙古人的文化和語言深深烙印在突厥語民族之中。今日所見，突厥語族各支方言，對野豬與家豬的稱呼都有差異。古老的共同突厥語 Toŋuz 野豬已經變成了豬的泛

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54 元《至元譯語》〈走獸門〉，山豬是匣邦 qaban。《事林廣記》(北京：中華書局，1998 年)，頁 456。明《華夷譯野》〈鳥獸門〉，豬是哈孩 /ha hai/ (*γaqai)，野豬是哈班 /ha ban/ (*qaban)。《北京圖書館古籍珍本》「經部」第 6 冊 (北京：書目文獻出版社，1987 年)，頁 10。

55 《明史•王崇古傳》:「自河套以東宣府、大同邊外，吉囊弟俺答、昆都力駐牧地也 … 俺答又納叛人趙全等，據古豐州地，招亡命數萬，屋居佃作，號曰板升。」胡文娟:〈板升漢人研究縱述〉,《元史及民族與邊疆研究》，第二十二輯 (2010 年)，頁 178—184。邱仲麟:〈明代的降虜人與長城以外的農墾區〉，山西大學中國社會史研究中心編:《社會史研究》，第 14 輯 (2023 年)，頁 43—89。

56 Lobsang Čoidan, Qa. Dambijalsan ed., *Mongγol-un ǰang aǰali-yin uiledburi* (Köke Qota 呼和浩特: Obor Mongγol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a 內蒙古人民出版社, 1981), pp. 112-122. 羅布桑却丹著，趙景陽譯:《蒙古風俗鑒》(遼陽：遼寧民族出版社，1988 年)，頁 53—57。

57 Hans Nugteren, *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*, pp. 336-337, 396.

稱；在很多支方言裏，單獨使用 Toŋuz 已無法代表野豬。比如 17 世紀克里米亞半島的韃靼語，野豬是 qïr domuz，意為「荒野的豬」(共同突厥語 *qïr toŋuz)。[58] 又或是借入波斯語 یابان (yaban)「荒野」[59] 來稱呼野豬：「野的豬」，比如土其其語 yaban domuzu，維吾爾語 یاۋا توڭگۇز (yawa toŋguz)。奧圖曼帝國曾統治東歐與南歐，當地居民習慣在森林飼養家豬，帝國從中抽稅。[60] 土耳其語並沒有借用外語，只寫作「家的豬」：evcil domuz (共同突厥語 *äb toŋuz)。相反，中亞多支突厥語方言，把共同突厥語 čočuq ~ čočqo「乳豬」一詞，[61] 挪移代指家豬：維吾爾語 چوشقا (čošqa)，[62] 烏茲別克語 чўчқа (choʻchqa)[ʧoʧqæ]，[63] 哈薩克語 шошқа (šošqa)[ʃoʃqa]，[64] 巴什基爾語 сусҡа (susqa) 等等。正是烏茲別克語、哈薩克語習慣以乳豬代表家豬，他們仍然習慣以共同突厥語 toŋuz 代表「野豬」，倖存古意：哈薩克語 доңыз (doŋïz)、烏茲別克語 tʌnʁiz (toʻngʻiz)。[65] 同時，哈薩克語、維吾爾語也跟很多突厥語方言一樣，借用蒙古語野豬 qaban 來稱呼野豬：維吾爾語 qawan，[66] 吉爾吉斯語 qaman，[67] 阿塞拜疆語 qaban，哈薩克語 қабан (qaban)。[68] 同樣的八百年，家豬與野豬的名字，蒙古言各支方言十分齊一，突厥語各支方言卻分歧頗深。大概是突厥語民族接觸家豬的時間都斷續而短暫，無法養成穩定的習慣稱呼。

即便如此，自從十世紀以後，突厥語民族使用 toŋuz yïl 來稱呼十二生肖的豬年，直到今日，所有突厥語方言都繼承這個豬年稱呼，千年不變。[69] 可見，十二生肖紀年擁有獨特魅力，深入突厥語文化的骨髓。

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58 Imre Baski, "A Crimean Turkic-Tatar Glossary from the 17th century", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 40, No. 1 (1986), pp. 107-172 (pp. 139, 150).

59 F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London:Routledge, 1892), p. 1524

60 Anđelko Vlašić, "The correlation between the spatial distribution of forests and pig farming in Ottoman Slavonia", ed. by Kenan Inan, Mirac Tosun & Deniz Colak, *CIEPO-22 Uluslararasi Osmanli Öncesi ve Osmanli Calismalari Komitesi Bildiriler Kitabi 2* (Trabzon: Trabzon Büyüksehir Belediyesi, 2018), pp. 41-53.

61 Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 400.

62 Henry G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-English Dictionary* (Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University, 1992), pp. 346-347.

63 程適良、阿不都熱合曼：《烏孜別克語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1987 年)，頁 161。

64 耿世民、李增祥：《哈薩克語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1985 年)，頁 210。

65 程適良、阿不都熱合曼：《烏孜別克語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1987 年)，頁 161。

66 Henry G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*, p. 619.

67 胡振華編：《柯爾克孜語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1986 年)，頁 217。

68 耿世民、李增祥：《哈薩克語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1985 年)，頁 210。

69 Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Band II* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965), pp. 585-587. 比如新疆省維吾爾語，豬年是 toŋguz yïlï。Henry G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*, pp. 208, 1073；路易•巴贊著，耿昇譯：《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 455。又如，甘肅省的突厥語系西裕固語，doŋəs (< toŋuz) 只用於十二生肖紀年；稱呼活生生的豬、家豬，是用 qavan，是來自蒙古語借詞 qaban 野豬。頁 159。雷選春編：《西部裕固漢詞典》(成都：四川民族出版社，1992 年)，頁 109、178、208。

五、 中國式的龍

龍，並非真實動物，突厥人選擇了音譯，在敦煌、吐魯番文書常常音譯為 lu (< 漢語 *lung)。[70] 回鶻文突厥語翻譯的眾多漢字，常常有脫落 -ng 韻尾的習慣。[71] 龍還有另一個譯音模式是 ulu，見於公元 752 年《塔里亞特碑》西面第 2 行：ulu yïlï 龍年。[72] 這是因為突厥語、蒙古語並不習慣以 /l/、/r/、/z/ 作為詞首聲母，常常會在前方複製元音。[73] 敦煌與吐魯番出土的佛經與石窟題記常見十二生肖紀年，龍多寫作 lu 或 luu。[74] 如果說王族碑文與供養佛經屬於統治與菁英階層，那麼民間借貸買賣合約就是代表低下階層老百姓。回鶻文契約文書仍然是使用十二生肖紀年。比如，英藏回鶻文契約文書 Or.8212-131，[75] 以及 1953 年中國考古隊在吐魯番搜集到屬於元代的回鶻文〈斌通（善斌）賣身契〉一套三份，[76] 龍年皆寫作 luu yïl。

天山伊犁河外、楚河一帶的七河地區 (突 Yäti Suw、俄 Semirechye，即今日哈薩克斯坦的阿拉木圖一帶)，直至十四世紀，居住着一群信仰基督教景教派的突厥語民族。他們留下了相當多墓碑，用敘利亞文字拼寫的突厥語刻下銘文。他們除了使用「阿歷山大紀年」，也使用十二生肖紀年。墓石銘文稱十二生肖紀年為「突厥紀年」(Türkčä sakïš)；龍年也是使用漢語借詞：Lū。[77] 簡單而言，無論是在蒙古高原、敦煌與吐魯番等綠州、或是更遙遠的七河，突厥人都使用着漢語借詞 luu 或 ulu「龍」。今時今日，哈薩克人使用十二生肖之時，龍年仍然是 uləw ʤələ（哈薩克語 *ulu jïlï < 共同突厥語 ulu yïlï)。[78]

龍，依據中國傳統，是飛翔於天空的神物。《易經·乾卦》:「九五：飛龍在天，利見大人。」此條在《易傳·文言》註解「雲從龍。」所以，中國傳統繪畫龍的時候，會附上雲紋。龍騰雲而起，以展示在天

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[70] Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 763.

[71] 比如 pi 是丙 (ping)，ti 是丁 (ting)，kï 是庚。路易•巴贊著，耿昇譯:《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 150—151、338。

[72] Talat Tekin, “The Tariat (Terkhin) Inscription”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 37, No. 1/3 (1983), pp. 43-68. 片山章雄 (KATAYAMA Akio):〈タリアト碑文 Tariat Inscription〉，森安孝夫 (MORIYASU Takao)、オチル (Ayudai OCHIR) 編:《モンゴル國現存遺蹟•碑文調查研究報告》[Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998] (豐中市：中央ユーラシア學研究會，1999)，頁 168—176。米熱古麗•黑力力:《鄂爾渾文回鶻碑銘研究》，頁 152、172。《塔里亞特碑》，又稱為鐵爾渾碑或鐵爾痕碑，豎立於突厥汗國亡國之後、漠北回鶻汗國開國之初。

[73] Marcel Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 104-105.

[74] 楊富學:《回鶻與敦煌》(蘭州：甘肅教育出版社，2013 年)，頁 398—403。

[75] 森安孝夫:〈ウイグル文契約文書補考〉,《待兼山論叢》史學篇，第 32 號 (1998 年)，頁 1—24。

[76] 山田信夫著，辛德勇譯:〈回鶻文斌通（善斌）賣身契三種〉，劉俊文編:《日本學者研究中國史論著選譯》第九卷《民族交通》(北京：中華書局，1993 年)，頁 326—362。耿世民:〈兩件回鶻文契約的考釋〉,《新疆文史論集》(北京：中央民族大學出版社，2001 年)，頁 282—295。

[77] 路易•巴贊著，耿昇譯:《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 491—512。牛汝極:《維吾爾古文字與古文獻導論》(烏魯木齊：新疆人民出版社，1997 年)，頁 123—124。

[78] 耿世民、李增祥:《哈薩克語簡志》(北京：民族出版社，1985 年)，頁 210。

空與雲間飛翔。[79] 龍的造形與特徵，也傳入內陸亞洲。吐魯番古墓出土一張唐代綾綿，其上有對龍紋，「龍腿作行雲狀」。[80] 這明顯有龍飛翔之意。敦煌莫高窟有一幅壁畫，繪有回鶻王身穿龍團紋的袍。[81] 中國傳統的龍，早就傳入內陸亞洲了。

在中國傳統，龍還主宰打雷下雨。從古代《山海經》到宋代《太平廣記》的眾多故事，雷神是龍的外形，都能引來大雨。[82] 時至今天，甘肅西裕固人的突厥語方言，龍年是 ulu yïl；其中，ulu 既是龍，也是雷神，也能下雨。[83]

六、 波斯的龍與中亞的水龍

十世紀以後，中亞的突厥語民族日漸被波斯文化與伊斯蘭教文化所同化，波斯人的龍神話取代了漢地的龍神話。波斯語「龍」اژدر (ažˇdar)，[84] 是一種有翼能飛的蛇與蜥蜴。[85] 明朝《回回館雜字》與《回回館譯語》正是將波斯語 اژدر *azhidar (阿日得兒) 譯做中文「龍」。[86] 波斯語在中亞十分強勢，漢語龍 ulu ~ luu 漸漸在中亞諸突厥語言消失。即使哈薩克人的龍年仍是 ulu yïl，但他們傳頌的龍神話已經變成波斯龍 aydakhar ~ ejderha。[87] 其他如吉爾吉斯語 [adʒədaar]，[88] 維吾爾語 äjdihä，[89] 他們民間傳說的龍都是這個波斯語借詞。十八世紀，清朝編纂《五體清文鑑》，是一本滿藏蒙回漢五種文字對譯的詞匯分類表。其中的回文，是新疆回部的文字，是用阿拉伯文字拼寫的一種突厥語，是十三至二十世紀初中亞

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79 杰西卡•羅森 (Jessica Rawson)：〈中國紋飾中的龍〉，《澎湃新闻》，2024 年 2 月 14 日。網址：https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_26273027。闕碧芬：〈明清時期織品服飾上的龍紋與其變化─以加拿大亞伯達大學博物館 Mactaggart Art Collection 的藏品為例〉，《故宮文物月刊》，第 471 期 (2022 年 6 月)，頁 96—107。

80 董華鋒：〈再論吐魯番出土景雲元年聯珠團窠對龍紋綾的淵源〉，《吐魯番學研究》，2022 年第 1 期，頁 50—154、圖版叁。

81 謝靜、謝生保：〈敦煌石窟中回鶻、西夏供養人服飾辨析〉，《敦煌研究》，2007 年第 4 期，頁 80—85、圖片 18—25。史金波：〈西夏皇室和敦煌莫高窟芻議〉，《西夏學》第 4 輯 (2009 年)，頁 165—171。任懷晟：〈敦煌莫高窟 409 窟、237 窟男供養人像考〉，《敦煌學輯刊》，2019 年第 3 期，頁 91—103。

82 禹璟：〈從《太平廣記》看雷神及雷神崇拜思想〉，《延安職業技術學院學報》，2009 年第 6 期，頁 44—46。

83 雷選春編：《西部裕固漢詞典》，頁 41。

84 F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 45.

85 Ehsan Yarshater ed., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. III (London: Routledge, 1989), Fasc. 2, pp. 191-205.

86 《北京圖書館古籍珍本》經部第 6，頁 489、543。

87 Umit Anessova, Bagdan Momynova, Saida Asetovna Saduakassova & Satkenova Zhaina , “Symbolic Perception in Kazakh Mythology”, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 6 no. 6 S2 (2015), pp. 145-149. Zhanat AIMUKHAMBET, Aiauzhan KASSEN & Karlygash KURMAMBAYEVA, “Kazak Folklorunda Yedi Basli Ejderha”, *Millî Folklor*, vol. 17, issue 34 (2022), pp. 192-204.

88 胡振華編：《柯爾克孜語簡志》，頁 219。

89 Karl H. Menges, *Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 692. Henry G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*, p. 288.

的突厥語文學語言，學界稱為察合台文 (Chagatai Turkic)。其中，察合台文的十二地支辰年（生肖龍年），龍 هجدر (häjdär) 是波斯語借詞。[90]

中亞突厥人的龍，還有另一個版本流行於定居綠州，牠是水龍。

公元 1077 年，信仰伊斯蘭教、喀什出身的喀喇汗國王裔麻赫穆德·喀什噶里 (Mahmud al-Kashgharī)，他編寫了《突厥語大辭典》。當中記載，喀喇汗國的突厥人也是使用十二生肖紀年，卻沒有龍年，以 nāg yīl-i「鱷魚年」取而代之；[91] 對突厥語 nāg 以阿拉伯語解釋為 تمساح (timsāḥ)「鱷魚」或 ثعبان (ṭu'bān)「巨蛇」。[92] 這裏的突厥語 ناک (nāg) 當是粟特語 (Sogdian) 借詞。[93] 粟特人是公元三至十世紀於中亞阿姆河與錫爾河之間（今日烏茲別克）的綠州居民，他們是農民，更是絲綢之路最活躍的商人，建立了眾多城邦國家。其中，最繁榮強大的是撒馬爾干 (Samarkand)，唐代譯名康國。[94] 粟特人是突厥貴族最好的生意拍檔。突厥王朝就有用粟特語文撰寫石人與碑文，當中也是使用粟特語十二生肖。[95] 吐魯番出土一份粟特文曆書殘頁，翻譯中文的五行、十干與十二生肖。[96] 其中，龍就譯作粟特語 nāg。這個粟特語其實是源自梵文 nāga ——印度教與佛教神話的蛇神「那伽」，是水神；[97] 也譯作龍。[98] 撒馬爾干有一處考古遺址，有一道粟特人的壁畫，當中就繪畫了一條龍在水中游泳。[99] 由此可見，粟特人的 nāg 龍是水龍。

十四世紀，阿拉拍半島也門國拉蘇里朝的《國王字典》，當中有一份阿拉伯語、波斯語、突厥語、蒙古語四體詞匯對照表，沒有回鶻文字母或蒙古文字母，只以阿拉伯字母標音。其中有十二生肖紀年對譯，蒙古語 لو (lu < *luu) 正是龍，是中原漢地的龍，跟突厥語 luu ~ ulu 同源。蒙古語對龍一字十分牢

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[90] 《五體清文鑑》卷二〈時令部·時令類第一〉

[91] *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part *I*, pp. 271-272 [173-175, *bars*];《突厥語大詞典》, 第一卷, 頁 364—366。

[92] *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part *II*, pp. 228 [513, *nāg*];《突厥語大詞典》，第三卷，頁 150。

[93] Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 776. B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian-Persian-English)*(Tehran: Farhangan, 2004), p. 230.

[94] 榮新江：〈從撒馬爾干到長安——中古時期粟特人與遷徙與入居〉，榮新江、張志清編：《從撒馬爾干到長安——粟特人在中國的文化遺跡》(北京：北京圖書館出版社，2004 年)，頁 3—8。

[95] 林梅村：〈小洪那海突厥可汗陵園調查記〉,《法國漢學》第十輯《粟特人在中國》(北京：中華書局，2005 年)，頁 259—275。

[96] F. W. K. Müller, "Die „persischen" Kalenderausdrücke im chinesischen Tripiṭaka", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1907, 1, pp. 458-465.

[97] Jones, Constance, A., and James Ryan D. "Nagas." *Encyclopedia of World Religions: Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, by Constance A. Jones and James D. Ryan, 2nd ed., Facts On File, 2016. *Credo Reference*, https://search.credoreference.com/articles/Qm9va0FydGljbGU6NDc1MzQ0NQ==?aid=277995.

[98] 梵文 nāga 即漢文佛經記載神話「天龍八部」的龍。星雲、慈莊、慈怡：《佛光大辭典》(高雄：佛光出版社，1988 年)，頁 296，「八部眾」。

[99] Matteo Compareti, "On the Meaning of the dragon in the Paintings at Afrasyab (Ancient Samarkand)", 《歐亞學刊》[*Eurasian Studies*]，第 6 輯 (北京：中華書局，2007 年)，頁 66-83。

固，記憶深刻。契丹小字龍已是拼音 lu。[100] 蒙古文自十三世紀誕生以來就拼寫着 luu 龍，[101] 至今未變。[102] 跟蒙古語對譯的突厥語，是 ïlan balïq，其字面意思是「蛇魚」。[103] 其阿拉伯語翻譯是 timsāḥ「鱷魚」。對譯的波斯語 نهنگ nahang，也是鱷魚。看來，突厥人試圖形容一種水中生活的蛇狀生物，有點像鱷魚，這應當是繼承了已被同化的粟特人之古老記憶：水龍。這時中亞的突厥人是真的忘記了中國的天龍是甚麼。蒙古人可是牢牢記着龍，元朝皇帝穿着漢式龍袍，是昇龍被雲紋修飾的兗冕、衮龍服，是騰龍飛翔。[104] 蒙古統治者將龍袍帶到中亞與西亞。因此，《國王字典》收錄了龍袍的蒙古語詞匯，突厥語、波斯語、阿拉伯語一律音譯作 lu，卻不再是鱷魚或蛇魚。[105] 兩者比較可知，十四世紀中亞突厥人認知的水龍、蛇魚或鱷魚，不是中國的天龍。

Arabic	Persian	Turkic	Mongolian
نوع منه	جامه لو	لو طون	لو قرا
nau^{c} minhu	*jāma-yi lu*	*lu ton*	*lu qara*
a kind of it	garment of dragon	dragon garment	a kind of dragon garment

中亞突厥語民族之中，仍然認得中國天龍的是吐魯番、哈密的回鶻人（畏兀兒人）這班佛教徒。十五世紀初，明朝《華夷譯語·高昌館》與《高昌館譯書》記載他們的語言，龍仍然是 luu。[106] 不過，十四世紀以來，當地的伊斯蘭頭目勢力亦越來越大了。[107] 及東察合台汗國入主吐魯番，從明朝手中奪走哈密衛。此時的察合台汗奉伊斯蘭為國教。在他們統治下，回鶻佛教與回鶻文從吐魯番消失，伊斯蘭教與阿拉伯字母拼寫的察合台文取而代之。[108]

自此以後，新疆南路的居民，稱呼龍年為 beliq yil-i「魚年」。[109] 一份 1860 年在哈密抄寫的察合台文民間星相占卜書，就寫着：魚年，將降大雨。[110] 魚年，相當於中原漢地的龍年。漢人傳說龍能招降

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100 Daniel Kane, *The Kitan Language and script*, pp. 17-18, 60, 93.

101 路易•巴贊著，耿昇譯：《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 477—478。

102 Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, p. 517；《蒙漢詞典增訂本》，頁 851。

103 *The King's Dictionary – the Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 221 [199C12].

104 趙豐：〈蒙元龍袍的類型及地位〉，《文物》，2006 年第 8 期，頁 85—96。《元史·輿服志·天子冕服》：「衮冕 … 匝以雲龍 … 冠之周圍，珠雲龍網結 … 衮龍服，制以青羅，飾以生色銷金帝星一、日一、月一、昇龍四、複身龍四 …。」

105 *The King's Dictionary – the Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 297 [205B21].

106 《北京圖書館古籍珍本》經部第 6，頁 72、378。

107 楊富學：《回鶻之佛教》(烏魯木齊：新疆人民出版社，1998)，頁 39—47。

108 田衛疆：《絲綢之路與東察合台汗國史研究》(烏魯木齊：新疆人民出版社，1997)，頁 88—98、211—219。

109 Karl H. Menges, *Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II*, p. 699.

110 路易•巴贊著，耿昇譯：《古突厥社會的歷史紀年》，頁 455。N. F. Katanov & Karl H. Menges, *Volkskundliche*

雨，這意思也包含在這份占卜書之中。魚 بلیق (beliq < 共同突厥語 balïq)，這是一個地道的突厥語原生詞匯。[111] 今天新疆維吾爾人也是以魚年代替龍年。[112] 吉爾吉斯人也是使用魚年。[113] 這個紀年名稱繼承十四世紀《國王字典》的「蛇魚」，遙遙繼承一千多年前粟特人「水龍」。此亦可謂源遠流長。

七、 結論

突厥語民族對家豬的稱呼變化多端，主要原因是地理氣候與生存環境之差異。文化因素是次要的。比較起來，突厥人對龍的稱呼之變易，將龍年改稱為魚年。龍是神話傳說之物，並不涉及真實的生活。其改變的原因只是文化改變。東亞以中國文化與佛教文化為首，漢人的龍傳說在回鶻人、蒙古人之中歷久不衰。西亞以波斯文化與伊斯蘭文化為首，向中亞擴張。中亞信仰伊斯蘭教的突厥語民族，他們傳頌波斯人的翼龍，將龍年解釋為鱷年、魚年。自十世紀起，東西兩方在中亞角力，戰爭與版圖擴張，宗教與文化的競爭，竟然在龍年或魚年也能折射出來。十三世紀，蒙古人西征，統治整個中亞，帶來了龍袍，更重新帶來中國式龍年。蒙古貴族的帖木兒汗國、王裔的昔班汗國，讓蒙古文化在中亞延續至十六世紀之後。即便到了十七世紀中葉，以察合台文寫成的中亞史書《突厥世系》，同時使用伊斯蘭曆與十二生肖紀年。其中，龍年不是寫作波斯語翼龍 *azhidar，也不是鱷年或魚年，而係東方傳統的龍年 لوی ییل (luy yīl)。[114] 這很明顯是回鶻文或蒙古文的龍年 luu jil。

十六世紀初，東察合台汗國佔領哈密。哈密人改宗伊斯蘭教，改用察合台文，十二生肖也變成了魚年。部份信仰佛教的回鶻人徙居甘肅；十七世紀末、康熙年間，他們仍然用回鶻文抄寫《金光明經》。他們就是為今日裕固族的祖先。[115] 西裕固人仍然稱龍年為 ulu yïl。[116] 十八世紀，清朝編寫《五體清文鑑》之時，天山北路是信仰佛教的蒙古人，使用 luu 龍年。[117] 天山南路回部是信仰伊斯蘭教、寫察合台文的維吾爾族先民，使用魚年或 häjdär 翼龍年。

Texte aus Ost-Türkistan II (Berlin: 1943), pp 84-88.

111 Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, p. 335.

112 Henry G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*, pp. 93-1073.

113 伊斯拉非爾·玉蘇甫、安尼瓦爾·哈斯木：〈維吾爾十二生肖文化源流考〉，頁 202。

114 Abû Al-ghâzî Bahâdur (1605-1664), trans. Le Baron Desmaisons, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares, Tome II* (Saint Pétersbourg : Impr. de l'Académie impériale des sciences, 1874), p. 272 [٢٥٤].

115 陳宗振：〈西部裕固語中的早期漢語借詞〉，中國突厥語研究會編：《中國突厥語研究論文集》(北京：民族出版社，1991 年)，頁 286—302。

116 雷選春編：《西部裕固漢詞典》，頁 41。

117 《五體清文鑑》卷二〈時令部·時令類第一〉

基于免责声明的机构身份话语建构策略研究

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摘要： 研究基于言语行为理论，以五篇网络免责声明为语料，采用话语分析“宏观—中观—微观”三维框架，探讨机构如何通过语言建构身份并实现免责意图。聚焦中观话语策略，免责声明通过权威确立、语义弹性、语义扩展、主体协商和责任强化五大策略系统编码权力关系。对应到微观层面上，分别以施为性词语、限定词、“包含”义词汇、指代词及“由”字句作为代表性语言手段。最终实现免责声明的宏观主题——构建并强化“独断身份—控制身份—严谨身份—群内/群外身份—免责身份”的多机构身份体系。但是，现有免责声明存在语用效力与可接受性失衡的问题，如机构过度依赖强施事语力，免责意图明显，容易降低用户对声明文本的可接受度。因此，机构需尽可能地将用户需求纳入身份建构框架，根据免责声明中存在的问题制定并实施具有针对性的语言优化建议，以符合“人际和谐”取向，真正实现语篇的免责意图。以往研究多关注企业主动建构身份的文本（如公司年报、简介等），话语目标以“自我宣传”“形象塑造”为主；针对企业被动维护权益的文本（如免责声明），则尚未展开系统性探讨。本研究意在解析免责声明中“以言行事”的策略手段，探讨免责声明如何通过语言符号建构机构权力身份。

关键词：免责声明；免责意图；机构身份；话语建构
[中图分类号]H0-05 [文献标志码] A

Research on Discursive Construction Strategies of Institutional Identity Based on Disclaimer Statements

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Abstract： Based on speech act theory, this study selects five online disclaimers as the primary corpus and employs the three-dimensional discourse analysis framework, focusing on meso-level discourse strategies. It identifies five strategic approaches: authority establishment, semantic flexibility, semantic extension, subject negotiation, and responsibility reinforcement. At the micro level, linguistic devices transform encoded locutionary acts into illocutionary acts that assert authority and mitigate risks, ultimately constructing an institutional identity centered on "disclaimer identity" at the macro level. Additionally, the research reveals contradictions in the pragmatic efficacy and acceptability of disclaimers, offering optimization suggestions for institutional discourse construction.

Key words：disclaimer；disclaimer intent；institutional identity；discursive construction

一、引言

在影视剧开头或者结尾的部分，常常会附上一句话：“本故事纯属虚构，如有雷同，纯属巧合。”

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在这句话中，发话人向受众传递了一种不期望与现实产生关联的立场，体现了发话人对受众认知和反应的预见与控制。这句话通过否认虚构内容与现实的关联以及强调巧合的非故意性，有效地实现了说话者的“免责”意图，降低了受众可能产生的误解和反应风险。再比如产品包装袋上经过处理过的图片旁往往会标注“图案仅供参考”的信息，意在提醒消费者不要过分依赖包装图案，防止产品公司因包装图案与实际产品不符而被投诉、要求赔偿或遭遇其他法律纠纷。在生活中类似的“免责”表达还有很多，比如：

（1）本节目中的观点仅代表嘉宾个人意见，不代表本平台立场。（内容声明）

（2）本产品效果因人而异，实际效果以个人体验为准，本公司不对个别差异负责。（使用声明）

（3）因不可抗力导致的服务中断或数据丢失，本公司不承担责任。（意外声明）

上述声明的内容均具有免责性质，由此可以看出，免责性话语范畴广泛，常应用于商业、传媒、服务、学术等领域，通过特定的表述明确责任界限、规避责任范围，保护相关方免于承担因不可控或难以预见的因素而带来潜在的不利后果。因此，这种免责声明对于维护机构利益非常重要，往往采用仔细斟酌和推敲过的话语，以保证语义的传递能够实现自己的目的，是彰显和建构机构身份的可靠性文本，具有研究价值和意义。

当前，“身份建构”已经成为国内语用学研究的前沿课题，“身份”这一概念逐渐应用于不同体裁和不同类型的文本当中，如日常会话[1]、商业语篇[2-3]以及机构话语[4]等等。机构话语中新闻话语[5]和法律话语[6]以往研究较多，近年来大学机构话语[7-8]和企业机构话语[9-12]也开始受到学界关注。其中，企业机构话语研究从多个维度、多个视角展开。例如，乌楠、张敬源[9]以华为和苹果公司 2017 年报为语料,采取陈建平[8]的语篇——历史话语分析法，尝试建立中外企业身份建构的话语策略比较研究框架。之后乌楠、张敬源又分别从主题互文策略[10]和认同修辞机制[11]维度对企业英文年报进行探究，以建立企业身份话语建构的不同分析框架。李依、徐学平[12]则基于 Van De Mieroop[13]的研究框架，对中国企业的英文公司简介进行分析，探讨企业在海外市场背景下如何通过话语建构策略实现机构身份建构。

然而，既有研究主要聚焦于企业主动建构身份的文本（如公司年报、简介），其话语目标以“自我宣传”“形象塑造”为主，语言策略多围绕价值观传递和文化认同展开。而针对企业被动维护权益的文本如免责声明，尚未展开系统性探讨。免责声明的核心功能是“风险规避”“权责划分”，需要机构通过规约化言语实施特定的行为来实现。而言语行为理论作为经典语用学工具，能精准解析免责声明中“以言行事”的语言策略，并揭示看似千篇一律的免责条款是如何通过语言符号实现机构权力并在不同场景中重复生效的。因此，本研究站在言语行为理论视角，同样采取宏观、中观、微观三维话语分析框架，将五篇涉及不同领域的网络免责声明作为主要语料来源①，聚焦以上声明中采用的话语策略及其实现方式，分析背后的形成动因与运行机制，以探讨该类型文本对建构机构身份的影响。

二、免责声明的特点与结构

《现代汉语词典》(第 7 版)对“声明”的解释为“1.[动]公开表示态度或说明真相。2.[名]声明的文告”[14],

①本研究选取免责声明的标准在于该官方企业或机构是否运营合法，在特定领域中是否具有代表性，以下为本研究选取的五篇免责声明的网页链接：
中国文信网免责声明网页链接：https://www.cnipa.gov.cn/col/col209/index.html
中国投资者网免责声明网页链接：https://www.investor.org.cn/disclaimer/201701/t20170116_130545.shtml
中金公司免责声明网页链接：https://www.research.cicc.com/zh_CN/information/disclaimer?entrance_source=empty
腾讯微信免责声明网页链接：
https://support.weixin.qq.com/cgi-bin/mmsupport-bin/readtemplate?lang=zh_cn&check=false&nav=faq&t=weixin_agreement
华为免责声明网页链接：https://www.huawei.com/cn/legal
以上声明的来源均涉及不同的领域和方向，中国文信网是商标、专利领域，中国投资者网和中金公司是投资领域，腾讯微信是通讯领域，华为是智能产品领域。

因而“声明”的语义特征为[+当事人][+公开性][+表达态度/立场][+阐明事实]，可定义为“当事人通过公开的方式明确表达态度、立场或阐明事实的一种正式文告”。声明可以集体身份发出，也可以个体身份发出，形式上包括书面语体和口语语体。本研究所说的“网络声明”是指机构一方在官方网络页面上所发布的书面形式的声明，包括免责声明、隐私声明、使用声明、版权声明等等。一些机构会在页面按照声明的不同功能类型分别列出，还有一些机构不会进行区分，而是将所有内容囊括在同一篇声明当中。

“免责”是指在特定情境下，某一方通过明确表达或采取特定措施来免除自己对某些行为、事件或后果的责任。这种责任的免除通常是通过合同条款、法律规定、口头约定等方式进行的，是一种法律、商业、道义或社交层面的语言策略。谈及商业领域的声明，“免责”可涉及的情境和范围很广，不仅包括狭义上指免除己方特定责任的免责声明，还包括产品或信息使用、隐私或版权保护方面，即前文所提到的隐私声明、使用声明、版权声明、意外声明等等。因此，以上均为本研究所指称的“免责声明”，属于广义概念，即“当事人通过公开的方式，界定双方的责任和义务，防止产生误解或法律风险，以保护自身合法权益、避免对特定行为或事件承担责任后果的正式声明”。

（一）免责声明的特点

免责声明的整体语篇在格式和风格上都有仿照法律文本的倾向。法律文本因其制度合法天然具备权威性，免责声明便通过模仿法律文本的格式（如条款分项、标题加粗）、术语（如“不可抗力”“视为”“特此声明”）和句法结构（如被动语态、条件从句）等，将法律话语的权威性“嫁接”到企业声明中，以增强文本的正式性和约束力，激活用户对“此类文本具有法律效力”的预设认知。张新红[15]总结归纳了法律语言的语用特点，包括语篇结构高度程序化、句法表述严谨、词汇使用专业性和全民常用性并存。反观免责声明，也具有如上特点，且具备一些独特属性。具体而言，在词汇方面，语篇中词汇具有单义性和特指性，以避免产生误解，但并未形成一套完整的专业词汇体系，整体上还是以大量的日常词汇为主；在句式方面，语篇通常采用长句，结构严谨且逻辑完整，常包含并列结构、复杂同位语和插入语等成分；在语言风格方面，语篇语言正式严谨、明确清晰，尽管有些表达可能会影响文本的简洁性和可读性，但它有助于确保信息的完整性、准确性与严密性。此外，还需明确免责声明往往是机构方单方面发出的，有时另一方未必明确知晓或同意声明中的内容，且未经过正式法律程序的审批，因此法律效力极为有限，这与免责条款相区别②。

（二）免责声明的结构

机构话语的运作受到机构秩序的制约，遵循特定的程序和规则。对机构身份的要求越严格，语篇的程序性程度越强，语言手段的选择范围就越窄，自选话语方式的比例就越小。反映到具体的语篇当中，开始和结束阶段往往程式化程度较高，语言表达严格按照机构规章的要求，以突显机构身份。而在主体部分，话语的程式化程度相对较低，可选的语言形式显著增加，展现出更大的动态性和灵活性。

在语篇开始部分往往会出现与下例意思相近的表述：

（4）使用本网站前请您仔细阅读以下条款，使用本网站则表明您已明知并接受这些条款。

语篇开头关于阅读条款的提示，是下文实施免责行为的前提条件，并奠定了语篇的宏观性质与整体基调。由于是单方面的声明，且为书面形式，缺乏和用户之间的真实互动，无法快速得到用户反馈。因

②崔建远（1991）提出：“免责条款是当事人以协议排除或限制其未来责任的合同条款，具有约定性、明示性和免责性。免责条款有效的前提条件是它成为合同条款。”[16]所以“免责条款”的语义特征是[+当事人][+合同条款][+约定性][+明示性][+免责性]，其中[+合同条款]是区分“免责声明”与“免责条款”的关键。因此，免责条款是合同双方在正式签订的合同或协议中明确约定的条款，具有法律约束力，而免责声明则不具备。

此，为了提高声明的有效性和针对性，机构往往采取预设的方式，预设用户使用该网站就是知晓并接受了所列条款，即该声明面向的群体不是全体网络使用者，而是使用了该机构网站并以某种方式获取和知晓该声明/条款的用户，以此机构才能进行接下去的内容说明。

主体部分的内容由于不同机构的社会性质、运行机制、产品效能等而显现出差异，但是所有语篇在行文思路、词汇使用和表达效果等方面是近乎一致的。在声明内容上主要包括用户个人信息的填写事项、机构对用户信息的使用、机构对产品的解释说明、用户在使用产品时的注意事项、用户禁止做的行为、出现问题后的责任归属等等。具体实例见第四节。

再看语篇结尾部分经常附上的表述：

（5）中国投资者网保留对本声明的修改、解释权。

（6）本《协议》的版权由腾讯所有，腾讯保留一切解释和修改权利。

在语篇主体部分解释完所有条款内容后，结尾部分机构通常会对自己的解释行为进行说明，告知用户声明的最终解释权归机构所有，言外之意就是不接受他人对声明的修改及其他解读。如若出现问题和争议，机构方将依据自己所作出的解释来解决用户问题。该表述进一步巩固了整体语篇的约束性和强制性基调，与开头相呼应，语力强，使读者难以提出反驳或异议。

综上，免责声明中语篇开始和结尾部分的表述存在模板化现象，主体部分则根据机构不同的社会性质和社会功能呈现出不同的内容倾向和结构分布，但是总体来看程式化和相似性程度依然较高，且机构借助声明文本企图达到的最终目的是一致的，都是“免责”。

三、机构身份的建构

（一）机构身份的定义

机构是社会的重要组成部分，是人们进行社会活动的关键领域，也是维护社会秩序的核心场所。它是一个由机构成员通过持续的、目标导向的交际互动所构建、发展和转化的社会整体。机构与个体之间的关系是多元的，如“影视制作者——观众”“公司——客户”“产品制造者——使用者”等等，在不同语境下身份会不断发生转变，每个人都具有多重社会身份。但是，无论处于什么身份，只要带上“社会性”色彩，其“个性”特征就会退居其次。从互动语言学的角度看，“身份”是互动双方在特定语境下选择一定的语言手段后所呈现出的自我状态，“机构身份”便是“机构向公众的自我呈现”[17]。

当处于社会上不同身份的人进行互动时，就是在开展“身份建构”的过程，互动主体发生改变，所建构的身份也会相应地发生变化。例如，在“公司——客户”的互动中，公司以提供产品或服务的身份出现，而在“公司——员工”的互动中，公司便以管理者和决策者的身份参与。通过这种动态的身份建构，机构不仅传达其社会功能和定位，还与外部社会建立起持续的互动和沟通。因此，身份不是固定的、先设的、单向的，而是在交往中通过话语动态、积极、在线建构的[18]。“话语”是身份建构的核心工具，发挥了决定性作用，“在机构互动中，机构身份被不断地激活、凸显、强化和重复”[4]。

这里所说的话语形式有很多，本研究选取的是各企业机构在官方网络页面上面向使用者发布的书面形式的免责声明，下文将结合互动体系下的言语行为理论，分析机构身份是如何在声明语篇中建构出来的。

（二）言语行为理论下机构身份的建构

《现代语言学词典》对“言语行为”的定义为：“一种结合人际信递中说话人和听话者的行为来分析话段作用的理论”[19]。Austin[20]认为，语言交际的基本单位并非句子本身，而是句子所执行的具体言语行为，例如警告、许诺、道谢等。Searle[21]则提出，每个句子都具有潜在的言外之力，通过这种潜在的意

义，说出的句子可以用来执行特定的言语行为。而言语行为不仅适用于单个的句子或语段，言语行为和语篇之间也存在着密切的关系，即“语篇不是句子的排列和组合，而是言语行为的序列”[22]，甚至可以说“言语行为是建构语篇的基本单位”[22]。

Habermas[23]将言语行为分为：调节类、表达类和述事类，并将所有法律言语行为都归入“调节性”范畴③。根据前文的分析，声明类语篇有仿照法律语篇的倾向，因此声明类言语行为同样属于调节类，涉及对他人行为的规范或调节。运行机制是通过制定一定的规范来制约人们使用其产品的行为，以正式的声明形式告诉大家什么可以做、什么不能做，尽可能阻止潜在的风险发生，如自身安全、健康、权益等方面，以规避如若出现问题时机构所需承担的法律责任。因此，免责声明中采用了明确的话语以表现自身行为动机的意识倾向。常晨光[24]认为，这种“明确的主观取向反映出会话双方的权力关系或情感卷入程度，使个人观点变成了一个固有的特征或无法质疑的事实，隐藏了真正的情态来源，从而使读者更容易接受其看法”。但是，这种强语力是否真的为个体所接受依然是值得深究和探讨的问题。本研究认为机构的免责话语完全站在“利己性”角度，对于用户来说其条款内容是对自己不利的，加之对方语言表达和免责意图过于明显和直接，使得附着在语篇中的“命令”语气增强，会对听话人的面子造成潜在甚至实际的威胁，不利于互动的进一步开展。例如，通过查找，发现所收集的语料之中仅有个别几处使用了“请”：

（

7）用户请勿将研究报告或相关信息视为投资或其他决定的信赖依据。④

（8）在使用本网站前，请务必仔细阅读以下条款。

“请”通常表示“请求”，是典型的礼貌标记词，但结合具体语境来看，上述两个句子更像是在“要求”。“请”字的使用并未减轻句子的语力，而只是机构为了避免过于生硬的命令式语气做出的言语微调，实际建构出的机构身份依然具有强烈的权威性和严肃性。而“当话段言语行为的施事语力过强并有可能伤及听话人面子时，应设法减弱其力度，以符合话语交际总目标的需要”[25]。

在免责声明当中，机构主要是通过警告、命令、禁止等言语方式干涉用户使用该机构产品，在一定程度上威胁了用户的面子，但在这个过程中却建构了机构“控制者”和“权威者”的身份。之所以可以自然地产生这样的语用效果，可能是受到了背后权力结构的支持。“机构话语中对机构身份的建构就是再现和展示权力的过程”[4]，机构和用户之间往往存在悬殊较大的相对权势，这种不平等的权力关系会反映到语言当中，权势较高的一方便容易掌握话语控制权，并倾向于采取直接威胁对方面子的策略，尤其是当互动双方没有私人关系时，对人际关系维护的需求也就大大降低。同时，用户往往需要通过机构运行以满足其特定需求，所以只有通过遵循该机构的规定才能保证自己的使用权，而这反过来又进一步巩固了机构的话语地位和社会地位，塑造出权威的机构身份。

四、机构身份话语建构策略探析

（一）机构身份话语建构策略框架的建立

陈建平[7-8]基于语篇——历史分析法构建了宏观、中观、微观三个层次框架，并引入高等教育理论视角，揭示了中、英、美大学机构身份建构的差异化模式与共同规律。乌楠、张敬源[9]也以宏观、中观

③调节类言语行为的主要目的是规范、协调和引导社会成员的行为。其核心在于通过言语来设定规则、指示行动、解决冲突，进而调节社会生活中的各种关系。表现形式包括指令、命令、建议、请求、协议等，这些行为往往具有明显的规范性和权威性，要求听者在特定情境下做出相应的行为调整。

④本研究所选语例中的下划线均为笔者自行标注。

和微观三个层面分析了中美企业机构身份的话语建构，宏观层面，聚焦于话语建构的核心目标——企业身份；中观层面，关注语篇中用于塑造企业身份的话语策略；微观层面，分析话语策略实现的具体语言手段，以实现语篇目标和策略的有效结合。本研究采取该理论框架，探讨中国机构在发布的免责声明中所塑造的机构身份以及使用的话语建构策略。

上文提到，社会上不同身份的人进行互动时，就是“身份建构”的过程。李成团[26]将其定义为：“会话者在交际中选择一定的语言手段（主要是指示语）不断地进行视点站位以呈现自我概念的言语行为”。可见“指示语”在互动交际中起到非常重要的作用，这里的指示语即微观层面的语言手段，互动双方通过使用各种语言手段尤其是指示语，会进一步建构并巩固自己的社会身份。微观层面是我们在分析文本时能够直观感受到的，它执行言内行为，完成身份的话语编码，其直接对接中观层面的话语策略，将抽象身份转化为具体的言外行为意图，而宏观层面的机构身份作为最终分析目标，需要对话语策略进行归纳提炼后才得以显现出来。由此可见，中观层面是连接宏观和微观以实现语篇话语体系化的关键。本节将对五篇免责声明中高频使用的话语策略进行分类，分析实现话语策略的具体语言手段，限于篇幅，每种话语策略中只选取一种代表性的语言手段展开分析，以此呈现企业机构在免责声明中所建构出的主体身份。

（二）权威确立策略——施为性词语

权威确立策略是指在特定语境中，通过使用特定的语言手段，确立说话者的权威性和合法性，以便维护自身的利益并约束或限定他方的行为与责任。在免责声明语篇中，主要体现为施为性词语的使用，包括施为动词和情态动词。“施为动词”指“用来表明说话人意图的言语行为所用的动词”[19],由于“免责”的语篇性质，声明中所使用的施为动词均用于机构对自身权利的维护和对用户责任的约束。该类词包括“有权、拒绝、保留、取消、终止、追究”等，具体实例如下：

（9）用户必须保证提供的资料真实、准确、有效和完整，并随时更新登记资料，否则，本网站有权取消用户登记或拒绝提供相应的服务。

（10）本网站所有人或运营管理人保留随时收回链接者链接本网站的权利。

例（9）是一个指令性言语行为，语义强制，语气严肃，体现了机构的话语权威。“否则”一词连接前后两个分句，既是为了点明逻辑关系，也加强了语句警告和命令的语气。最后一小句预设了用户如果提供不完整或不准确的信息所带来的后果——取消登记或拒绝服务。例（10）体现了机构对网站控制和管理的权威性，“保留”一词强调了这种权利的高度自主性和任意性，增强了话语的威慑力，进一步强化了机构与用户之间的不对称关系，所建构出来的机构身份权威性和独断性强，协商空间有限[9]。

免责类声明中还常见情态动词，也具有施为性，这是汉语中表示责任和义务时常见的规约化语言手段，能加强说话者不容置喙的语气，如例（9）中的“必须”，还有“应”“应当”“不得”“不应”等等，如例（11）（12）：

（11）投资者不应以该等信息作为决策依据或依赖该等信息做出法律行为。

（12）任何人不得对本网站所发布的信息、观点以及数据的准确性、可靠性、时效性及完整性产生任何依赖。

“应当”“不应”等原本的语义规约性没有“必须”“不得”强，前者包含[+期望][+相对][+可协商性]的语义特征，后者包含[+强制][+绝对][+不可协商性]的语义特征。但是在声明语篇高度强制性的语境下，给“应当”“不应”附上了一层原本没有的语力，“期望”值增加，产生明显的施为色彩。个体在接受这些条款时，往往只能被动遵守，无从商量，话语的协商空间和自主解释空间被剥夺，从而导致个体与机构间权力的不平衡进一步加剧。而这种不平等的权力关系所建构出来的机构身份可称为“独断身份”，本质上是机构

凭借话语权的控制实现对个体的强制与支配，体现出话语权力在现实社会关系中的运作机制，正如福柯所强调的“话语从来不是中性的，话语就是权力”[27]。

（三）语义弹性策略——限定词

语义弹性策略是一种通过语言手段调整表述准确性和灵活性的策略，旨在不完全承诺或明确约定的情况下，最大限度地减少责任风险、避免误解，并保留一定的言语操作空间。其核心在于通过限定词的使用，在语义上模糊或缩小语言的确定性，如一个概念句的范围、程度、频率、条件、时间等特征，从而使表达具有更大的弹性，能够根据具体情境或需求做出相应的解释。

（13）本网站将采取必要措施尽力减少用户的损失，但本网站对此不承担任何责任。

（14）中国投资者网所有人和运营管理人不承担由此产生的损失，但应及时通知服务中断原因，并积极加以解决。

这四个限定词均出于机构对于用户的某种承诺。第一句中“必要”限定了“措施”的范围，避免过度承诺；“尽力”则是一种委婉表达，传达了积极的态度。第二句中“及时”强调动作发生的时间，体现了机构对用户的责任意识和对事情的重视，增强了句子的承诺力度；“积极”则致力于向用户传达机构负责和可靠的办事形象。但是，每个句子都具有潜在的言外之力。什么样的措施被视为“必要”缺乏客观标准；不同主体的能力和资源不同，“尽力”的程度也不同，这为可能的失败预留了空间；“积极”也没有量化指标，这取决于网站自身的判断；而“及时”一词更没有说出具体的时间要求，到底“24 小时内”算“及时”，还是更长或更短的时间算“及时”并不可知。因此，这些词看似是在“限定”动作的程度、时间和范围，实则语义弹性大，主观性强，是机构常采取的一种谨慎的语言策略，旨在表达善意和降低风险之间取得平衡，即展示愿意为用户服务和解决问题的态度，同时又避免过度承诺，以减少潜在的法律风险和道德责任。这反映了限定词在声明文本中精细调控意义和效果的特殊功能，建构出机构的“控制身份”。

除此之外，有时机构还会使用一些标记词来缓和语气或让话语不过于绝对，比如“可能”的使用：

（15）本站可能随时修改这些条款。您应经常访问本页面以了解当前的条款，因为这些条款与您密切相关。这些条款的某些条文也可能被本站中某些页面上明确指定的法律通告或条款所取代。

“可能”具有[+不确定性][+或然性]的语义特征，保留了机构随时调整条款的主动权，个体无法预测机构具体何时、以何种方式做出改变，只能处于被动接受的状态。这种表述削弱了用户在法律和道义上反驳或质疑条款修改正当性的空间，间接反映出机构身份的“控制性”。

（四）语义扩展策略——“包含”义词汇

语义扩展策略指扩大话语表达的语义范围，以涵盖更多可能的情形或情况。这类策略通常用于明确责任范围、限定产品或服务的适用条件等情形当中，从而避免潜在的歧义或争议。例如，“任何”一词在免责声明中出现频率极高。“任何”指“不论什么”，即排除一切可能，将所有情况包含在内，扩大了语义表达的范围。我们对某公司网站的一段声明进行分析：

（16）华为不应对间接、附带、特殊或任何形式的惩罚性赔偿承担任何责任，也不应对任何利润、收入、数据、数据使用的损失承担任何责任。

这段话一共使用了四个“任何”，“任何”具有[+确定性][+排他性][+普遍性]的语义特征，其反复出现完全消除了语义的边界性和模糊性⑤，防止因信息存在误差而被用户追责，这是一种为了降低法律风险而使用的语言手段，凸显了机构的强硬态度和严谨形象。若删去，如例（17），则不能覆盖所有未提及

⑤这一点和上文“可能”一词会增强语言模糊性在免责声明中似乎相悖，但两种手段的语用目的不同。“任何”一词是避免因语义模糊导致条款失效，“可能”一词是在提示风险的同时降低用户心理抗拒，使免责声明更易被接受。二者还可以同时出现在一个句子当中，如：“第三方插件可能引发安全问题，用户需自行承担任何后果”。

的赔偿和损失类型，存在语言漏洞。

（17）华为不应对间接、附带、特殊的惩罚性赔偿承担责任，也不应对利润、收入、数据、数据使用的损失承担责任。

类似的词汇还有“一切”“全部”“所有”“不论”“包括但不限于”等，目的都在于确保责任完全落在用户身上，企图避免之后可能发生的责任纠纷，如：

（18）在任何情况下，我们都不对任何损失或损害负责，包括但不限于间接或次生损失或损害。

（19）除非华为在销售合同中另行书面同意，在适用法允许的范围内，华为不对本网站的“资料”承担任何责任，不论该责任因何原因引起或者基于何种侵权理论。

说话者意图维护自身权益时，也会采用其他表示“包含”义的词，如“凡”“均”：

（20）凡本网注明“来源：中国文信网”、“中信网”的所有作品，版权均属于中国文信网。

（21）任何机构或者个人使用本网站，均应遵守中国有关法律与本声明。

例（20）中“凡”“均”表明所有符合条件的作品的版权都属于该网站，反映了该网站对版权的重视程度，防止今后他人以某些作品未被明确提及为由侵犯其版权。例（21）表明该声明对所有潜在用户普遍适用，不区分用户类型，这进一步加强了规定的普遍性与全面性，避免任何人或机构规避或忽视这些要求的可能。总之，免责声明充分展现了机构在面对法律事务和风险管理中高度认真与审慎的态度，建构出“严谨”的机构身份。

（五）主体协商策略——指代词

袁周敏[28]认为称呼语的使用和转换是交际主体身份协商的结果，是其身份凸显的语言手段。不同的网络免责声明会采用不同的指代词，即这里所说的称呼语。有时在单篇声明中指代词会发生转变，从而进行主体调整，但是大部分情况下是一以贯之，在语篇当中采用固定指称，这些指称模式的反复出现就构成了身份。下面对两种指代词分别进行举例。

（22）依据本网站所发布的信息以及所表达的意见行事所造成的一切后果由行事者自负，与中金公司无关。

（23）这些信息会促使我们改进网站的管理和服务，不会被用来确定您的身份。

在描述机构自身时，例（22）使用了自己的机构名称，例（23）选择了第一人称“我们”；在称呼对方时，前者使用了第三人称规约性社会称谓“行事者”，后句使用了第二人称“您”。即例（22）是“公司——行事者”的指称关系，例（23）是“我们——您”的指称关系。

使用第三人称社会称谓是免责声明中最常见的指称表述，可以保持语言的中立性和严肃性，避免主观色彩太强，给读者带来被指责或被命令的情感联想。另外，例（22）通过机构单方面的客观陈述，明确告知用户一切行为后果由其自行承担，这是一种“展示型交际”[29]，建构了机构独立于用户的“群外身份”。另一种“我们——您”的关系表述一方面增强了话语空间的立体感和对话性，具有“移情”的效果，另一方面，使语篇“个人化”，突出对话主体，表现了对用户的尊重。这种在语篇中营造出来的交际“现场感”能拉近两方之间的心理距离，是一种“互动型交际”[29]，塑造出机构和用户同属同一群体的“群内身份”[29]。综合来看，后者的话语感染力更强，可以降低语篇的严肃性和疏远性，提高用户对免责声明的接受度。但是，该语言形式使用频率较低，这是因为法律文本普遍存在“互文性”，而免责声明往往继承其表述惯例，也使用抽象指称。“我们——您”的对话体形式虽更符合网络语境，但与免责声明所追求的语用效果存在冲突。

（六）责任强化策略——“由”字句

“以言行事”不仅建立在与词汇相关的语力上，还体现在句式的使用上。除了上文提到的四种指示语，免责声明中还大量运用了“由”字句式，主要集中于责任的承担问题上，该结构可以强化出现问题时责任的指定性和不可推卸性。

（24）如果您决定访问任何与本站链接的第三方网站，其可能带来的结果和风险全部由您自己承担。

（25）内容如涉及侵犯他人著作权、商标权等知识产权或商业秘密的，由发布者本人承担民事责任。

上述两例未直接使用带有强烈命令性质的指示词，但是语境中的“强制”意义依然非常明显，这受到了多方面的影响。一方面，这与“承担”一词的语义有很大关联，“承担”表示某种义务或责任的分配，具有不可推卸性。另一方面，上面两个句子都是条件句，隐含一种必然性或逻辑上的因果关系，即一旦条件成真，结果不可避免。但是，最主要的原因还是在于“由”字的使用，其在声明类文本中主要用于指明个体用户的责任，后面往往还会跟上“自行”“自己”“本人”等词，以强化用户对自身行为及其后果承担的主体意识，确保责任的指定性和唯一性。这也进一步验证了上文所提到的声明文本中蕴含强烈的施为色彩。

免责声明中，“由”字句通常在段末才出现，根据语篇显著度原则，处于一段话开头和结尾的句子最能引起读者的注意，且往往更重要。而该句式的要求义和命令性较强，需要前提铺垫，放在段末“刹尾”，警告力度会更加显著。

还有一部分声明中并未使用“由”字句，而是直接采用了主动句式，如：

（26）任何机构或者个人通过本网站与其他网站的链接而获得其他网站内容，其风险责任自负。

张谊生[30]指出：“汉语中一般施动句的施事并不需要介词引导,从而使得这个‘由’在语义表达上似乎成了羡余。”但是,这恰巧说明了“由”是起到标记作用的，是有标句。他认为有标句中施事者的行为并不完全是自主的，需要在他人的要求和诱导下或者特定情景的触发下才会实行，而无标句则“没有这样的格式附加义”，具有“自主性”。这一理论在免责声明文本中并不成立，无论是否使用“由”字句，语境本身及语义内涵就已经明确表达了“要求”甚至“命令”，所以有无“由”字的句子“非自主性”都很强，都表明用户是被动承担责任的，只是使用了“由”字以后会更加凸显责任的指向主体。通过这种方式，机构成功塑造了一种“免责身份”，尽可能将不利责任和风险都转移给用户，使其被动地接受声明的要求并承担责任，从而达到机构发布免责声明的最终语用目的——实现“免责”。“免责身份”也是免责声明塑造出来的最核心和最明显的机构身份。

但是，网络免责声明只是机构单方面发出的，用户并不一定完全知情或同意，且未形成正式签署过的合同条款，法律效力不够。因此，类似“一切后果自行承担”这样的表述明显属于“自说自话”，“一旦引起侵权纠纷，是否承担责任取决于法律规定和审判结果，并非声明者有‘免责声明’就真的可以‘不承担任何法律及连带责任’”[31]。这也是在实际应用中免责声明无法真正实现“免责”的根本原因。

本节采取宏观、中观、微观三个维度，比对机构免责声明的主体内容，发现每篇声明使用的话语策略及其对应的代表性语言手段都具有高度的相似性。使用的话语策略包括五种：权威确立策略、语义弹性策略、语义扩展策略、主体协商策略和责任强化策略。这些话语策略主要体现在指示语和特殊句式的选择上，分别对应于施为性词语、限定词、“包含”义词汇、指代词和“由”字句。它们共同实现了免责声明语篇的宏观主题——构建并强化机构的社会身份，包括独断身份、控制身份、严谨身份、群内/群外身份、免责身份，其中免责身份是建构的机构身份当中最核心和最明显的。参考乌楠、张敬源[9]的设计框架，本研究基于免责声明的机构身份话语建构框架设计如下：

图 1　免责声明机构身份话语建构框架


宏观层面：免责声明中建构的机构身份
独断身份
控制身份
严谨身份
群内/群外身份
免责身份
中观层面：机构身份建构的话语策略
权威确立策略
语义弹性策略
语义扩展策略
主体协商策略
责任强化策略
微观层面：机构身份建构的语言手段
施为性词语
限定词
“包含”义词汇
指代词
“由”字句

五、结语

网络免责声明既是企业或平台保护自身权益的重要手段，也是用户了解服务范围和责任界限的关键途径，所以免责声明的产生有其必然性，从长远来看，更是关乎整个社会公信和责任的问题。通过前文的分析，机构在免责声明中希望实现自己的免责意图，但是由于机构权力地位高于个体，且免责意图过于明显，导致文本中大量语句施事语力过强，容易威胁到用户的面子，从而降低了用户对文本的可接受度。此外，根据分析过后的免责声明的语言特点，其整体语篇结构高度程序化，不具备语境针对性，且常采用复杂的长句表达，不利于用户理解，大大降低了文本可读性。需要明确的是，用户有权享有机构的服务，也有权随时拒绝机构的服务，用户与机构之间处于平等的权力关系。因此，机构应该尽可能地将用户需求纳入身份建构框架，根据免责声明中存在的问题制定并实施具有针对性的语言优化建议，以符合“人际和谐”取向，真正实现语篇的免责意图。基于上述需求，本研究自拟了一段优化过了的免责声明文本，详例如下：

（27）本服务可能受网络稳定性、设备兼容性等客观因素影响，我们无法完全控制所有使用场景。如遇不可抗力或第三方原因导致的问题，我们将尽力协助解决，但不承担相关间接责任。请您基于自身需求谨慎判断并承担操作风险，感谢理解与支持。

该段以短句为主，未使用复杂嵌套结构，适合移动端快速阅读。通过聚焦“客观因素”与“第三方原因”等外部不可控变量，巧妙地将潜在责任归因于技术环境而非机构自身，为未来可能的责任争议预留解释空间。文本将传统免责声明中强制性的“用户须承担风险”转化为协商式建议——“请您基于自身需求谨慎判断”，即通过弱化义务指令、强化自主选择权，重构了机构与用户的权利对话框架。此外，还将机构形象从“免责主导者”转化为“风险共担者”，并使用“我们——您”的关系表述，以温和负责的姿态有效维系了双方人际关系。

综上所述，本研究从宏观、中观、微观三个维度，对以机构身份发出的五篇网络免责声明进行了系统分析，总结并探讨了文本中所使用的话语策略和语言手段，论证了机构在免责声明中不断建构自身的身份权威，并企图达到最终的语用目的——免责。但是，语篇中存在语言强制性和命令性过高、威胁用户面子和双方人际关系、语言表述复杂冗长等问题，是机构今后需要注意和改进的地方。机构免责声明及其背后的身份话语建构模式具有较高的研究价值，而本研究还存在一些不足之处。比如在研究方法上，以定性为主，缺少定量的实证研究，所选语料较少，结论可能不具有代表性；在研究过程上，没有论证并解决身份建构的动态性问题；在研究内容上，只是将免责声明中共有的语言特征和语言手段展示出来，未对不同声明中的区别性特征展开分析等等，这些问题均有待今后探讨。

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基于 MDA 模型的译者风格研究

——以雪漠小说《西夏咒》葛浩文和陈李凡平英译本为例

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摘要：通过自建语料库，采用多维度分析（MDA）工具对雪漠小说《西夏咒》的葛浩文译本和陈李凡平译本进行量化分析，考察译者风格，并对译者风格成因进行定性诠释。研究发现，两译本在信息性、抽象性等方面存在显著差异，由于译者在文化认知和翻译理念上的不同导致了译文风格的多样性，两个译者对文本的不同处理为中国现当代小说未来的国际传播提供了重要参考和启示。

关键词：雪漠；《西夏咒》；语料库；多维度分析；译者风格

A Study on Translator's Style Based on the MDA Model: A Case Study of the Translations of Xuemo's Novel "Curse of Xixia" by Howard Goldblatt and Fan Pen Li Chen

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Abstract： Through the corpora built by the author, this study employs the Multi-Dimensional Analysis (MDA) model to examine the translator styles in Howard Goldblatt's and Chen Li-Fanping's translations of Xuemo's novel "Curse of Xixia", aiming at qualitatively interpreting the causes behind specific translation phenomena. This study reveals that there are significant differences between the two translations in terms of informativeness and abstraction, and the findings indicate that differences in cultural cognition and translation philosophies among translators lead to diversity in translation styles, providing important references and insights for the future international dissemination of contemporary Chinese novels.

Key words: Xuemo; Curse of Xixia；Corpora; MDA; Translator's Style

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一、 引言

雪漠是当代中国西部文学的代表作家，著有"大漠三部曲"、《西夏咒》、《野狐岭》等长篇小说。作品已被翻译成20多种语言，出版了70多种外文版本。其中，美国汉学家、翻译家葛浩文（Howard Goldblatt）和林丽君（Sylvia Li-chun Lin）夫妇翻译了十多部，他们的最新雪漠小说译作《野狐岭》也于2024年新年伊始在美国出版上市（张恩杰 2024）。雪漠作品中蕴含的浓厚文化底蕴和独特哲学思考引起了世界各

国读者的关注，在 2022 年法兰克福书展期间，雪漠位列国际媒体关注度排行榜第一名，可谓创造了中国文学“走出去”的一个现象级事件。在 2023 年伦敦国际书展上，雪漠是唯一拥有独立展位的中国作家。葛浩文编译的雪漠小说*“INTO THE DESERT”*（沙漠的女儿）更是获得了美国 2024 年“独立出版奖”，足见雪漠在海外的认可度和接受度。由此可见，雪漠的作品已成为我国西部文化对外输出的重要窗口，是讲好中国西部故事的叙述典范，也是中国文学以更积极的姿态漂洋过海，逐渐成为世界文学共同体中越发重要、极具活力的创造性力量的重要体现。

《西夏咒》是雪漠“灵魂三部曲”的首作，其故事内容中蕴含着包括历史文化思考、生与死的困苦、坚韧与虚无、时间之相对与永恒等深层次哲思，特别是其独具的宗教情怀，对当今小说美学范式提出了严峻挑战（陈晓明 2011：77）。目前，《西夏咒》共有两部英文全译本，首译本由美国著名汉学家葛浩文和林丽君夫妇于 2021 年翻译完成（以下称葛译本）；[①]复译本由纽约州立大学教授陈李凡平 2023 年翻译完成（以下称陈译本），首发于 2024 年伦敦书展，备受瞩目，并荣获 2024 年纽约市大书奖。《西夏咒》中存在着大量历史叙述、宗教色彩、地缘特色等文化负载元素，无疑会成为译者在语言转换过程中的巨大挑战。故而，本文选择《西夏咒》两部英译本自建语料库，通过多维分析方法对比考察两译本的语域拟合度和差异性，以此揭示两个译者的翻译风格，并分析造成风格差异的原因。

二、理论基础

Laviosa（2004：6）认为语料库翻译研究（corpus-based translation studies, CTS）有三个发展阶段，1993 年至 1995 年为开创阶段；1996 年至 1999 年为学科地位确立阶段；2000 年以后为蓬勃发展阶段。究其根源，自 1993 年 Mona Baker 发表 “*Corpus linguistics and translation studies: implications and applications*”一文以来，语料库翻译研究范式的理论基础得到了初步构建，并发展出了众多的分支研究领域。其后，Baker 于 1996 至 1999 年间撰写了三篇相关文章，加深了语料库翻译研究与目标导向的研究方法之间的理论联系，为这一研究范式提供了方法论指导（Laviosa，2004：12）。2000 年，Baker 发表“*Towards a methodology for investigating the style of a literary translator*”一文，比较了两位文学翻译者彼得·克拉克（Peter Clark）和彼得·布什（Peter Bush）的翻译，并利用语料库技术生成的统计证据，如 TTR 和平均句长，展示了译者在翻译创造过程中对文本留下的痕迹，把语料库量化分析的动能注入进译者风格研究之中，并将译者风格比喻作译者的“指纹”，视其为“译者区别于他人的习惯性的翻译行为和语言习惯”（Baker，2000：245）。自此，国内外学者对译者风格的研究不断深入，研究内涵得到不断深化。李德俊（2019：38）回顾了语料库描述性翻译研究的发展历程，肯定了基于语料库的“译者指纹”和“第三符号”研究具有潜在价值，同时也指出译者风格研究具有重要的认识论价值，“是对译作在文学多元系统中地位的肯定，也是对译者主体性地位的背书”。 然而，当前语料库译者风格研究仍存在“研究范围狭窄，跨学科性不足”、“定量研究处于初级阶段，有待深化”的缺陷（宋庆伟等，2013：28）。许家金（2018）也认为当前语料库翻译研究过于注重浅层的语言特征描写，缺少对意义的考察，主张采用多因素、多维分析的统计方法。因此，在大数据时代，相关研究应借鉴计量语言学的语言观，从局部风格考察转向整体风格研究，拓展译者风格研究疆域，摒弃译者研究的片面性与一孔之见，力求通过多维研究视角和方

式，从主题重构、人物刻画、叙事建构等诸多维度探索功能性译者风格。（韩红建等，2019：92；张丹丹、刘泽权，2019：25；李德凤等，2024：72）。综合学者意见来看，以语料库为基础，通过多维分析，将是今后译者风格研究的重点方向。

多维度分析法（Multi-Dimensional Analysis, MDA）由 Douglas Biber（1988、1989）首创，最初用于研究英语口语与书面语的语域变异，现已成为语料库语言学界进行话语分析的代表性方法之一（江进林、许家金，2015：226）。在国外研究中，Tompson（2017）等学者通过 MDA 模型，特别关注 1990-2010 年间发表在 Global Environmental Change 期刊上的文本，识别在环境研究领域的 11000 篇期刊文章中的变异维度，以数据驱动的方法为理解和解释跨学科研究话语提供了新的视角；Cvrček（2023）等捷克学者使用的多维分析方法，从 100 多个语言特征中提取出捷克语文本中 8 个主要的变异维度，随后将捷克语诱发文本映射到预先建立的通用多维模型上，评估了其中的语言变异现象。多维分析模式最初由武姜生（2001）引介进国内，后续国内有学者陆续运用多维分析方法进行研究，如：通过多维分析法考察《老人与海》中的口语化特征，引入标准类/形符比和相对重复率等多个变量，对小说的风格特征进行研究（刘泽权、王梦瑶，2017）；运用多维分析法考察不同译者翻译同一部作品时译文的语域变异现象，揭示影响文本语域差异的语言因素（赵朝永，2020a）等。值得注意的是，多维度分析法所研究的语域特征是文本的一项重要属性，译本的语域变异是译者风格描写的有效参照（赵朝永，2020b：67）。基于此，本文以《西夏咒》英译本语料库为研究对象，结合语料库文体学的语言观，运用多维分析工具，采用“先量化凸显，再质性诠释”的方法（王峰、刘雪芹，2017：106），对葛浩文和陈李凡平的翻译风格进行深度描写。

三、研究过程

为获取适用于分析的语料文本，笔者对《西夏咒》葛译本和陈译本各自进行了文本提取、杂质清洗、章节切分等处理，最终得到《西夏咒》的葛浩文、陈李凡平英文译本语料库。语料库详情可见表 1。

	葛浩文译本	**陈李凡平译本**
形符数	233219	262893
类符数	13160	14378
章节文件数	39	39

表 1 《西夏咒》英译本语料库的构成

该语料特征有二：其一，两组语料库的规模较大。两组译本的总计形符数达到近 50 万，库容量较大，可有效反映葛译本和陈译本的文体特征。其二，两组语料库的可比性较强。两组文本均基于雪漠小说《西夏咒》翻译而成，均已在国外成功出版，译者间存在主体性和文化认知上的差异，故而可比性较强。

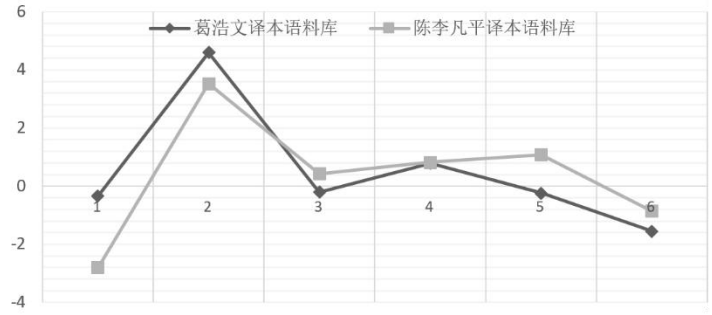
多维度分析工具 Multidimensional Analysis Tagger 1.3.3（以下简称 MAT）基于 Biber（1988）的多维度分析理论框架，用于文本信息的自动编码、提取和计算，经证实其能够较好地还原源理论的分析路径（Nini，2015）。为此，笔者采用 MAT 分析工具对两个语料库进行深入的数据挖掘。首先，笔者将两组

语料库分别导入并自动进行词性赋码后，MAT 会对 67 个语言因子进行频率统计和因子分析，并将符合要求的语言因子分数用于进一步计算 6 个维度值：“交互性/信息性维度”“叙述性/非叙述性维度”“明晰性/场景依赖性维度”“显性劝诱/非劝诱维度”“抽象/具体信息维度”“即席信息精准性维度”（Biber，1988）。其后，笔者将上述的语言特征维度分数置入统计分析软件 SPSS27.0 中进行差异分析，计算得出两组语料库在各个独立维度上的差异显著性。基于识别出的显著维度差异，进一步对这些维度的各个具体语言特征进行多元线性回归分析，进而计算得出影响这些维度的具体语言特征因子。最后，针对值得关注的语言特征，利用 AntConc（4.2.3）对译本进行检索，回归文本搜寻具体示例。

四、数据分析

4.1 葛译本语料库与陈译本语料库的文体数据

MAT 软件将输入语料标注处理后，自动统计计算得出各个维度的分数（见下图 1），并据此识别出最接近的语域类型。从各个独立维度上看，陈译本的信息性要远胜过葛译本，具体表现为维度 1 的分值



	维度 1	维度 2	维度 3	维度 4	维度 5	维度 6
葛译本	-0.34	4.60	-0.21	0.79	-0.24	-1.55
陈译本	-2.8	3.52	0.42	0.82	1.08	-0.86

图 1　六维度数据对比表和折线图

均呈现负值，且均差高达 2.46；葛译本和陈译本均符合小说故事叙述文本的特征，但相较之下葛译本的叙述特征更明显，具体数据表现为维度 2 均呈现正值，葛译本的分值更高；两译本在维度 3 和维度 5 的分值分别呈现出正负值，即表征出完全相反的文本特征，可见在情景依赖程度以及信息具体/抽象程度上的差异较为明显，因此尤其值得关注；维度 6 上两者均呈现负值，由于《西夏咒》小说原文本中人物对话众多，且运用了独特的时空错乱的叙事手法，因此符合这一维度信息组织精密度较低的特征。从整体语域上来看，葛译本呈现出虚构叙述（Imaginative Narrative）的特征，其下属文本类型有爱情小说、冒险小说、普通小说等；而陈译本则呈现出一般叙述（General Narrative Exposition）的特征，下属文本类型主要有新闻报道、评论、社论等。由此可见，两组译本之间存在明显的语域变异现象。

由上述图 1 的折线图和分值表可知各维度的总体趋向，为进一步得出两译本在各个维度层面存在差异的程度，笔者利用 SPSS 软件对维度分数进行了独立样本 t 检验，由下表 3 的检验结果可知：在维度 1“交互性/信息性维度”、维度 2“叙述性/非叙述性维度”、维度 3“明晰性/场景依赖性维度”、维度 5“抽象/具体信息维度”和维度 6“即席信息精准性维度”上，两组译本存在较为显著的差异（$p<0.05$），其中维度 5

和维度 6 的差异极其显著（p<0.001），而在维度 4“显性劝诱/非劝诱维度”上两者区别不大。本文选择了参与计算变量最多且解释力最强的维度 1 以及两译本特征相反且维度分数差异显著的维度 5 进行详细阐述。

	t 值	p	平均值差值
维度 1	2.109	0.038	2.465
维度 2	2.954	0.004	1.085
维度 3	-2.387	0.019	-0.629
维度 4	-0.097	0.923	-0.035
维度 5	-6.462	0.000	-1.316
维度 6	-5.720	0.000	-0.694

表 2　维度分数的独立样本 t 检验结果

4.2 对选定维度的回归分析

有学者指出，“线性回归在多译本对比中能发挥重要作用，可以有效发现和解释译者风格差异”（赵朝永，2020a：70）。由此，笔者利用 SPSS 分别对维度 1、5 的语言因子分值进行了逐步回归分析，以期获得造成影响的具体语言特征因子。如下表 3 所示，各个回归分析模型均对各自维度分数具有良好的预测作用（R^2 均大于 0.9），故而分析结果可信度较高。

模型	R	R 方	调整后 R 方	标准估算的错误
葛译本维度1	0.972	0.945	0.937	1.34134
陈译本维度1	0.976	0.952	0.945	1.20131
葛译本维度5	0.972	0.945	0.941	0.21084
陈译本维度5	0.973	0.946	0.942	0.22917

表 3　回归分析模型摘要

4.2.1 维度 1: 信息性与交互性

维度 1 用于判断文本的主要交际意图偏向交互性还是信息性。交互性意指话语附带有互动、情感、复杂目的，特征是严格的产出及时性与语境限制下的解读；信息性意指话语接受了高度编辑，组织严密，附带强烈的信息传递意图（Biber，1988: 115）。

在 Biber 的多维度模型中，共有多达 34 个语言特征因子加入维度分数的计算，能够提供的信息量较大，具有深度挖掘的意义。下表 4 可知，在逐步回归的过程中，葛译本预测强度最佳的 5 个变量为：XXO（分析性否定）、VPRT（现在时动词）、PRIV（私动词）、NN（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）、JJ（定语形容词），标准化方程式可表示为“葛译本维度 1 分数

=6.149+2.255*XXO+5.107*VPRT+2.488*PRIV-2.764*NN-1.836*JJ”。其中回归系数负值代表名词（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）以及定语形容词的使用频率越高，越能体现文本的信息性；系数正值则代表分析性否定等使用频率越高，越能体现文本的互动性。同理可得，陈译本预测强度最佳的 5 个变量为：XXO（分析性否定）、NN（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）、JJ（定语形容词）、BEMA（Be 动词作主要动词）、DEMP（指示代词）。通过解读回归系数可知：系数呈现负值的名词（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）以及定语形容词的大量使用，使得陈译本相较而言表现出更多的信息性，语言更加客观，信息密度更大；呈现正值的分析性否定、指示代词以及“Be 动词作主要动词”出现频率越高，越能体现陈译本文本交互性较强的特征。

模型		未标准化系数		标准化系数	t	p
		B	标准错误	Beta		
葛浩文译本	(常量)	6.149	1.536		4.002	0.000
	XXO	2.255	0.596	0.243	3.782	0.001
	VPRT	5.107	0.724	0.408	7.052	0.000
	PRIV	2.488	0.825	0.196	3.017	0.005
	NN	-2.764	0.739	-0.255	-3.739	0.001
	JJ	-1.836	0.788	-0.137	-2.329	0.026
陈李凡平译本	(常量)	1.219	1.084		1.125	0.268
	XXO	3.520	0.801	0.331	4.392	0.000
	NN	-3.622	0.520	-0.397	-6.963	0.000
	JJ	-2.542	0.592	-0.220	-4.293	0.000
	BEMA	2.282	0.865	0.156	2.638	0.012
	DEMP	2.056	0.794	0.110	2.588	0.014
因变量：D1						

表 4　维度 1 回归分析系数表

基于以上数据，通过检索 MAT 已标注后的两组译本，主要可以观测到以下现象：1）名词（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）标签在葛译本中出现 47751 次，而在陈译本中出现多达 60431 次，两者数量差距较大，可以发现陈李凡平对名词的明显偏好性，使得译本呈现较强的信息性。2）定语形容词标签在葛译本中出现频次为 11521 次，而在陈译本中出现了 12407 次，仍有一定落差，从中可体现陈李凡平对具体修饰的偏好性，使得文本呈现出更大的信息量。

4.2.2 维度 5: 抽象/具体信息

维度 5 可用于对比判断文本偏好的是传递抽象/专业术语信息,抑或是非抽象信息(Biber, 1988: 115)。葛译本在此维度呈现负值，语言措辞较为具体；陈译本则呈现正值，呈现出较为抽象的语言风格。

由下表 5 可知，在预测维度 5 分数的因子中，两译本所得到的前三个变量完全相同，即 OSUB（其它状语从句）、WZPAST（过去分词后置从句）、PASS（无主被动）。通常来讲，被动结构使用频繁的话

模型		未标准化系数		标准化系数	t	显著性
		B	标准错误	Beta		
葛浩文译本	(常量)	-0.252	0.080		-3.141	0.003
	OSUB	0.957	0.070	0.564	13.727	0.000
	CONJ	1.212	0.105	0.461	11.554	0.000
	PASS	1.222	0.133	0.384	9.214	0.000
陈李凡平译本	(常量)	-0.215	0.103		-2.081	0.045
	OSUB	0.975	0.050	0.765	19.641	0.000
	CONJ	0.947	0.071	0.517	13.341	0.000

表 5　维度 5 回归分析系数表

语会在风格上更加正式、内容上更加专业，表征出抽象的特征，而连词、状语从句同被动语态的高共现频率恰好也凸显了这类话语文本句子之间内在的逻辑关系（Biber，1988: 112）。由于上述三个语言因子的系数均为正值，因此可认为这些语言特征出现频次越高，译本的信息抽象程度越高。

基于上述数据，结合语言特征标签检索，可以发现：1）无主被动在葛译本中出现 1654 次，而在陈译本中出现了多达 1931 次，表明了相较之下陈李凡平在翻译时使用被动语态的频率更高，使得译本相较之下显得更加正式、抽象。2）连词标签在葛译本中出现 260 次，而在陈译本中出现了多达 602 次，这表明陈译本中通过连词显化的逻辑关系显著多于葛译本，一定程度上解释了两者间的语域变异现象，故而值得关注。

五、结果与讨论

通过对上述各个维度的数据提取以及回归分析，研究发现：总体而言，《西夏咒》的葛译本和陈译本存在语域变异现象，分别归属于“虚构叙述”和“一般叙述”的文本类型；从各维度分数来看，陈译本的文本信息性、抽象程度以及信息组织精密度都不同程度的高于葛译本，而葛译本表征出的叙事性特征比陈译本更显著。具体到各个语言特征，陈译本中的名词（除名物化及动名词以外的名词）、定语形容词、被动语态以及连词的使用频次都不同程度的超过葛译本，两译本间存在的差异较为显著。由是观之，《西夏咒》的两组译本间存在自上而下各个层面的差异，彰显了葛浩文夫妇和陈李凡平在应对同一原文本时所表现出的不同的译者风格。以下将结合原文本详细分析两译者在翻译雪漠作品各自表征出的译者风格成因：

首先，本文通过批判地描述副文本因素，旨在发现翻译的性质、译者身份、原创性等译者间可能存在的差异，进而了解翻译文本的产生和接受机制（肖丽，2011: 17）。回看葛浩文过往的访谈和讲座记录等延展性副文本，不难看出葛浩文一直明确主张以“读者为中心”，而非“宁可牺牲译文的流畅地道也要尽可能地紧贴原文”，因此在翻译过程中注重保持译文的流畅性、可读性，对部分内容或删或改，避免让英语读者认为中国人的语言有种怪里怪气的味道（孟祥春，2014: 74）。在翻译《西夏咒》时，葛浩文夫妇同样立足于“全球文学生产”，以“再创作者”的身份，致力于帮助西方读者流畅完整地阅读小说的故事内容。关于译者陈李凡平的外副文本极少，但仍可从其为《西夏咒》撰写的译者序跋中找到线索，推导其翻译观、翻译策略的形成过程。在译者序中，陈李凡平为读者详尽介绍了西夏王朝的历史背景、作者雪漠的创作心路历程、小说的基本内容，为西方读者额外补充了中国社会、文化、历史等相关信息，意在提高原本晦涩难懂内容的接受度。除此之外，陈李凡平（2023：xi）还明确表示翻译过程中的困难之处在于历史、文学、宗教内容（密宗佛教教义、当地习俗和信仰）以及西北当地的口头俗语和宗教活动。面对以上挑战，陈李凡平同雪漠讨论并厘清了小说中的许多密宗佛教概念和方言术语，实地访问了甘肃凉州以及小说中所提到的一些地点，希望能将《西夏咒》给予自身的感受原模原样地传达给目标读者。综上，葛浩文在翻译时更侧重于目标读者的阅读感受，陈李凡平则更重视源语文化的保留与传播，因而对原作的背景等信息进行了详尽的解释。两个译者秉持的不同翻译理念，也可以解释维度 1 中所表征的葛译本呈现出更强的交互性特征，而陈译本则显示出更强的信息性特征。

另外，葛译本中并未使用脚注补充信息，保证了读者阅读的连贯性，使之获得相对流畅的阅读体验，但也致使英语读者失去了理解故事背后文化历史内涵的机会。相反，陈译本呈现出明显的厚重翻译痕迹，利用文内脚注的形式对大大小小的文化、宗教、历史负载信息进行了大量的补充，将文本置于相对丰富的语言文化语境中。厚重翻译作为译者再阐释的一种手段，不是增加翻译文本的“厚度”，而是通过副文本的手段构建一个与原文互动的空间，让读者在译文和原文语境之间的相互作用中，更好地阅读、理解和阐释文本，最终达致对源语文化的充分理解和尊重（徐赛颖，2020: 232）。纵观陈译本全本，总计出现了多达 276 处脚注，将这些脚注文本单独置入 MAT 软件进行分析后，可得最接近的文本类型为“Learned Exposition”（学术说明型文本），这表明这些注释呈现出强烈的说明性文本的特征，势必也会对译本的总体语言特征产生影响。下面试举两例说明两译本在文本厚重度上的差异：

例 1. 原文：你不是也在拜月吗

一次次拜

一行行泪

真去那广寒宫吗

你不听苏轼已劝了千年

高处不胜寒呢（雪漠，2017：349）

葛浩文译本：Aren't you praying to the moon too

Praying again and again

Tearing up over and over

Did you really go **the Moon Palace**?

Didn't you know Su Shi's caution?

A place that high is frighteningly cold.（Goldblatt, p477）

陈李凡平译本；Are you not worshipping the moon as well?

One time after the other,

One row of tears after another.

Are you really going to visit **the Palace of Pervading Cold**?

Didn’t you hear how Su Shih had advised for a thousand years?

That it is too cold up there!（Fan Pen Li Chen，2023: 437）

原文类似现代诗的形式在两个译本中均得到了体现，然而细节上仍略有差异。“广寒宫”作为中国文化负载词，在葛译本中被泛化译为“the Moon Palace”，但在陈译本中则是直译为了“Palace of Pervading Cold”，保留了原文名词的具体含义。除此之外，两译本虽均保留了“广寒宫”“苏轼”，但只有陈译本对这两个负载词汇进行了细致的阐释，利用脚注的形式进行了文本干涉，为读者补充了“嫦娥”“月宫”“水调歌头”以及苏轼的生卒年、身份和年代等隐含在文本背后的信息。可见，陈译本更注重异质文化元素的传递，译本的信息量较大，与上文的研究结果相一致；葛浩文则是一如既往地采用归化策略，使译文更为贴近西方读者的阅读心理。

例 2. 原文：你能明白那降临的夜吗？那是张大网，世界是网中翻飞的鱼儿；那是张血口，红尘是流入口中的液体。（雪漠，2017：19）

葛浩文译本：Can you imagine what that night was like? It's a huge net and the world is a fish flapping in it. It's a bloody maw and **the mortal world** is the liquid flowing into it.（Goldblatt，p25）

陈李凡平译本；Can you imagine a falling night? It is a large net, the world being the jumping fish within. It is a mouth full of blood swallowing a fluid made of **red dust**.（Fan Pen Li Chen，2023: 25）

“红尘”在佛教中代指“人世间”，在葛译本中译为“the mortal world”，将复杂的概念大众化、通俗化，直截了当地将汉语的深层含义提供给了读者，但读者也因此丢失了自己探索小说深层次精神内涵的乐趣。在陈译本中，“红尘”一词得到了完整地保留，并以脚注的形式对“红尘俗世”这一含义进行了补充说明。

除译者间的翻译侧重点以及文本厚重度偏好的差异外，两组译者在语言表达习惯上同样存在差别，具体体现在陈译本对名词、无主被动和连词的明显使用偏好上，以下试举一例：

例 3. 原文：有个声音却说:“没个放咒的，都睡成死猪，有啥好?”这话音很陌生，谁都寻，却不知是谁说的。琼望那鹦鹉，鹦鹉扭过头，谁也不理。（雪漠，2017：273）

葛浩文译本：“Without someone to cast a spell,” a voice said in reply, “everyone lives in a slumber like a dead pig.” It was an unfamiliar voice. Everyone looked for the source, but failed to locate the speaker. Qiong looked at the parrot, but it turned away, ignoring everyone.（Goldblatt，p374）

陈李凡平译本；**However**, a voice was heard, "If no one places curses, everyone would sleep like dead hogs. What’s so great about that?” This was not a familiar voice. They searched but couldn't tell who had said it. Jasper looked at the parrot, which turned its head and ignored everyone.（Fan Pen Li Chen，2023: 342）

在上述例子中，陈李凡平将“却”译作“However”，显化了上下文的逻辑关系，尽力使得句式结构能和原文保持一致；葛浩文则选择将其删去，考虑到了英文小说用语的规范，旨在提高英语读者的阅读感受。类似连词显化和隐去的例子不计其数，限于篇幅仅扼要取其一。笔者认为，这一现象产生于母语译者与非母语译者在适应文化语境、调整译本语言方面存在优劣之分。在翻译面向目标文化的前提下，译者由外语译入母语是比较自然的顺向翻译，优于从母语译入外语的逆向翻译(张南峰，2015: 90)。陈李凡平出生于台湾，是典型的非英语母语译者，先前译作较少；相较之下，葛浩文作为美国知名汉学家，从事翻译工作已有 40 余载，积累了不计其数的中国文学翻译经验，语言更为凝练自然。对待文学翻译，葛浩文向来将“为读者翻译”的态度一以贯之，运用“连译带改”的归化翻译，其翻译目的是为了读者接受，也是为了让更多的不通汉语的英语读者能喜爱中国文学作品，满足他们的期待与喜好（刘云虹、许钧，2015：14）。综上，在《西夏咒》翻译过程中，葛浩文更注重接收端的体验，不拘泥于原文的形式，善用改译、泛化、简化逻辑关系等翻译技巧增强译文的可读性和“故事性”，使得原本高深莫测的宗教、历史文化内容变得通俗化、易懂化；陈李凡平则注重还原小说的真实面貌，尽力使得译文句子结构更加贴合原文，并充分发挥译者主体性，根据目标读者文化圈中所缺失的信息，时时弥补因文化异质性带来的认知偏差，将《西夏咒》中的语言文化的复杂性以及宗教内涵的深刻性忠实地展现给读者。

六、结语

本文运用多维分析、逐步回归等量化手段，揭示了《西夏咒》的两部英译本在语域特征上存在的显著差异：1）葛译本在叙述性、信息的具体性上更为典型，而文本的信息性表露不甚明显，这使得文本整体呈现“虚构叙事”的语体特征，具体体现在译者较少使用名词、定语形容词和连词等，并且并不拘泥于原文，对小说中的逻辑关系词或改或省。2）陈译本表现出明显的文本信息性以及较高的信息抽象程度，译本表征出“一般叙事”的语体特征，文中使用了大量的脚注对缺失信息进行了补充，这种增加文本厚重度的行为体现出译者对信息如实、完整传达的强烈诉求。上述差异与译者的主体意识、翻译的顺逆向、翻译价值追求等存在关联。

两个译本截然不同的翻译风格从一个侧面说明了中国文学对外输出的两种走向，即权衡目标文化的接受可能性和中国文化对外输出的自主性、主动性。两种译者风格给予我们一定启示：既要避免一味迎合国外受众，大刀阔斧地对译文进行删改加工，使之丧失深层次的文化内涵；也要注意跳脱出本国文化视野的限制，将文化传播置于更广阔的国际视域之下，而非过度强调自身的文化输出的自主权。为此，本文希冀为文学翻译提供借鉴，译者在翻译过程中发挥译者主体性的同时，也应该在“自我需求”和“他者期待”之间达成巧妙的平衡，从而能够更好地推动中国文学“走出去”。

注释：

① 《西夏咒》葛浩文、林丽君英译本目前尚未出版，宁波大学中国文学翻译雪漠研究中心受雪漠先生授权，可作为内部研究使用。

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清代满汉合璧会话教材汉文俗语词试析四则

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摘要：清代满汉合璧会话教材的汉文部分口语性强、俗语词含量高，能真实反映满汉语言接触下产生的北方汉语特殊变体的情况。它是研究语言接触及俗语词的优质材料、是值得进入历时性汉语辞书书证系统的语料、也是研究旗人汉语的第一手资料。而目前对这批材料的关注度不足，相关研究亟待深入开展。本文从中选择“眼岔”“哄讼”“拉累”“抽抽”四个有代表性的俗语词，指出以往学界对“眼岔”的释义不当，它不是“视线出偏差；看错”义，而是“（马、牲口等）受惊”，并从认知语言学的角度分析了该词的理据；指出表“哄骗、逗引使开心”义的“哄讼”、“拉累”、表“退步、倒退”义的“抽抽”为外来词，分析其满语来源及发展、演变情况，指出历时性语文辞书应补收表“退步、倒退”义的“抽抽”。初步揭示出旗人汉语词汇系统的特殊性及其对以北京官话为代表的北方方言的影响。

关键词：清代满汉合璧会话教材；俗语词；外来词；旗人汉语；认知语言学

清康熙以来，出于扭转满语文衰落现状、培养双语翻译人才、配合满语学习等目的，出现了一批主要用于教授满人学习满语的会话类教科书。他们以满汉合璧的形式编成，内容为对话体或独白体的会话，俗称“话条子”。其汉文部分用极为浅近通俗的白话写成，是清代旗人汉语的珍贵记录。其中蕴含着大量未进入学界视野的俗语词，有不少至今仍活跃在以东北话、北京话为代表的北方方言中。已有讨论的俗语词，也不乏误释的情况。此外，汉文部分能真实反映满汉语言接触下产生的北方汉语特殊变体的面貌，这种汉语变体相比一般的汉语，在词汇上较为突出的特征便是有更多满语源外来词和在满语干扰下产生新义或新用法的词。

目前学界对这批满汉合璧语料的关注度不够，对其中汉文俗语词的专门研究更少见，相关研究亟待深入展开。本文从清代满汉合璧会话教材汉文部分的俗语词中选取四个有代表性的，尝试对他们的词义、来源、发展等方面进行初步地分析，展现出这批语料多方面的价值。

一．眼岔

《清话问答四十条》第三十八条：“好个马，快走的稳，跑的溜，大騬，软騬，踏駢步，乱踹步，都好。又兼着结实、皮辣、随手、老实。那眼岔、躲闪、打前失、打奔儿的事是没有的，且还把滑，毛片又对我的槽道。”其中“眼岔”对应满语“urhv-re”[①]。

该书被收入刘云主编“早期北京话珍稀文献集成”中的“清代满汉合璧文献萃编”系列，由陆晨加以精细地整理。会话全部按太清转写方案转写成拉丁字母，并逐词翻译，标注词干的词义和词缀的语法功能。第三十八条“眼岔”所在的句子被整理为：

① 本文中满文的拉丁转写采用太清方案。

fuhali urhv-re, hoilaqa-ra, bulduri-re, afata-ra haqin akv,

全然 马受惊-**未** 左右回头-**未** 马失前蹄-**未** 磕绊-**未** 事件 **否**

那眼岔、躲闪、打前失、打奔儿的事是没有的[1]162

“urhv-re”，整理者翻译为“马受惊-**未**”。“**未**”即“未完整体”，此处表示客观事实，将动词“urhv-”形容词化，与下文的“hoilaqa-ra”“bulhuri-re”“afata-ra”并列，均是表示马习性的形容词，修饰“haqin”。

上文中的[眼岔][①] 在元代以来的俗文学作品中屡见，又写作“眼叉”。受到上引满汉合璧资料的启发，结合其他证据，笔者认为目前学者对该词词义的解释，还可以进一步讨论。

陆澹安《戏曲词语汇释》中将“眼叉”释为“视线不正确。”并举《丽春堂》第一折：“我本射着了，我这马眼叉，走了箭也。”《单鞭夺槊》第二折：“我马眼叉。”为例。[2]219《汉语大词典》收“眼叉”，释“亦作‘眼岔’。视线不正确。”引《丽春堂》第一折、《单鞭夺槊》第二折、《儿女英雄传》第五回“那骡子见那铃铛满地乱滚，又一眼岔，他便一趸头，顺着黑风尚的山根儿跑了下去。”为书证。[3]1210《近代汉语大词典》释“眼叉”为“眼花，视觉出偏差。”引《丽春堂》第一折及《射柳捶丸》第四折：“头里不干我事，是我这马眼叉，把来走过去了。”并在“眼岔”条引《儿女英雄传》第五回的例子。[4]2296《近代汉语词典》将“眼叉”释为“视线出偏差；看错。”引《丽春堂》第一折、《射柳捶丸》第四折、《醒世姻缘传》八三回：“只推五更进朝起早，马眼叉，跌伤了腿，误了谢恩。”三条书证。[5]2400将各专著及大型语文辞书对“眼岔”的解释代入具体作品中，文义不洽、有悖常识。

《新满汉大词典》收“urhv-mbi”[②]，释义“马受外界突然的刺激而惊骇；马惊，马、牲口眼岔”。引例“morin urhv-mbi 马眼岔（马的视觉错乱）”。并附《满洲实录》和祁充格等译《三国志演义》中的例子，其中“urhv”都表“马惊”，其中《三国志演义》中的“urhv-fi”对应汉文“眼生”。又列“urhv-me milara-mbi”，释义“惊慌，惊逸”，引《八旗满洲氏族通谱》中的例文为书证。又收名词“urhv-tu”，释义“容易惊的马；眼岔马”。[6]1247可知“眼岔”绝大多数时候指马、牲口等动物受惊。少数情况下也可以指人，如《满洲实录》“qouhai niyalmai morin gemu urhv-ha”对应汉文“军马都惊了”。

值得注意的是，清代满汉合璧大型语文辞书《御制增订清文鉴》中收“urhv-mbi”一词，对应汉语释义“眼岔”。满文释义为“morin ulha gelefi hoilaqame jailatara be urhvmbi sembi”（把马、牲畜恐惧后，左顾右盼、四处躲藏，称为“urhv-mbi”）。[7]该书编撰于清朝满语文发展的鼎盛时期，且由乾隆皇帝钦定，用满语解释满语，权威性和可信度较高。

[眼岔]的“（马、牲口等）受惊”义，还有其他文献用例可证。清沈家本辑《刑案汇览三编》载光绪十七年“七龄幼孩过失杀人”案，述案情经过为“查王小奎子因掷棒玩戏，车马眼岔惊跑，车夫李经成拉勒不住，以致车轮轧伤张顾氏，身死。”孩子调皮，朝马车扔木棍，导致马受到惊吓乱跑，马车失控，车轮轧死了人。此处“眼岔”与“惊”连用，义为“马受惊”无疑。同治十年“车骡惊跑轧伤红桩以内树株”案，载案情经过“禄瑞于本年二月十二日上镇该班，令李容赶车从宝华峪松林内行走，行至中间，不期老鹳飞过，车骡眼岔，往旁一闪，惊跑数步，致将树株轧伤七颗。”祝庆祺《刑案汇览》卷三十一“戏杀误杀

① 本文用“[ ]”表示音义结合体。如“[眼岔]”指的是“眼岔”这个词，不管其写法。用在“[ ]”中词的后面加数字序号的方法来区分同形词。用在“[ ]”中词的后面加字母序号的方法来区分词的不同义位。

② “urhv-mbi”是“urhv-ra”的词典型。其词汇含义来自动词词干“urhv-”；词缀“-mbi”与“-ra”只有语法含义，均可表示客观事实。

过失杀伤人”，天头处有小字批注“赶车之人因车骡眼岔惊跑，被轧身死，与人无尤，应毋庸议。”以上“眼岔”都与“惊”并现，结合上下文分析，都是“受惊”义。

《丽春堂》第一折，李圭解释自己没射中柳的原因：“我本射着了，我这马眼叉，走了箭也。”次日，李圭又追述自己失误的原因：“昨日恕罪，可不是我射不着，我那马眼生，他躲一躲，把我那箭擦过去了。”可见“眼生”是“眼叉”的近义词。“眼生”除去可表示“不认识、不熟悉”“暗探”义，还表示“（马、牲口等）受惊”，此义是《汉语大词典》、《近代汉语词典》等大型语文辞书不曾揭示的。①

《三国演义》在清初被祁充格等人译为满语，顺治七年（1650）由内务府刊行。卷四“忽惊起一鸠，马乃眼生，窜入麦中”句，被译为“gaitai emu gekuhe dekdere jakade, yaluha morin urhv-fi maisei usin de dosika”[6]1247，正以“urhv-fi”对译“眼生”。“眼生”的“（马、牲口等）受惊”义，见于《三国演义》他处者，如卷三十“忽坐下马眼生前失，把庞统掀在马下。玄德跳下马，自来笼住那马，玄德曰：‘军师何故乘此劣马？’庞统曰：‘此马乘久，不曾如此。’玄德曰：‘临阵眼生，误人性命。吾骑白马性驯熟，军师可骑，万无一失，劣马吾自乘之。’”

“眼生”还可指人受惊。明罗懋登《西洋记》第七十一回：“实时，到袖儿里取出一个物件来，一尺长、二寸来阔。直又不直，湾又不湾。神光闪闪，杀气腾腾。两位元帅看见，老大的眼生。”此处“眼生”是形容两人看到“难星”后惊讶的样子。郑光祖《倩女幽魂》四折：“腾腾腾收不住玉勒常是虚惊，火火火坐不稳雕鞍剗地眼生，撒撒撒挽不定丝缰则待撺行。”因坐不稳雕鞍而眼生，和前句因收不住玉勒而虚惊对应。

综上所述，《戏曲词语汇释》《汉语大词典》《近代汉语大词典》《近代汉语词典》中收录的[眼岔]，当为“（马、牲口等）受惊”义。因为马受惊后失控，才造成骑马者射走了箭、没射中柳、从马上跌下来导致腿受伤，骡子是因受到惊吓才转头跑下山。该词最早出现在元代俗文学作品中，明、清递用，多出现在反映北方方言的作品中。[眼岔]在现代汉语中罕见使用，词源意义已经模糊，学者们面对这个业已陌生的词，受词形干扰，将词义误解为“眼神不好，视线出偏差”。

[眼岔][眼生]表示“（马、牲口、人等）受惊”，均是用“眼＋形容词”表示动物或人受到惊吓的精神状态。眼睛是心灵的窗口，情感的容器。形容眼睛状态的词表示精神状态、性格特征、行为特点等，在汉语中随处可见。如“眼浅”义为目光短浅，易为外界事物所左右、“眼软”义为见外界事物后易动感情、“眼高”义为藐视，看不起或要求高、“眼气”形容看到美好的事物极为羡慕并想得到”、“眼红”指嫉妒或激怒的样子、“眼亮”形容明辨是非、“眼界”指见识的广度、“眼穿”指殷切盼望，等等，兹不备举。

以“眼”指代精神状态、性格特征、行为特点等，从语义学的角度看是引申，从认知语言学的角度看则是基于隐喻（metaphor）机制。对于与“眼”相关的视觉词汇的隐喻用法及其产生理据，国内外学者均有成果发表。由已有的研究可知，不同语言中“眼”概念隐喻的投射范围常有重合之处，都可以投射到认知域，体现出人类思维的共性。用字面义为视觉错乱、眼神分叉的[眼岔]形容受到惊吓，是以身体这一外在域喻心智/精神这一内在域，可以归到 Sweetser 指出的“以身喻心”这一跨语言性隐喻机制中去[8]。

① 白维国主编《近代汉语词典》“眼生”一词义项❷为“对生疏事物畏怯”，书证为元明《三国志通俗演义》：“操行于麦中，忽惊起一鸠，马乃眼生，窜入麦中。”清《续金瓶梅》三回：“喜的孝哥取了枣子在手里只是吃，全不眼生。”（白维国主编《近代汉语词典》第四册,页 2405）我们认为虽然该义与“（马、牲口等）受惊”有关，但有区别。用“对生疏事物畏怯”来解释《三国志通俗演义》中的“眼生”，比起“（马、牲口等）受惊”来，不够恰当。

已有学者指出，“隐喻”与“转喻”是一个连续统，很难截然分开[9]。我们也可以用转喻（metonymy）来解释[眼岔]一词“（马、牲口、人等）受惊”义的理据。转喻本质是用一个事物来代替与之相关的另一个事物[10]32-33。由于我们主要通过视觉获得信息、建构概念，并倾向于通过眼睛的状态来探知精神状况、性格特征、行为特点，因此我们倾向选择它来指代精神状况。这种转喻机制即是[眼岔]语义引申的思维基础。

以眼睛代指精神状况、性格特征、行为特点的“眼——精神状态”转喻模式，具有跨语言性、跨文化性。下面将不同语言中用形容眼睛状态的词或词组表示精神状态、性格特征、行为特点的现象举例如下：

语种	形容眼睛状态的词或词组	本义/字面义	词义
英语	eye	眼睛	可用于指对某人或某物的兴趣、爱恋，也可表愿望、期望或打算。[11]
	outlook	看出去	对某人或某事物的看法、观点、展望。
	look ahead	向前看	为将来作打算。
	see	看见	可表示理解。
	starry-eyed	布满星星的眼睛	天真浪漫的、理想主义的。
	eagle-eyed	目光锐利如鹰	观察力极强的。
俄语	смотреть сквозь розовые очки	透过粉色眼镜看	过度乐观或自欺。
	сглаз	恶视	迷信、恐惧。
意大利语	avere le stelle negli occhi	眼睛中有星星	形容憧憬或陶醉的神态。
西班牙语	mirada perdida	空洞的眼神	精神迷失。
阿拉伯语	الحسد عين	嫉妒之眼	诅咒。
日语	目が眩む	视觉眩晕	因欲望或诱惑失去理智。
	目が冴える	目光炯炯	无困倦疲惫感，意识高度敏锐的状态。

《说文·又部》：“叉，手指相错也。从又，象叉之形。”“叉”本义为手指交叉，引申为分歧、分岔。如惠洪《夏日》：“三叉路口炊烟起，白瓦青旗一两家。”方以智《通雅·谚源》：“山歧曰岔。”《字汇补·山部》：“岔，三分路也。”岔从分、山会意，本义为山之分岔处。该字流行于宋元之后。如《水浒传》第六回：“又行不过五七里，到了一个三岔路口。”“叉”“岔”音义皆近。王凤阳认为岔字“源于‘叉’，它分出的是‘叉’的道路的分叉、山势的分叉义。”[12]231 可从。

《新满汉大词典》将“morin urhvmbi”翻译为“马眼岔（马的视觉错乱）”[6]1247，由上文的分析可知，用“视觉错乱”解释[眼岔]并不恰当，但可以为我们破解其理据提供线索。“眼岔”的字面义是“眼神分岔”，引申为“视觉错乱”，基于“眼——精神状态”转喻模式，视觉的错乱不定可以指代精神受到惊吓的六神无主，因此[眼岔]可以表示受到惊吓。

二．哄讼

《满汉成语对待》卷一《强亮第一》“得了主意的”：“急个拉叉的摆下头来不依，成心要惹他来着，后来想了一想罢呀，事情要紧，哄讼着费了我什么呢？”[13]277 其中“哄讼”对应满文“hoxxo”，《新满汉大词典》释为“哄诱，引诱，诱骗，怂恿，笼络”[9]678。结合下文“既来了要成事，任他施威，干敝着性儿，这样的看景儿，讨好儿，纔给了个好脸儿”[13]277，可知“哄讼”在文中是指为办成事情强忍脾气，编造好话笼络对方。车王府藏子弟书《鸨儿训妓》第三回，老鸨传授年轻妓女接客技巧：“知疼着热的温存话，哄讼他，纵走千家不如一家。”[14]4472“哄讼”即哄诱嫖客，让他常来。

“哄”的逗引、欺骗义元代已见，如马致远《汉宫秋》楔子：“因我百般巧诈，一味谄谀，哄的皇帝老头儿是非欢喜。”然“讼”在汉语中没有“哄骗”“逗引”的意思。《说文·言部》：“讼，争也。”汉语中“土生土长”的[哄讼 1]，义为“诉讼”“纷争”，或写作“閧讼”“鬨讼”。陈造《江湖长翁集》：“天下事无使至于閧讼，此一是非，彼一是非；此之说出于此，彼之说将出于彼。”邵雍辑《梦林玄解》卷九“乌鸦喙已肠”条，占曰：“古梦者……妻孥鬬口、邻里閧讼”。戴表元《剡源集》卷二十三：“从此太平无鬨讼，村村化作好山溪。”

表“哄诱”“哄逗”“笼络”的[哄讼 2]只出现在清代旗人作品中，结合语音特征，“哄讼”当是满语“hoxxo”的音译。“哄”对应音节“ho”，“讼”对应音节“xxo”。“哄”在汉语中原有“逗引”“欺骗”的意思，因此该词是在整词音译的同时部分意译。这样的借入方式在汉语外来词中还有其他例子。如用“尼纶”译英语中表一种化学纤维的“nylon”，“纶”为部分意译、用“胞波”译缅甸语中表“亲戚”义的“pa̱u^{q55}p^{h}o^{33}”，“胞”为部分意译。

[哄讼 2]一词的创造可能是旗人受到母语“hoxxo”音义的干扰，误解了汉语“哄讼”一词的词义所致。然考虑到“纷争”“诉讼”义与“哄骗”“哄逗”“笼络”义差距较大，误解的可能性较小。更可能是使用者没有考虑到[哄讼 1]原本的词义，直接用其来音译满语“hoxxo”。此时，[哄]已经不是表“争斗”义的[哄 1]，而是表“逗引”“欺骗”义的[哄 2]。很难考察其中兼表语义的“哄”是不是有意的选用。

旗人汉语中的一些特殊词汇能体现出满、蒙、汉等民族交流、交往、交融下北方汉语特殊变体的面貌。其中[哄讼 2]是旗人选择汉语中原有的“哄讼”，来音译满语“hoxxo”，从而使汉语词[哄讼 1]有了一个与之同形的词[哄讼 2]。但该词的使用范围始终局限在旗人群体，没有进入到除旗人汉语外的汉语方言及汉民族共同语的系统中。这也是满汉合璧会话教材中出现的许多满语源外来词的共同特征。

三．拉累

《清文启蒙》卷二“兼汉满洲套话”第十八条：“拉累的说是你行的事，你不肯应承，反推不相干的

人，或真或假，终究瞒不得，自然要出来。”[15]349-350 第二十七条：“前日拉累的说了教你应承，今日一到来就改变了嘴，这是人家的不是啊？是自己的不是啊？”[15]375

其中“拉累”对应满文“lalanji”，义为“屡次、反复”。累为絫的俗字。《说文·厽部》：“絫，增也。从厽从糸。絫，十黍之重也。”段玉裁注：“增也。增者、益也。凡增益谓之积絫。”累由增益义引申出重复、屡次义。而“拉”在在汉语中与多次、反复义无关。考察该词的来历，必须藉助清代满汉合璧会话教材等清代满汉合璧文献。

《清文启蒙》中的[拉累]均对应满文“lalanji”。该词中与语义无关的音节“拉”，当是对满语“lalanji”首个音节“la”的音译。“累”则是对整词的意译，可视作“义标”。在汉语外来词中，大部分义标都是表示该词义类的“类标”[16]143，像“拉累”这样，“累”表示整个词词义的义标比较少见。

值得注意的是，上引《清文启蒙》卷二“兼汉满洲套话”第二十七条中出现的“拉累”，《兼满汉语满洲套话清文启蒙》①、刘东山刊，王昌茂印本《清文启蒙》②作“屡々”。二本不分卷，从内容上看，应是摘取四卷本《清文启蒙》的第二卷“兼汉满洲套话”编成。注音本刊于乾隆二十六年（1761），该本的特色是用满文对汉字进行标音，应是为满人学习汉语而设。刘东山本《清文启蒙》刊于道光七年（1827），两人都是汉人。池上二良将《清文启蒙》的版本分为三大系统：一类为雍正时期初刊本系统；一类为乾隆时期改订本系统；一类为仅选取第二卷“兼汉满洲套话”编撰成的版本[17]。作“屡々”的两本属于第三类，都是后出的改订本。注音本的对音在反映时音的同时遵从一定的对音规范[18]，可推知该书的刊行目的应是教满人学习较为规范的汉语。刘东山本则由汉人刊行。二本改“拉累”为“屡々”，或可看出该外来词的使用范围局限在旗人汉语中，对汉人所操的汉语影响不大。

四．抽抽

《满汉成语对待》卷一《强亮第一》“抱怨人的”：“悖回了，比先大抽抽了。”[13]282 其中“抽抽了”对应满文“sosoro-ho”，进一步分析，“sosoro”对应“抽抽”，“ho”是满语完整体体标记，此处表动作在过去发生、状态及影响于现在，对应“了”。《新满汉大词典》收“sosorombi”，列“退缩、退却、倒退”和“耙草”两义项。[6]1094 结合该话条上文“他先是个可仰望的人来着，如今促促的糟顿了”，再结下文对应满文“ebere”，表“衰落”义的“悖回”，可确定此句中“抽抽”义为“退步、倒退”。

表“退步、倒退”的[抽抽 a]，集中出现在清代北方地区的俗文学作品中，如 19 世纪初华广生辑民歌俗曲选集《白雪遗音》卷二：“你瞧你那皃子。长了个甚么嘴脸。脸上合那挖了枣的窝窝是的。身子像个二梭子。罐里养亡八。越养越抽抽。”车王府藏戏曲《卖饼子全串贯》第二出《卖饼子》：“凉水洗脑袋，越洗越抽抽”[17]538。该词保存在今北京官话中，如“我的记性可越来越抽抽”、“这孩子的功课，越来越抽抽了。”[20]2815“你怎么越活越抽抽儿”[21]66。

最早辑录满文“sosorombi”的辞书是康熙癸亥年（1683）刊行的大型满汉合璧辞书《大清全书》，汉文释义“老弱马后退不走。倒退。”[22]《御制增订清文鉴》亦收“sosorombi”，对应汉文“倒退”，释义“morin

① 以下简称“注音本”。
② 以下简称“刘东山本”。

ulha -i amasi bederqere be sosorombi sembi（马、牲畜频频后退，称作“sosorombi”）”又对应汉文“爬拉草”，释义“hedereku -i orho hederere be sosorombi sembi（用耙子拢草，称作“sosorombi”）”。[7]此外，还可以指人“退却，退缩”，如乾隆十四年编纂的《平定金川方略》：“erebe tuwaha de umai qeni beye bederqeme sosororngge waka”，对应汉文“如此可知并非伊等退却”、“ilan feye baha bime，heni sosorome bederqehekv”，对应汉文“三次带伤不稍退缩”。[6]1094

“sosorombi”的四个意义密切相关。“拢草”是把草向某处聚拢，使其体积缩小，包含中心义素“缩”。“马、牲畜频频后退”“退缩、退却”“退步、倒退”均包含中心义素“退”。两个义素相近相通，不同之处是“退”在二维平面中进行，“缩”在三维空间中进行。“sosorombi”的“退却，退缩”“退步、倒退”义当是由“马、牲畜后退”义引申而来。

表“退步、倒退”义的[抽抽 a]，与满语“sosoro”发音、词义均接近。结合《满汉成语对待》用[抽抽 a]对译“sosoro”，以及该词最早出现时间、早期通行的地域，可推断[抽抽 a]当是“sosorombi”的满语音译词。从目前可见的材料看，借入汉语后，满语词“sosorombi”的“马、牲畜后退”“拢草”义便罕见使用，多用其引申义“退步、倒退”。

《现代汉语词典》第 7 版：“【抽抽儿】chōu·chour〈口〉动❶收缩：这块布一洗就～了。❷变得干瘪；萎缩：枣儿一晒就～了｜这牛怎么越养越～？”[23]183《现代汉语词典》所收的表“收缩、缩小”义的[抽抽 b]至今仍活跃在以东北官话、冀鲁官话、北京官话、胶辽官话等为代表的北方方言中[20]2815，被《现代汉语词典》收入，标志着其进入到现代汉民族共同语中。表“收缩”义的“抽”，在宋代就已经出现，如《太平惠民和济居方指南总论》卷下：“忽然发热，手足抽搐。”元、明、清递用。《说文·手部》：“擂，引也。从手雷声。擂或从由。”“收缩”义当是“引”义的引申。此外，并没有在满汉合璧文献中找到表“收缩”义的[抽抽 b]对应满语“sosorombi”的实例。因此，“收缩、缩小”义的[抽抽 b]当与满语无关，应注意将其与满语音译词[抽抽 a]相区别。汉语固有的[抽抽]，在表“退步、倒退”义的满语“sosorombi”的影响下，产生了新的义位和用法。

源于满语，表“退步、倒退”义的[抽抽 a]，最早出现于康熙年间成书的《满汉成语对待》中，清代反映北方话的俗文学作品中见用，至今仍活跃在北京官话中。因此，一些以“古今兼收，源流并重”为编纂宗旨，重视收录俗语词，力图展现近代汉语词汇发展演变全貌的历时汉语辞书应该收入该词。这类辞书中的代表，如罗竹凤主编的《汉语大词典》、许少峰主编的《近代汉语大词典》、白维国主编的《近代汉语词典》均没有收，不利于全面展现近代汉语词汇系统的面貌、揭示今北京官话[抽抽 a]的来源，当补收。

五．结语

本文从清代满汉合璧会话教材中选取了四个有代表性的俗语词，对他们的词义、理据、来源、发展等方面进行了初步的分析。指出[眼岔]的确诂是“（马、牲口等）受惊”，不是“视线出偏差；看错”，后者是学者们在该词已不常见的背景下，受字形影响产生的误解义。并从认知语言学的角度分析了该词“（马、牲口等）受惊”义的来源。从隐喻的角度看，是“以身喻心”这一跨语言性隐喻机制的生动个案；

从转喻的角度看，属于“眼——精神状态”这一跨语言性、跨文化性的转喻模式。表“哄骗”“哄逗”“笼络”义的[哄讼 2]是对满语“hoxxo”的音译，使汉语固有词[哄讼 1]有了一个同形词。但该词由旗人创造，其使用范围也始终局限在旗人汉语中。表“屡次、反复”义的[拉累]则是对满语词“lalanji”的音译加义标，该词的使用范围亦没能超出旗人群体。表“退步、倒退”义的[抽抽 a]是对满语“sosorombi”的音译，应与汉语中固有的表“收缩、缩小”义的[抽抽 b]区别，[抽抽]一词在满语“sosorombi”的影响下产生了新的义位[抽抽 a]，该词最终进入到汉语北方方言中，今北京官话中还在使用，应该收入到重视俗语词的历时性语文辞书中。

通过对以上四则俗语词的分析，可以看出满汉合璧会话教材的汉文俗语词在纠正学界既往的错误训释、推动历时性汉语辞书编纂、探究清代满汉语言接触下北方汉语特殊变体的词汇特征等方面的特殊价值。与一般的汉语相比，旗人汉语的词汇系统具有满语源外来词含量较多、词汇常受满语影响而产生新的意义和用法，或产生有别于汉语固有词的同形词的特点。在将旗人汉语作为独立的研究对象，对其进行更为全面系统的穷尽式研究的倡导下[24]，我们将对满汉合璧会话教材汉文部分的俗语词展开进一步研究，期待对其词汇来源、构成、特点等方面有更加完整系统的认识，从而为汉语俗语词研究、满汉语言接触研究、以及现代北京方言，东北方言的历时演变研究提供坚实的基础。

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从结构助词“地”的习得角度看其隐性规则

——基于 HSK 动态作文语料库日本高级汉语学习者的语料

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摘要：本研究以结构助词“地”为研究对象，从北京语言大学 HSK 动态作文语料库（2.0）中选取了 80 篇日本高级汉语学习者的语料（男女各 40 篇），通过定量与偏误分析的角度进行分类，系统考察其习得规律及隐性语法规则。研究发现，学习者在“地”的使用中整体正确率为 71.88%，主要偏误类型为误代（50%）、遗漏（30%）、错用（20%）。此外，一些在一定程度上不符合母语者语感但在语法层面上并不能判别为偏误的句子，在一定程度上可以归结为表达地道性与否的问题，其背后隐现规则受句法结构（如状语性质、动作时间）、音节限制（状语音节数量）及语用习惯（如意图、习惯用法）的多重制约。基于此，本文提出分层级教学策略以帮助学习者在语境中内化规则，提升表达地道性。本研究为国际中文教育领域的汉语结构助词教学提供了实证依据，同时为汉语作为二语习得中隐性语法规则的教学提出了可操作性建议。

关键词：结构助词“地”；二语习得；偏误分析；隐性规则；教学语法

1 引言

1.1 研究背景

汉语作为形态标记相对简单的语言，其结构助词系统中的“的”“地”“得”标记的习得一直是国际中文教育中的难点之一。其中，结构助词“地”作为状语标记，其隐现规则既涉及句法结构的显性制约（如状语性质、音节数量等），又受语用习惯的隐性影响（如表达意图、韵律节奏等），成为二语学习者普遍面临的挑战。

尽管学界对“地”的语法功能已有一定探讨，但其在汉语作为第二语言习得中的动态表现——尤其是母语背景为日语的学习者的习得规律仍缺乏系统性研究。对于结构助词“地”的习得情况到底如何？对其隐现规则的掌握程度到底如何？特别是日语作为无显性状语助词标记的语言，其母语者在汉语结构助词学习中的表现怎样？这是值得我们研究和讨论的话题。为此，本文将日本汉语高级学习者关于结构助词“地”的习得效果和其隐现规则掌握情况加以考察、分析。

1.2 研究价值与意义

现有研究多集中于“地”的语法功能描写，或针对某一区域学习者的偏误分析，而对日语母语者的习得特点和隐性规则的习得影响略有不足，且尚未与二语教学实践充分结合，缺乏实证探讨。

本研究旨在为汉语结构助词“地”教学与习得提供数据驱动的支持，同时，对表达“地道性”问题进行探讨，可为教材编写与教学优化注入新的思考方向。

2 相关研究综述

2.1 偏误分析和教学层面

结构助词“地”是汉语学习和习得中的难点，当前的研究多通过对比分析、偏误分析、语料库分析等方法，关注其不同国家学习者习得规律、偏误以及成因，如阮氏梅（2022）[2]、郭馨阳（2020）[4]、王雪梅（2020）[5]并在此基础上提出针对性的教学对策如 Mehdi（2024）[1]；黄镜竹（2021）[3]和教材编排建议如阳小莲（2017）[9]。这些研究不仅有助于理解结构助词“地”的教学难点，也为国际中文教学提供了实用的教学策略和教材改进建议。

2.2 现代汉语本体层面

除了偏误分析和教学层面，也有部分研究者从现代汉语本体角度研究过结构助词“地”的语法问题，如江程（2019）的研究探讨了结构助词“地”的用法，并提出了教学对策[6]；黄春华（2019）的研究考察了现代汉语中结构助词“地”的隐现规则，分析了制约“地”使用的因素[7]；曹阳（2018）的研究探讨了含有结构助词“地”的状语的语义指向问题，丰富了我们对结构助词“地”的认识[8]。

然而，尽管已有研究为我们提供了宝贵的见解和方法，当前研究仍然存在一些不足之处，如对于结构助词“地”的用法规律和隐现条件的研究尚不够全面，特别是在不同语境下“地”的使用差异还需要更深入的探讨，所以本文尝试探讨：高级汉语学习者对于结构助词“地”的用法的掌握程度如何，以及对其隐现规则的掌握程度到底如何。

3 研究内容与方法

本研究主要运用语言学的语言习得理论，以日本高级汉语学习者中的 C 级证书获得者为对象，从北京语言大学 HSK 动态作文语料库 2.0 系统中随机选取 80 篇含有目标句的语料，其中规定男女各 40 篇，以记叙文《我的一个假期》（54 篇）、议论文《父母是孩子的第一任老师》《如何看待“安乐死”》（26 篇）为题目，主要统计“地”的使用频次和偏误情况，共搜集到 3.9 万余字语料，目标句达 128 句。

研究通过定量分析为主，定性与偏误分析为辅的方法，揭示结构助词“地”的使用情况与隐现规则的制约关系；从误代、遗漏、错用的角度对目标句进行分类和描写，对比日语母语者的偏误特征，再从归因角度深化对母语迁移与目标语规则泛化的理解。

4 习得情况

4.1 语法规范性角度

在 80 篇语料中，共出现 128 次结构助词“地”的目标句，包括正确使用、错误使用（遗漏、误代、错用、该用未用、不该用而用），其中 92 句被标记为“非问题句”，正确使用率为 71.88%，表明学习者整体上对“地”的习得情况较好。然而，仍有 28.12%的偏误率（36 句），具体表现为以下三类错误：

4.1.1 误代偏误

共 18 例，占偏误总数的 50%，主要为学习者使用“的”或“得”带入了“地”的位置。例如，在需要表达程度状语时错误使用“的”（6016-2. 我逐渐地{CC 的}{CJ+sy 有}恢复原来的自己的感觉），或在描述程度时误用“得”（2003-1. 孩子不知不觉地{CC 得}对音乐感[C]兴趣[B 起]）。这类偏误反映了学习者对汉语结构助词的功能区分不够清晰，尤其是对“地”作为状语标记的功能缺乏深刻理解。

4.1.2 遗漏偏误

共 11 例，约占偏误总数的 30%，表现为句子中遗漏动词或遗漏“地”本身。例如遗漏动词（2010-1. 甚至对好坏的判断也不会正确地{CJ-sy 分辨}出来）和遗漏结构助词（6024-1. 一定要注意很多事情，千万不要轻轻松松{CQ 地}去[BD…]）。此类偏误可能源于学习者对汉语状语结构的认知偏差，未能充分掌握“地”与动词搭配的显性规则。

4.1.3 错用偏误

共 7 例，约占偏误总数的 20%，表现为不该用“地”时而使用了地，混淆“地”与“的”和“得”。例如混淆“地”与“的”（3051-1. 就是说大家都感动地流下了眼泪）。此类偏误可能源于学习者对结构助词“地”使用规则的泛化，将“地”的规则推衍到其他位置上。

总体来看，学习者在“地”的使用中已具备基本意识，但在复杂语境下，特别是多音节状语或特殊动词搭配，仍存在规则泛化或母语迁移的干扰。

4.2 性别差异角度

在本次统计的语料中，男性正确率为 73.68%，女性为 70.42%，差异不算明显。可见下表统计：

性别	非问题句	问题句	误代	遗漏	错用	总句数
男	42	15	7	1	7	57
女	50	21	11	10	0	71
共计：	92	36	18	11	7	128

其中男性偏误多集中在误代和错用，女性偏误多集中在误代和遗漏，可能源于女性可能因语感敏锐性，倾向于使用但选择省略以避免不能准确使用；男性可能因注重形式准确性而导致过度泛化规则。

4.3 偏误成因角度

从认知与语言迁移视角来分析，以上偏误的出现可能源于：

（1）目的语规则泛化，学习者机械记忆“形容词+地+动词”规则，但未能区分“地”与其他助词的语义功能；或部分学习者将“地”泛化至无需标记的成分，反映出对状语性质的判断偏差。

（2）母语负迁移，日语母语者受母语中状语无显性标记的影响导致易遗漏汉语结构助词“地”。

（3）认知负荷与回避策略，在复杂语境中，学习者可能因认知压力选择省略“地”以简化表达或因不确定是否正确而回避使用。

4.4 检验分析

为检验问题（1）性别于偏误发生情况的关联；（2）文章类型与偏误发生情况的关联；（3）成绩段与偏误发生情况的关联，本研究后期利用 SPSS-AU 补充分析了交叉（卡方）检测，结果显示以上问

题均未在分析中显示出明显关联影响。

5 表达的地道性与隐性规则

在分析的过程中，研究发现了一些在一定程度上并不符合母语者语感但在语法层面的句法结构上并不能判别为偏误的句子，在一定程度上可以归结为表达地道性与否的问题（是否符合母语者语感，是否符合母语者的的表达规则）。

初步总结如下：

*孩子无疑地接受父母的意见（可能原因：母语者更倾向于“毫无疑问地”，“无疑地”更文言一些或作句首状语独立语）

*自然地明白的（可能原因：母语者更倾向于省略此处的“地”）

*很快地增长知识（可能原因：“很快”和“增长”的搭配问题）

*他母亲困惑地回答（可能原因：虽然符合结构规范但母语者会认为搭配存在问题，语料库检索“困惑地回答”这一搭配也仅四例，其中三例为日本文学译本，一例为网络文学作品）

*都很开朗地说话（可能原因：虽然符合结构规范但母语者会认为搭配存在问题，“开朗”多形容性格方面的特征，有长时性，而“说话”的客观性、短暂性会影响搭配；语料库中检索不到“开朗地说话”这一搭配）

除去搭配合适与否的问题，分析“地”的语法隐性规则还需考虑“地”的隐现问题。如第 1 句原句“无疑”可以考虑省略“地”，不影响语法规范性，但母语者在表达“无疑接受”这样的搭配时惯性在动词“接受”后加上“了”，此处反映出了结构助词“地”的隐性语法特征；而当把“无疑地”改成“毫无疑问地”时，受到四音节短语状语的影响，这时的“地”不能省略，此处反映出了“地”前状语性质的限定性，也可以归纳为结构助词“地”的隐性语法特征。

于是进一步总结如下：

5.1 语法层面

5.1.1 句法结构的制约

孩子有时候特别仔细地观察父母（当状语是动词性短语时，通常需要使用“地”）

然后慢慢地说明事情的道理吧（当状语是形容词性短语时，有时可以省略“地”）

5.1.2 被修饰的中心语发生的时间

孩子无疑地接受父母的意见（动作已然发生，通常需要使用“地”）

都会渐渐地传给小孩（动作持续中，使用“地”）

那个时候我也得好好教育孩子（当状语中心语尚未发生或不确定是否发生时，有时可以省略“地”）

5.1.3 状语的音节限制

快走（当状语是单音节时，通常不需要使用“地”）

毫无疑问地~、不知不觉地~、无可奈何地~（当状语是多音节固定结构时，通常需要使用“地”）

5.2 语用层面

在实际交际中，根据语境、说话者意图、强调程度等因素，“地”的使用也会有所不同。

5.2.1 说话者强调的意图

为了强调状语的作用，可能会选择使用“地”；在需要简洁表达时，可能会省略“地”。

孩子不知不觉地对音乐感兴趣（强调“不知不觉”，使用“地”）

然后我很快地考上了上级班（强调“很快”，使用“地”）

5.2.2 文学韵律和节奏

在汉语的韵律和节奏中，为了保持语句的平衡和韵律感，有时也会选择省略“地”。

我看父母有自信地工作，充实地过日子（为了韵律和节奏，使用“地”）

5.2.3 习惯用法和惯用语

在一些固定搭配或习惯用法中，“地”可能会被省略。

但是心里面还是或多或少受到影响（习惯用法，在母语表达中通常可能省略“地”，此处有语法-语用的交叉，可对比上条语法中的音节部分）

习惯用法在一定程度上反映了联结主义中的思想，即语言知识是通过联想和联结建立的。联结主义的思想认为，频度可以改变语言习得的认知结构，使得高频的语素结合更紧密，低频的结合更松散。当“地”在某些固定搭配中被省略，如“或多或少受到影响”，这可能是因为在长期的使用过程中，这种搭配已经形成了一种习惯用法，这是因为频繁出现而形成强联结，表达更地道的母语者在记忆中已经将这种搭配固化[13][14][15]。

6 总结

结构助词是汉语学习初级阶段要求掌握的语法点，在 1996 版《汉语水平等级标准与语法等级大纲》这一标准中，结构助词“的、地、得”被列为甲级第 35 号；在 2021 年版《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》这一标准中，结构助词“的 1、地”被列为一级第 20 号。根据这样的标准，通过上面的习得考察我们得出，学习者对于结构助词“地”的用法掌握情况总体较好。而这里对于“地”的考察是针对“地”作为状语的显性标记的考察，在母语者用“地”甚至是学习者习得“地”的时候隐去状语标记“地”的情况时有发生，但对于其具体是隐是现、该隐该现的使用规则两套标准并没有详细说明。

什么时候必须用“地”，什么时候可以不用“地”，什么时候两可，关于“地”的隐现问题有学者做出过详细的梳理，如刘红霞（2005）[11]、罗建邦（2007）[12]、江程（2019）[6]-2、黄春华（2019）[7]-2，以上研究论文从状语的性质、词性、语义等方面结合汉语的特点作出了细致的梳理，但如何从现代汉语复杂的语法规则中抽象出一套适合汉语作为第二语言的教学语法十分困难，正因如此，《1996 大纲》《2021 标准》和大部分教材及语法教学参考中都未曾提及“地”的隐现问题，只依靠学习者无意识习得、凭借自身语感积累形成的规则从习得结果来看并不理想，习得速度缓慢、零碎，习得过程中产生困惑、焦虑等负面情绪，从而不利于汉语的学习。

7 结论

7.1 解决措施

7.1.1. 当前领域尚有欠缺，有能力的学者可以在未来的研究中多多探讨，加以完善结构助词“地”的语法

教学体系。

当前对于结构助词“地”的研究领域存在一定的空缺，特别是上文提到的针对汉语作为第二语言的语法教学领域，在未来研究中，可以深化探讨，不断完善结构助词“地”的语法教学体系，包括对“地”的隐现规则进行更细致的梳理，以及在不同语境下“地”的使用差异进行更深入的分析，总结出学习者适用的理解与输入系统性的规则。

7.1.2 在教材编写时将“地”的隐性规则分层级融入到教学内容中，可以类比现行补语的层级教学。

在教材编写过程中，应将“地”的隐性规则按照学习者的水平分层级融入到教学内容中，逐步引导学习者掌握“地”的用法。除此之外，教材也应丰富例句和语境，让学习者能够在实际语境中体会和学习“地”的正确使用。

7.1.3 教师在教学中设计“地”的分类练习，让学习者在练习中体会隐性规则，培养目的语语感。

教师在教学中应有针对性地设计多样化的“地”的分类练习，通过练习，学习者能够更好地理解在何种情况下“地”可以省略，何种情况下必须使用，以及在何种情况下“地”的使用是可选的，让学习者在实际的语言使用中体会隐性规则，培养其对目的语的语感。

7.2 不足之处

7.2.1 语料数量的限制

本研究的样本量有限，仅关注了 80 篇日本学习者的习得情况，无法完全代表所有学习者的学习情况，未来的研究需要增加样本量，尤其是在不同母语背景、不同学习阶段的学习者中，将有助于提高研究的代表性和普遍性。

7.2.2 隐性规则分类的不足

在对“地”的隐现规则进行分类总结时，因为笔者能力不足可能导致研究存在一定的遗漏，同理，由于笔者语感辨别具有主观性，所以可能导致研究存在一定的误差，综合两个方面的原因，研究不能全面反映可能发生的大概率情况，未来的研究需要可以在此加以完善，以便更准确地指导教学和学习。

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9 附录

句子（120 句）	发生偏误（*）	分类/原因	序
2002-1. 孩子不知不觉地{CC 得}得到自己的人生的大{CD 多}部分。	*误代“得”		1
2003-1. 孩子不知不觉地{CC 得}对音乐感[C]兴趣[B 起]。	*误代“得”		2
2003-2. 孩子无疑地接受父母的意见。			3
2003-3. 孩子有时候特别仔细地观察父母。			4
2004-1. 但心里面还是或多或少地{CC 的}{CJ-sy 受到}影响。	*误代“的”	遗漏动词“受到”	5
2005-1. {CP 孩子的吸引力很大，所以父母也自觉地注意自己的说话和行为。P}			6
2006-1. 父母[C]的一举一动，说的每一句话，都会渐渐地{CC 的}传给小孩。	*误代“的”		7
2007-1. 因为我深深地感觉到，我自己的个性、价[C]值观等都是从我父母那[B 哪]学来的。			8
2008-1. 我[C]看父母[C]有自信地工作，充实地[C]过日子			9
2009-1. 然后我很快地{CC 得}考上{CQ 了}上级班，那男孩再也不能难为我了。	*误代“的”		10
2010-1. 甚至对好坏的判断也不会正确地{CJ-sy 分辨}出来。	*遗漏动词	遗漏动词“分辨”	11
2010-2. 父母根本没有什么顾虑{CC 考虑[C]}地在孩子面前说一些坏话或者脏[C]话。			12
2010-3. 所以那个孩子也自然地养成自己的学习习惯。			13
2010-4. 先自己好好想一想或反省一下自己的平时的行为，然后正确[B 解]地指导孩子。			14
2011-1. 然后慢慢地说明事情的道理吧。			15
2011-2. 父母应该有时候客观[B 欢]地看待{CC2 看}孩子和自己。			16
2011-3. 可是为了孩子哪个好，自然地明白的。P}			17
1012-1. 能够接受所有的事情，很快地增长知识。			18
1013-1. 但是他每次都看看{CJcd}自己的父亲高高兴兴地钓鱼的样子。			19
1013-2. 他会渐渐地明白钓鱼的好处和好玩儿的地方。			20
1013-3. 他母亲困惑地回答。			21
1014-1. 一般来说，小孩子不是撒[B 撒]娇[B 骄]就是任性地要求			22

什么。			
1014-2. 但是如果这时父母认真地听小孩子的要求，孩子能体会到[C]父母关心我。			23
1015-1. 所以呢，我也不知不觉地对做菜感兴趣{CQ 了}。		“地”在这里表示事情已经产生了影响	24
1015-2. 那个时候我也得好好地教育孩子。			25
1016-1. {CP 孩子会敏感地知道家庭和自己周围[C]的情况。			26
1017-1. 他不管对老人还是小孩，都很开朗地说话。			27
1017-2. 他这样的性格大大地{CC 的}影响了我的性格。	*误代“的”		28
1017-3. 所[C]以我现可以很熟练地开摩托车。			29
1018-1. 健康地{CC 的}长大了。	*误代“的”		30
1019-1. 那时候[C]他们都体贴地教我，有时候[C]打我。			31
1020-1. 偷偷地{CC 的}扔掉了。	*误代“的”		32
1021-1. 就谨慎地考虑[C]自己的意[C]见是否适合那时的情况。			33
3002-1. 他们都很热情地对待我。			34
3002-2. 他们很耐心地看我写的字。			35
3003-1. 我深深地感受到了那时候我得到的不但是美好的假期。			36
6004-1. 为了在假期去旅游，拼命地做钟点工存一笔钱。			37
6005-1. 她开玩笑地说，她为我{CJX}可以当免费的导游。			38
6005-2. 她想再去中国跟以前一样地过日子。			39
6006-1. 但是今天我早点出发，可能顺利地过境吧。			40
6006-2. 不过能够顺利地过境，心里很高兴。			41
6006-3. 回来的时候也能够顺利地入境。			42
6007-1. 那情景到现在我回忆起来都会咯咯地笑起来{CC 出来}。			43
6007-2. 我不自觉的向后[F 後]退了一步[BQ，]	*误代“的”		44
6008-1. 而我要翻译成日语时却不能正确地翻译。			45
3009-1. 由于终于考完了，所以我们一上火车就兴奋地跳{CC 联}起来。			46
6010-1. 慢[B 漫]慢[B 漫]{CQ 地}让父母了解这件事情。	*遗漏“地”		47
6010-2. 通过这次旅游我非常{CJ-zy 强烈地}意识到我还是父亲的女儿。	*遗漏状语	省略了状语导致原句发生偏误	48
6010-3. {CJ-zhuy 父母}无可奈何同意了。	*遗漏“地”		49

6011-1. 我们很高兴地吃。			50
6011-2. 我忘{CQ 了}时间{CJX}很长时间{CQ 地}看它。			51
6012-1. 在中国，我多么地想看樱花！			52
3013-1. 在他家里时，我不知不觉地睡着{CC 睡觉}{CQ 了}。			53
6014-1. 但他们很亲切地告诉我在车厢内的注意事项{CC4 注意点}。			54
6015-1. 而且晚上周围树林中的蝉开始哇哇{CQ 地}叫使我睡眠不足。	*遗漏“地”		55
6016-1. 我回国时，又高兴又紧[F 紧]张地乘飞机了。			56
6016-2. 我逐渐地{CC 的}{CJ+sy 有}恢复原来的自己的感觉。	*误代“的”		57
6017-1. 自愿地担负起{CC 并}辅导她自考日语的课程。			58
6018-1. 我回到家的那一天，他很高兴地欢迎我。			59
6018-2. 但是她{CD 心}不灰心，孜孜不倦地反复实验。			60
6018-3. 他听到我{CQ 的}讲话，好像很激动{CD 了}，郑重{CQ 地}点头。	*遗漏“地”		61
3019-1. 我们在兵马俑前面，没有说话，一个劲儿地看。			62
3020-1. 反正在日本要写的东西非常多。			63
3020-2. 大海也不像大阪、[BC，]东京那样脏脏的{CC 地}看不清的海。	*错用“地”		64
3021-1. 我们轻松地过学生生活。			65
3021-2. 不过拼命地认真地学习可以增加我的幸福感。			66
3022-1. 这是特别严格的{CC 地}要求。	*错用“地”		67
6023-1. 我们连连地摆手——我不累，不累…。			68
6023-2. 小伙子反反复复地嘟囔着大叫：就是 25 嘛！！			69
6023-3. 尤其看到一步一颠时竹杆重重地硌到前面小伙子浸着汗的肩膀上。			70
6024-1. 一定要注意很多事情，千万不要轻轻松松{CQ 地}去[BD…]。	*遗漏“地”		71
6025-1. 再怎么累也想要出去痛快地{CC 的}玩一下。			72
6025-2. 那时实在想要{CJ-wy 玩}一次{CJX}痛快地{CC 的}[BQ，]开心开心。	*误代“的”		73
6025-3. 在电视上看到很多人开心地去旅游的情景。			74
6026-1. 到山顶的{CC1 之间}路走得不容易，但我们努力{CQ 地}走。	*遗漏“地”		75

6027-1. 所以每天从早上到晚上{CJ-zhuy 我}要{CC 有}辛辛苦苦地{CC 的}练习。	*误代“的”		76
3028-1. 从{CC 在}外滩远远{CQ 地}看上去{CC2 去}。	*遗漏“地”		77
3029-1. 他们都很热情地接待我，使我非常感动。			78
3030-1. 两{CC 二}[BD、]三天连续地在办公室里住下去。			79
3030-2. 我不想一直这样[F 樣]闷闷地生活下去。			80
6031-1. 售货员粗野地爱理不理地跟我说。			81
6031-2. 她仔细地听完了我的要求后，拿过来另外一件西装上衣。			82
6031-3. 我非常满意地回家了。			83
6032-1. 我独自{CC 孤独}在中国，呆在{CC 着}宿舍无聊地学习。			84
6032-2. 我应该听他的意见，拼命地玩儿。			85
6032-3. 如果一个人孤孤单单地过日子，当时的美好的记忆[B 亿]一定鼓励我。			86
6033-1. 自然我情不自禁地走进小屋里。			87
6034-1. 我认为每一个假期{CJ-zy 都}应该好好地过，不要白白地浪费时间。			88
3035-1. 然后我很费力地把自己的东西放在行李架{CQ 上}。			89
3036-1. 使劲儿地向服务台的方向挤过去{CC 进去}。			90
3036-2. 站在我的身边的人都紧紧地攥着“四个老人头”，也就是说一百块钱[B 前]。			91
6037-1. 春风把花片吹落，花片一片一片地落在地上。			92
3038-1. 想更多地{CC 的}了解他们的习惯。	*误代“的”		93
3039-1. 他们热烈地欢迎我了{CJX}。			94
6040-1. 为了中日{CQ 关系}友好健康地发展。			95
6040-2. 日本人应该正确地认识那一段侵略中国的历史。			96
6040-3. 我深信我们脚踏实地地进行交流，中日友好一定会世世代代发展下去。			97
6041-1. 但我明白他们是非常地[B 的]信任我{CJsd}。	*误代“的”		98
6041-2. 为了我们的家这么地{CC 的}努力。	*误代“的”		99
3042-1. 出发前的晚上我的心跳得{CC 地}非常厉[B 历]害。	*错用“地”		100
3042-2. 我跑出去{CJ+by 外面}拼命地找她。			101
3043-1. 我知道{CC2 知}偷[B 愉]偷[B 愉]地{CJX}可以去{CC 进去}那儿的路。			102

3043-2. 我看着他们怀着终于卖了一个的感觉兴高采烈地走过去的样子。			103
6044-1. 但是他们好像{CD 跟}我爸爸，妈妈一样热情{CQ 地}招待了{CJ-by 我}。	*遗漏“地”		104
6045-1. 所以我想最大限度地利用留学{CJX}在中国的优势，每个假期都去旅游。			105
6046-1. 进行{CJX}拼命地治疗[F 療]。			106
6046-2. 可表面上他们不表露这些，总是很体贴地接待大家。			107
6046-3. 对顺利{CQ 地}过学生生活、[BC，]{CD 面临}剩下一年的时间就毕业的那时{CC 当时}的我来说。	*遗漏“地”		108
6047-1. 但她心不在焉地当作耳旁[B 乐]风。			109
6047-2. 我们只是匆[B 忽]匆[B 忽]忙忙地参观{CQ 了}西湖附近的名胜而已。			110
3048-1. 所以夏天拼命地工作。			111
6049-1. 他们很热情地招待客人。			112
3050-1. 但他们很耐心{CC 耐性}地陪我们聊天。			113
3050-2. 那时我觉得我应该更努力{CQ 地}学习汉语、[BC，]进一步{CC3 更}了解中国文化。			114
3051-1. 就是说大家都感动地流下了眼泪。	*错用“地”		115
3052-1. 一边逐渐地习惯高原气压。			116
3053-1. 他很恳切地告诉我那里的情况。			117
3053-2. 人在旅途中往往失去原有的感觉，但好好准备会下意识地帮助自己{CC2 我}。			118
3054-1. 我好好地计划旅游的时间{CD 安排}。			119
3054-2. 中国延年益寿{CC 长生防老}的秘决就是边吃边聊慢慢地{CC 的}过日子。	*误代“的”		120
3055-1. 我就用水平不够高的汉语{CD 但}真诚地回答了。			121
3056-1. 但是仍然维持很苦{CJX}地{CC 的}{CJ+zxy 延命措施}。	*误代“的”		122
3057-1. 因此这问题是不能简单地回答{CJsd}。			123
3058-1. 我希望尽快地[B 得]法律{CJX}完善{CC 改善}。	*误代“得”		124
3059-1. 安乐死不仅在中国而且{CC2 而}在全世界引起轰轰烈烈的{CC 地}讨论,[BC。]	*错用“地”		125
3060-1. 可是我想为了获得“安乐死”的权利和避免痛苦的{CC 地}生存状态。	*错用“地”		126

3061-1. 最近(二年前)顽固的{CC 地}日本的法律开始{CC 始于}承认“安乐死合法化”[BQ,]。	*错用“地”		127
3061-2. 如果医院给病人一个药[BQ，]病人就能很快乐地上天。			128

数据标记说明：

3.9 万余字语料共计 128 句。

1000-0/2000-0 为第一次统计，第一位数字 1-男，2-女；3000-0/6000-0 为第二次统计，第一位数字 3-男，6-女。

1000-0/2000-0/3000-0/6000-0 颜色字体标记为文章类型为议论文的标记，其中议论文 26 篇，记叙文 54 篇。

125 序号列红色填充标记为高分段标记，通过计算得到 80 篇作文的总成绩的中位数为 326.5，其中大于等于中位数的为高分段。

基于音高-计时结构的普通话轻声音系

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摘要：以往研究在普通话轻声的界定、分类及与词重音之间的关系等问题上一直颇有争议。为此本研究以 Li (2023) 提出的基于μX 的声调计时指定模型为框架、重新对轻声进行了界定与分类：普通话轻声音系的底层结构只包含一个非指定计时单元 X，根据其承载的音高成分性质，轻声(T0)可分为两类：依附型(AT0)和中和型(NT0)。前者无固定调值(ø)，后者带缺省值(L)。据此本研究探讨了轻声底层计时结构与音高表现之间的关系并呈现了 T→NT→NT0 →AT0 的完全轻化过程。T 为音高-计时结构完整、带μ/X 及所对应音高成分的声调(如去声 T4 为μX/HL)，NT 为只带指定计时单元μ及对应音高成分的轻音(如上声在语流中为μ/L)。对于以往研究中令人费解的叠音词为名词、不及物动词、形容词与及物动词时后字轻声表现不一的问题，本研究认为它们分别是声调依附、中和、央化、弱化的结果。央化即中和叠加弱化(L→M)，只有前三者属于轻声的范畴。弱化调则与所处的韵律位置有关，其音高-计时结构不变，仅是音高变化幅度缩小(如 HL→ML)。最后本研究根据μ/X 作为核心/非核心单元的本质提出了汉语词重音隐形存在于声调底层的计时结构之中、轻化是其实现手段的观点(如 T4-T4 组合的底层结构轻化后为μXX，即左重)。此观点可为汉语词重音及相关的韵律与节奏研究提供借鉴。

关键词：轻声音系；轻声分类；轻音；计时单元；汉语词重音

1 轻声研究中的两个问题

普通话轻声在汉语声调研究中一直占有重要的地位。尽管以往研究如 Lin and Yan (1980)，Cao (1986)，Lu and Wang (2005)等在理论上基本确立了轻声的音系性质以及类型、在实验上也基本明确了轻声产出与感知的模式，但争议始终存在，轻声的研究似乎已经走到了一个瓶颈阶段。不过，最近涌现出来的一些声调理论和实验研究如 Huang and Shi (2019)，Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2022)，Li (2023)等表明，对轻声音系的传统认识可以进一步细化，这对厘清汉语重音存在与否及相关的韵律与节奏模式至关重要，因此本研究尝试在近年来研究的基础上探讨轻声的底层音系与语音表现之间的关系，以便重新认识轻声在汉语韵律层级中的地位以及作用，为汉语韵律与节奏研究提供借鉴。

本文首先会在下面提出两个研究问题以及回顾以往的研究。接着会在第二节介绍最近的一些理论发展和实验发现，然后据此探讨轻声的底层音系结构、轻化过程并用于解释实验结果、回答两个研究问题。在第三节会将本研究的观点与以往研究作比较。最后一节将总结全文并给出未来研究的潜在方向。

长期以来，普通话轻声研究中颇有争议的问题主要有两个，即轻声该如何界定与分类？轻声的存在是否说明普通话有词重音？第一个主要涉及轻声与轻音的区别以及轻声的分类，第二个主要涉及轻声与重音的关系。下面分别回顾以往对这两个问题的研究情况。

轻声该如何界定与分类？ 关于轻声的界定，学界众说纷纭，但普遍是将轻声与轻音区别对待，如 Shen (2020)认为轻声与轻音的关键区别在于前者缺乏声调属性、而后者具有声调属性，只是声调特征暂时消失。Lu and Wang (2005)则认为前者属于声调层面，是与普通话四个声调阴平、阳平、上声、

去声(T1/T2/T3/T4)相对的中和调(T0)[1]，而后者属于重音层面，表示非重读。

除了区分轻声和轻音外，Lu and Wang (2005)还区分有调和无调两类声调，其中有调类承载的四个声调含有至少两个莫拉(μ) 计时单元，分别对应所包含的音高成分。而无调类承载的莫拉数以及音高成分均用ø表示。更早期Wang (1999)的研究则将轻声进一步分为带调、失本调、无本调三类。近年来，Huang and Shi (2019)还提出了一个从正常重音到完全轻声的连续统，他们认为语流中的轻声程度是分级别的。其中轻声分为三级：可轻声、必轻声、正轻声。可轻声即底层声调可以确定，能引起变调的轻声，如“走走”中的后字；必轻声即底层声调可以确定，但原调已经失去的轻声，如亲属称谓叠音词后字“妈妈”，名词词缀“子”等；正轻声即底层声调不可确定的轻声，如助词“的”、语气词“吗”等。三类轻声分别相当于带调、失本调、无本调轻声，且越往后轻化程度越大。

Lu and Wang (2005) 认为轻声根据来源也可分为两类，一类是词库里没有声调的词素，如功能性助词“了”、“的”、“子”等；另一类是由轻音通过轻声规则映射过来。如“小姐”的两字调原本具有T3-T3的组合，但分别经历了上声变调(T3-T3→T2-T3)和轻音化(T3→T0)过程后变成了T2-T0的组合。另外，Feng (2013)根据对北京话轻声的探源，认为轻声先是从“子”、“儿”这样的词缀开始，然后进一步扩大到“了”、“着”、“吗”、“呢”这样的语法语气助词，最后才在像“老虎”、“小姐”这样的常用词中的后字出现。也就是说，前两类相当于Lu and Wang (2005)所说的词素，后一类是衍生的轻声。对于后一类轻声，Zhao (1996)认为其由于历史原因来源于满语的轻重音规则，其既轻又短的程度比前一类北京话内部演化而来的词素轻声还要更高，带有“纯语音”性质，因此他称之为“轻音”。按照这种观点，轻音比原本的轻声轻化程度更高。但这与上述Huang and Shi (2019)提出的重轻连续统中的排序恰好相反。因此，轻化程度排序的问题也对轻声研究提出了进一步的挑战。

轻声的存在是否说明普通话有词重音？ 如果普通话有轻声的存在，那么是否间接说明普通话有词重音？从以往研究来看，一些学者认为具有声调的普通话与具有重音的英语在韵律与节奏类型上截然不同，且声学表现很难证实重音在双音节词中的广泛存在(Xu, 2018; Hsieh, 2023)。在Altmann (2006) 提出的重音拓扑模型(stress typology model)中，汉语作为声调语言被归到了非重音语言里面、是与重音语言如英语对立的一个类型。另一方面，一些学者认为可以从不同的角度来理解汉语的重音。如Feng (2016)从韵律语法的不同层面说明了北京话有词重音，而普通话是以北京话为基础的，因此即使不认同普通话有词重音的学者也难以否认普通话词汇有轻重对立，只是对这种对立在普通话中是否广泛存在或者以何种形式存在仍有争议(Zhou, 2018)。

Hsieh (2023)还尝试了从发音的角度探讨普通话的重音问题。首先，他观察到了普通话对高平调(T1)在首音节位置、高降调(T4)在尾音节位置的使用偏好，这表示普通话很可能具有扬抑格即重轻型音步。然后他调查了台湾普通话发音人的双音节词产出。产出数据显示辅音的发音态势(articulatory gestures)在首音节的时长要大于在尾音节的时长，其过渡到下一个发音态势的时间也较长，而发音态势的生硬程度(stiffness)却较小。这些发音数据说明台湾普通话双音节词具有重轻型模式。而同步采集的音节时长、音强、音高这些声学数据则没有表现出这种清晰的模式。究其原因，Hsieh(2023)认为对于汉语来说，词重音的声学表现也许被右边界的延长效应掩盖，故而表现不出其左重的模式。他认为词重音应该是所有语言的普遍共性，只是在汉语中表现不明显而已。

综上所述，轻声与轻音的概念并不是泾渭分明的。不同类型或来源的轻声之间，轻声与轻音之间在一定条件下可以相互转换。正因为如此，对轻声的界定需要综合考虑、兼顾语音学证据和音系学表达。同时，厘清轻声的界定与分类以及其与词重音之间的关系问题对汉语韵律与节奏类型学研究(Li,

[1] 与之对应的英文为 *neutral tone*，但早期的译文为 *light tone.*

2022)、语音工程建模(Li，2024)乃至二语声调教学等都有重要意义，因此有必要重新审视这些问题、以加深对轻声的认识。

2 实验发现与理论探讨

2.1 实验发现

轻声和轻音在声学表现上究竟有何不同？较早的轻声研究很少涉及不同类型或来源的轻声之间或轻声与轻音之间在产出上的区别，而是普遍认为所有类型的轻声表现是差不多的：其音高在 T1/T2/T4 之后较低，在 T3 之后较高(Lin & Yan，1980)。不过，根据 Lu and Wang (2005)的推测，如果是声调层面的轻声，如“姐姐”中的后字调，那么就只与音高有关，而如果是经由轻音衍生而来的轻声，如“小姐”中的后字调，就应该与音强、音长、音高、音质这些与重音相关的声学参数都有关系。他们特别提到了叠音词、认为叠音名词“姐姐”属于结构紧密的构词重叠，其中的后字只是对前字的音段进行了复制，而叠音动词“走走”属于结构松散的句法重叠，其中后字的衍生过程与“小姐”相同。既然这两类叠音词来源不同，那么它们的声学表现也应该有所不同。这在近年来 Yoon，Kim，and Eom (2021)对汉语普通话轻声调值的研究中得到了部分证实。他们发现轻声在叠音词与在含功能性助词如“了”、“的”、“子”等非叠音词里的音高表现并不一致，并且在不同词类的叠音词如动词“吃吃东西”、名词如表亲属称谓的“爸爸”、“妈妈”、形容词如“孤孤单单”里也不一致。具体来说，非叠音词里的轻声整体音高在 T3 之后比叠音词里的高。在叠音词里，动词轻声的整体音高在 T1/T2 之后比形容词的高，但在 T3[2]/T4 之后又比形容词的低，也就是说轻声在叠音形容词里比在叠音动词里更偏向中值。这些差别不大可能是偶然的结果，应该反映了这几类词里的轻声在底层结构上有所不同。本研究将从这一推测出发，运用 Li (2023)提出的基于 μX 的声调计时指定模型来探讨轻声的音系究竟该如何构建以及如何根据音系结构来界定轻声以及为轻声分类。

2.2 理论探讨

根据基于 μX 的声调计时指定模型(μX-based timing specification model of tone)，汉语声调可以从音高和时间两个维度来定义。从音高的维度，声调可以是平调(level)与曲折调(contour)，如普通话的四个声调就包括一个高平调(阴平 T1)与三个曲折调，中升(阳平 T2)、低凹调(上声 T3)、高降调(去声 T4)。四个声调的音高结构可以像以往研究(如 Wang，2006 等)一样分别采用 HH/LH/LLH/HL 来表示。[3] 从时间的维度，声调可以包含指定计时单元 μ (specified timing unit)和非指定计时单元 X (unspecified timing unit)。其中 μ 必须与代表调阶 (tone register)的音高成分即核心音高成分(H or L)对应，而 X 则与剩下的非核心成分对应。该模型假设 μ 及与之对应的核心音高成分在语流中不容易丢失或改变，而 X 及与之对应的非核心音高成分则相反。根据这一假设，普通话四个声调 T1/T2/T3/T4 的音高成分 HH/LH/LLH/HL 分别对应计时结构 μX/XμX/XμX/μX。其中 T2/T4 里的 H 均与 μ 对应，表示两个声调都具有高调阶。T3 里位于中间的 L 与 μ 对应，表示它具有低调阶。注意 T1 的计时结构理论上既可用 μX 又可用 Xμ 表示，因为其中的 μ 无论在前还是在后都可与 H 对应，不过该模型

[2] 注意在叠音动词和部分叠音形容词里，原本为 T3-T3 和 T2-T2 的组合均会变成 T2-T0，但两者里的 T0 会有不同的音高表现。这里指由 T3-T3 衍生而来的 T2-T0 中的 T0。

[3] Duanmu (2004)将这四个声调分别简化为 H/LH/L/HL。这是仅基于音高对立的最简音系表征。

假设其和 T4 一样用 μX 表示[4]。

就轻声而言，基于 μX 的声调计时指定模型认为它与 X 对应，表示其很容易失去或者改变自己的音高成分。根据 Shen (2020)的观点，轻声如果没有声调属性的话，那么它就应该没有特定的音高成分。这类轻声在语流中很容易随着前调音高的走势而变化、与前调共享音高成分。本文称之为依附型轻声(affix type or AT0)，并用ø表示其音高成分处于不定的状态。接下来，就另一类轻声，如前述由轻音衍生而来的轻声而言，假定它也与 X 对应，但其原本具有声调属性，只因总是轻读、其音高成分发生了永久改变，最终变成一个不与原有音高成分对立的中和型音高成分[5]。从音系角度考虑、为避免冗余表征，这个中和型的音高成分在普通话中可以表示为缺省值 L。含 L 的轻声为中和型轻声(neutral type or NT0)[6]。 综上所述，普通话四个声调加上依附型轻声、中和型轻声的音高-计时结构可以用下表来表示：

表 1. 普通话声调的音高-计时结构：

调类：	阴平	阳平	上声	去声	依附型轻声	中和型轻声
	(T1)	(T2)	(T3)	(T4)	(AT0)	(NT0)
计时层：	μX	Xμ	Xμ(X)	μX	X	X
	| |	| |	| | |	| |	|	|
音高层：	HH	LH	LL(H)	HL	ø	L
调值：	55	35	213	51	承前调	3

根据上表所示，完整的四个声调具有不同的 μ 与 X 的组合：T1，T2，T4 均由两个计时单元构成，T3 则由三个计时单元组成，但 T3 在语流中，特别是在非末尾位置，最后的音高上扬部分即图中最右边的(X)与(H)往往会丢失，因此 T3 也可视作由两个计时单元 Xμ 组成的低平调 LL[7]。与四个完整的声调相比，轻声不能单独成调，需要在语流中表现出来，因此其产出情况较为复杂，既与语境密切相关，又往往因人而异。轻声的声学表现虽然包括了音高、时长、音强等的变化，但在感知上，一般都认为音高才是主要感知线索，时长次之(Cao，1986；Wang，2004)。因此 Li (2023)的声调计时指定模型把声调的音高层架构在计时层之上(上表为调值呈现方便，将音高层置于计时层下端)、并假设声调连读时底层的计时结构会发生变化，从而引起音高的变化，当音高变化明显时就会被感知为变调。轻声也不例外。人们对轻声的感知或许更依赖于音高的变化，但其变化必定要有底层的计时单元 X 作为支撑。

本研究假定在依附型轻声和中和型轻声中，当前者与一个不带调(toneless)的音节对应时，如叠音名词“爸爸”中后字只是对前字在音段上的复制，可视作不带调，后字共享前字的声调；后者与完整调 T1/T2/T3/T4 连读时，其承载的缺省值 L 会与前调尾部音高成分整合。以上假定有助于推导出两类轻声与前接四调连读时的音高表现。下面两张表分别呈现了两类轻声在与四个完整调的组合里音高-计时结构在音系上的整合过程以及各自最终可能表现出来的音高模式：

表 2. 四种 T-AT0 组合中的音高-计时整合过程：

[4] 事实上这种假设有一定的语音学证据，如 Deng and Shi (2008)发现阴平一般前部较高，尾部轻微下降。
[5] 一些声学实验如 Chen and Xu (2006) 和 Li (2017)均发现轻声音高目标在语流中大多居中位(M)。
[6] 脚注 1 提到轻声的英文通常为 *neutral tone*，本研究认为其用来指 NT0 更为贴切。
[7] Lin (1999)和 Shi and Ran (2011)分别从音系和语音的角度论证了普通话上声从本质上来说就是低平调。

四种组合	两个维度	整合前		整合后	后部音高走势	后部整体音高
T1-AT0:	音高层:	HH-ø	→	H$\underline{\text{H}}$H↓	顺延下倾	偏高
	计时层:	μX-X	→	μXX		
T2-AT0:	音高层:	LH-ø	→	LH$\underline{\text{H}}$↓	顺延下倾	偏高
	计时层:	Xμ-X	→	XμX		
T3-AT0:	音高层:	LLH-ø	→	LLH	保持不变	中值
	计时层:	XμX-X	→	XμX̸X		
T4-AT0:	音高层:	HL-ø	→	H$\underline{\text{H}}$L	顺延下降	偏中
	计时层:	μX-X	→	μXX		

上表显示在 T1/T2/T4 里与 μ 对应的核心音高成分 H 会因来自 AT0 里 X 的加入而得到顺延。照理随着计时单元的增加，非核心音高成分也会得到顺延，但这里假定其顺延程度不如核心音高成分，因而只标记后者的顺延($\underline{\text{H}}$)。注意在 T1/T2 后，AT0 承载的音高成分由于边界效应会有一个自然下倾的走势(↓)，可以看作是音高不能长时保持高值而自然回落到中值的过程，但整体仍偏高。至于 T4 后的 AT0，虽然看似其承载的是 L，但由于顺延的主要是前调的核心音高 H 而不是 L，因此原来的 L 由于顺延两个 H 带来的惯性作用不一定能降到位，也造成尾部音高整体比实际的 L 高(偏中)。这里还有两个细节需要注意：一是 T2 后的 AT0 整体音高比 T1 后的要高，这是因为 T2 的核心成分 H 更靠后，由于顺延的惯性作用其下倾幅度不会太大；二是 T4 后的 AT0 整体音高比 T1/T2 后的低，因为前者承载的是 L，后者是 H，即便下倾也达不到 L 的程度。以上预测已被 Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)的研究证实。

在 T3-AT0 里，与 T3 的上扬调尾(H)对应的计时单元 X 会因挤压而脱落(X̸)，由 AT0 对应的 X 上来填补，最终使得 T3-AT0 一起承载上声，保持其调型 LLH 不变、后部音高走势仍保持上扬，但 T3 尾部的实际音高通常在中值，故后接 AT0 的音高表现为中值。总之，由于 T1/T2/T3/T4 的核心音高成分及其所处位置不尽相同，因此 AT0 在这四个声调后会表现出不同的音高走势和整体音高。接下来是四个声调后接 NT0 的情况。

表 3 四种 T-NT0 组合中的音高-计时整合过程：

四种组合	两个维度	整合前		整合后	后部音高走势	后部整体音高
T1-NT0:	音高层:	HH-$\underline{\text{L}}$	→	HH$\underline{\text{L}}$↓	顺势下降	偏低
	计时层:	μX-X	→	μXX		
T2-NT0:	音高层:	LH-$\underline{\text{L}}$	→	LH$\underline{\text{L}}$↓	顺势下降	偏低
	计时层:	Xμ-X	→	XμX		
T3-NT0:	音高层:	LLH-$\underline{\text{L}}$	→	LL$\underline{\text{H}}$$\underline{\text{L}}$↑	异化上升	偏高

	计时层：	X μ X-X	→	X μ ✗X		
T4-NT0：	音高层：	HL-L	→	HLL↓	持续下降	偏低
	计时层：	μ X-X	→	μ XX		

上表显示后接 NT0 与后接 AT0 的情况不同：随着来自 NT0 的 X 和 L 的加入，T1/T2/T4 的尾部会顺势下降(L↓)，导致后部音高偏低。与 AT0 一样，在 T2 后的 NT0 整体音高比在 T1 后的高一点，因为 T2 的核心成分 H 靠后，即使后接 L 由于惯性作用降幅也不会太大。同样，T4 后的 NT0 整体音高比 T1/T2 后的低，因为在 T4-NT0 里有两个 L，其整体音高走势为持续下降，中间的 L 可视为中值 M，尾部的 L 由于惯性作用容易降到低位。至于 T3-NT0，其中 T3 的上扬调尾(H) 及与之对应的计时单元 X 会因挤压而脱落(H/✗)，由 NT0 里的 L/X 上来分别填充，这样 T3-NT0 就会有三个连续的 L，由于低调冲突导致的异化效应(类似上声变调机制[8])，最后的 L 会上升(L↑)，导致整体偏高。

这里注意上面两表之间的区别：NT0 的起始音高有额外的 L 参与，而 AT0 的起始音高就只有前调的参与。这种区别可以解释在 Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)的研究中发现的叠音名词与非叠音词里的轻声在整体音高上的差别，前提是将前者里的轻声假定为 AT0，而将后者里的轻声假定为 NT0：当 AT0 顺延 T1/T2/T4 中的核心音高成分 H 时，其起始音高因顺延的缘故偏高，继而拉高整体音高；而当 NT0 前接 T1/T2/T4 时，其自带的 L 会顺势拉低起始音高，继而拉低整体音高。也就是说，在 T1/T2/T4 之后，AT0 的整体音高要比 NT0 的高。当两者在 T3 之后时，情况刚好相反，原因是 AT0 承载的是 T3 的尾部，其音高成分(H)在语流中不稳定，易改变或脱落，很难达到高值(H 实际值约等于 3)。而 NT0 承载的音高成分(L)由于异化效应容易达到高值(实际接近 4，此时 L↑可以用 H 表示)。因此，叠音名词与非叠音词里的轻声在整体音高表现上的差别正好反映了 AT0 与 NT0 的差别。

2.3 轻声、轻音与轻化过程

本节接着讨论上节提出的两类轻声与轻音有什么关系的问题。按照以往研究的观点，轻音本来具有声调属性，只是因为轻重韵律凸显的要求在语音上表现为轻声。那么轻音究竟是与 AT0 还是与 NT0 的表现类似呢？还有其它表现吗？比如“老虎”中的后字一般被认为是轻音，因为其经历了让前字调从原来的 T3 变成 T2，然后失去本调的这一过程。那么它在语音表现上与轻声 AT0 或 NT0 相同吗？按照 Wei (2000)的观点，类似“虎”这样的后字只是发音短促像轻声而已，其仍然承载原来 T3 的主要特征，即低调。也就是说，它们只是“调值”轻声，而不是调类轻声，其调类仍是上声。注意这里的“调值”是就轻声长短而言，“调类”是就音高而言。这样一来，轻音就相当于简化的声调，即保持核心音高成分不变，只是调长缩短。

基于这一种情况，本文认为可以把轻音看作是轻化过程中的一环。完整的轻化过程从一个完整调开始，接着其中的非核心计时成分 X 脱落、核心成分 μ 降级(μ→X，即从不容易改变的状态变为较容易改变的状态)，同时其承载的音高成分随之中和化乃至丢失。这个过程走到中间就是轻音(Neutralized Tone or NT)，接着走下去就能得到前述中和型 NT0。当然也不能排除 NT0 进一步形成 AT0 的情况。下表展示了普通话四个声调的完全轻化过程，其中 TN’(Tone Neutralization)代表从完

[8]关于造成这种变调机制的原因，一种说法是为了容易发音 (Lin, 1999)，另一种是为了有利于听者辨别(Zhang, 2009)。注意上声变调是前调里的 L 变为 H，这里是后调即 NT0 里的 L 上升。两者的变调位置是由计时单元的整合情况决定的。计时结构不同、整合方式不同、变调位置也不同(参见 Li, 2023)。

整调 T 变成轻音 NT 的过程，NT’代表从轻音(NT)变成中和型轻声 NT0 的过程：

表 4. 普通话四个完整调的完全轻化过程：

	T1		TN’		NT		NT’		NT0		AT0
音高层：	HH	→	H̶H̶	→	H	→	H↓	→	L̲	→	ø
计时层：	μX	→	μX̶	→	μ	→	μ↓	→	X	→	X
	T2		**TN’**		**NT**		**NT’**		**NT0**		**AT0**
音高层：	LH	→	L̶H	→	H	→	H↓	→	L̲	→	ø
计时层：	Xμ	→	X̶μ	→	μ	→	μ↓	→	X	→	X
	T3		**TN’**		**NT**		**NT’**		**NT0**		**AT0**
音高层：	LLH	→	L̶LH	→	L	→	L↑	→	L̲	→	ø
计时层：	XμX	→	X̶μX̶	→	μ	→	μ↓	→	X	→	X
	T4		**TN’**		**NT**		**NT’**		**NT0**		**AT0**
音高层：	HL	→	H̶L	→	H	→	H↓	→	L̲	→	ø
计时层：	μX	→	μX̶	→	μ	→	μ↓	→	X	→	X

上表显示完全轻化过程主要分为两步，第一步 TN’去除非指定计时单元 X 以及对应的音高成分，留下 μ 及与之对应的核心音高成分，使完整调变成轻音(T→NT)。其中 T1/T2/T4 留下的核心成分是 H，T3 的是 L。第二步 NT’将仅存的计时单元 μ 降级(↓)变成 X 以及将对应的音高成分中和化成 L̲(实际可为中值)，即从轻音变成中和型轻声(NT→NT0)。注意 T3 里的音高成分 L 因为已是低值，所谓中和化其实是向反方向轻微上升(L↑)，趋向于中值，其它调里的核心成分则是从 H 下降到中值(H↓)。在上述的例词“老虎”中，如果后字调是一个较短的低调，那么它很可能经历了 TN’、成为保留了 L 这个主要特征的轻音 NT。如果后字是一个更短稍高的调，那么它很可能经历了 NT’、 成为了具有计时单元 X 以及缺省值 L̲ 的中和型 NT0。

从声调具有音高-计时结构的角度，这个轻化过程的主要节点有三个：1)所有计时单元以及对应的音高成分完整存在(T)；2)只有 μ 和与之对应的音高成分存在(NT)；3)只有 X 和与之对应的 L̲ 存在(NT0)。这三个节点或许可以对应 Feng (2016)在讨论北京话重音时提到的重轻等级“重、稍轻、轻、最轻”中的前三级。最后一级“最轻”或许可以认为就是 AT0，它只有 X 存在，缺乏对应的音高成分，即在上表最后一列，如果不赋予 NT0 缺省值，那么它就会变成 AT0。

注意从 NT0 到 AT0 的轻化条件不一定与重音有关。这里可以用一个关于轻声字辨义影响轻声表现的研究来说明。根据 Li and Li (2011)，重重型和重轻型双音节词最小对立对如指方向的“东西”与指物品的“东西”里的后字具有辨义作用。研究结果显示重轻型“东西”里的轻声字“西”在 T3 后表现为偏低的中平(33)，具有顺延前字音高的 AT0 的特点。也就是说具有辨义作用的轻声很可能经历了从 NT0 到 AT0 的过程，以至于最后的语音表现类似 AT0 而不是 NT0。究其原因，可以认为重轻型词里的轻声从原本的 NT0 变成 AT0 后跟重重型里对应的非轻声对比更加强烈，从而能加强辨义的作用。与之对比的是 Feng (2015)的研究，其涉及到了非叠音词如舒服、媳妇、姐夫、大夫中后字轻声的语音表现，这里的后字不具有辨义作用。研究结果显示不具有辨义作用的轻声在 T3 后的表现甚至可以达到高平值

(44)，类似 NT0 的表现。可能的解释是这些非叠音词后字轻化为 NT0 后，由于没有进一步辨义的需要，因此也没有走到最后一步，即轻化为 AT0。

另外，在 Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)的研究中还有一个结果需要解释，就是叠音形容词里的轻声整体音高比叠音动词里的更趋向于中值。照理这两类叠音词都应是 NT0，在 T1/T2/T4 之后偏低，只在 T3 之后偏高。但实际结果却出现了两个反常：叠音动词里的轻声整体音高在 T3 之后偏低以及叠音形容词里的轻声整体音高在 T4 之后偏高。究其原因，本文认为可能与它们的形态句法结构以及韵律位置凸显程度有关。根据 Hu (2017)的研究，及物与非及物叠音动词以及叠音形容词的结构会左右轻化规则的运用。比如叠音动词“见见”在非及物结构中，后字调会被轻化而变为轻声，但在及物结构中（如“见见姐姐”），就不会被轻化，但由于后字调处在韵律单元中间的不凸显位置(第二位)，其发音易被弱化(weakening)。轻化和弱化的主要差别为前者会改变声调的性质（如 T4→T0），而后者只会降低音高变化的幅度（如 HL→ML）。恰好 Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)研究里的叠音动词均后接了双音节名词，为及物动词四字组，因此可以推测，及物动词中的后字调因其所处的韵律位置不凸显而发生了弱化，致使其变化幅度不大。当其为 T3 时，前字调 T3 会变为 T2，而自身的音高成分 LL(T3 末位高值 H 在语流中一般不会出现)会弱化，若变化不大就能保持中偏低值。这也就解释了为什么叠音及物动词后字调为 T3 时音高不如 NT0 那么高，因其是韵律弱化造成类似轻声的一种表现，可称之为弱化调（Weakened Tone, WT），当然 WT 也有可能进一步发展成较为短促的轻音(NT)或轻声(NT0)，在上表中可视作处在 T 到 TN’中间的一环。

至于研究里的叠音形容词四字组如“地地道道”，其结构虽不同于叠音动词，但假设其与不及物叠音动词类似[9]，第二个字调可以轻化成 NT0，又由于其同样处于韵律不凸显的第二位，也可以被弱化。最终可以认为叠音形容词里的第二个字调是中和叠加了弱化。在 T4 之后，NT0 偏低的音高发生弱化后会使后部整体升高，趋于中值、以避免音高下降幅度过大(即 HL-L→HMM 而不是 HML)。这也就解释了为什么叠音形容词四字组首字调为 T4 时后接字调不像 NT0 那么低，其表现可称之为央化轻声(Centralized NT0 or CT0)。下表用一些例词总结了完整调、弱化调、轻音以及不同类型轻声在音高-计时结构上的区别：

表 5. 普通话不同类型声调在音高-计时结构上的区别：

声调性质	完整调 T	弱化调 WT	轻音 NT	中和型轻声 NT0	央化轻声 CT0	依附型轻声 AT0
音高结构	HL(T4)	ML(T4)	L(T3)	L	M	L
计时结构	μX	μX	μ	X	X	X
例词	见	(见)见(姐姐)	(老)虎	(见)见	(地)地(道道)	(弟)弟

最后一个相关问题是究竟如何判断一个类似轻声的字调里承载的是 AT0、NT0、CT0，抑或是 NT、WT。上述讨论已经显示，这些类型的形成不仅与形态结构有关，而且也与韵律位置有关。在语流中，它们的产出还会随着信息结构的不同如是否处在焦点位置而变化(Li, 2017)，以至于在语音表征上难以区分。本研究只能另辟蹊径，试图在音系底层的音高-计时结构上区分它们，并以此出发来解释近年

[9] Hu (2017)的研究只提到叠音形容词两字组，而 Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)研究里的叠音形容词为 AABB 型四字组。因此他对叠音形容词的分析在此处不适用。

来的实验结果，虽具有一定的解释力，但仍需更多更细化的实验来证实。

2.4 对两个研究问题的回答

上面从音高-计时结构的角度并以一些实验结果为佐证分析了依附型轻声(ATO)，中和型轻声(NTO)，以及轻音 (NT)之间的关系，为轻声界定与分类打下了基础。现在先来回答第一个问题，即轻声该如何界定与分类？本文认为轻声可以从音系上定义为只包含一个非指定计时单元 X 的声调，然后根据其音高成分的性质分为依附型 ATO 与中和型 NTO。轻声与轻音不同之处在于前者所谓的“轻”主要指计时上的“短”，即包含一个 X，且不仅代表 NTO，也代表 ATO。后者所谓的“轻”主要指计时成分上的“精”，即包含的是一个指定计时单元 μ，其所承载的调值不一定是缺省值 L，而是其原本声调中的核心音高成分(H/L)。不过轻音在语流中，容易受到相邻声调以及韵律位置等诸多因素的影响、转化为轻声。这里也要注意区分弱化调(WT)与轻音、轻声的不同：一个完整调在韵律单元中由于所处位置不凸显会被弱化，弱化过程中原有的音高-计时结构还没有被完全整合，因此原有调型得以维持，只是调域压缩而已。不过在语流中，弱化调容易转化成轻音，轻音一旦被固化，就容易变成轻声。另外，如果轻声处在弱化位置就会央化，这是人类最自然的一种发音状态(回归中值)。

关于第二个问题，即轻声的存在是否说明普通话有词重音？本研究认为答案是肯定的，但普通话词重音不像英语那样可以从语音上直接反映出来，而是需从音系上来定性。这里以 T4-T4 组合为例来说明。该组合本具有 μX-μX 的底层结构，根据 Li (2023)的假定，其所含的计时单元若受到计时压力时会按下列顺序整合：μX-μX→μX-μX→μμ↓X→μXX。也就是说，处于中间的 X 易受到挤压而脱落、随后的 μ 也会因挤压降级为 X，只留下第一个核心单元 μ 作为整个计时结构的承重之处，因此该组合具有左重韵律。这个过程可看作是两个声调协同轻化的过程，即连调轻化，与上表 4 的单调轻化方式稍有不同(无需去除所有 X)。另一方面，若连调中后调本就是 T0，如 T4-T0 的组合就天然具有 μX-X、即左重的底层结构。不过，两个组合虽在计时结构上均是左重，而在音高结构上却有所不同：前者呈先缓后陡的降势(HL-HL→HML，中间一般对应中偏高的过渡调值)，后者呈先陡后缓的降势 (HL̲L，中间一般对应中偏低的过渡调值)。由于陡降的听感比缓降凸显，因此 T4-T4 组合的左重感知不如 T4-T0 的明显，甚至给人以右重之感。因此，轻化的语音表现只能从一个侧面、在某种程度上反映重音的存在。

若假定声调连读时会引发轻化，那么其所含的计时单元会重新整合，形成以 μ 为中心的计时结构，音高结构随之调整。轻化明显时就能给人以轻重的感知[10]，也就是说，轻化有可能是实现汉语词重音的手段。不过，非轻声组合在连读时即使底层的计时结构发生了改变，所对应的音高结构如果改变不大的话，听者是无法感知轻重的，但这并不妨碍重音作为语言的普遍共性在汉语底层的存在，只不过其存在的形式是隐性的，主要蕴含在底层的基于 μX 的计时结构中，因此不能完全通过声学参数如音高与时长等或者通过发音参数如发音态势的相对时长或生硬程度等来表征。

3 与以往相关研究的比较

首先，本研究关于普通话轻声调值的来源与 Wang (2006)提出的轻声音高类型中缺省与延展的概念有所不同。Wang (2006)认为北京话（普通话类似）T1/T2/T4 后的 T0 是缺省型（具有 L̲ 值），而 T3 后的 T0 是分裂型，即 T3 高调尾与前面调值分裂(LLH→LL.H)后移到了 T0 的位置（即带有 H 值）。而本研究认为只有中和型轻声 NT0 才是缺省型，即使是 T3 后的 NT0 也是缺省型（同样具有 L̲ 值），只不过 T3

[10] 从某种意义上来说，变调也可以视作轻化，因为音高结构变化明显，在某些汉语方言如吴语中，曲折调变平调很普遍，这实质上也应是重音显化的结果(Li, 2022)。

的高调尾H受到计时挤压脱落，然后缺省值L趁虚而入，填补其位后再通过异化效应变成了H，因此与Wang (2006)提到的T3调尾分裂后再由T0承接的过程有本质上的不同。 前述Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)的研究也已经证实NT0在T3后的 音高(调值接近4)比T3分裂(本质是延展)而来的AT0的音高(调值接近3)要高。

另外，Wang (2006)还提到延展型轻声是取前调的终点值而来，本研究认为尽管依附型AT0的调值也是从前调延展而来，但此延展是由于底层的计时单元得到扩充而致，是整调的延展，只是在与μ对应的核心音高成分上得到了更充分的体现。因此当μ位置在左边时，其延展的主要是左边的音高成分。如当T4(HL/μX)延展到AT0时，延展程度较大的应该是H而不是L，最后形成HHL而不是HLL。尽管两者的音高走势都是持续下降，但由于惯性作用实际表现却是前者后部偏高，后者后部偏低。这种走势一般不易察觉，但在Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)深入细致的研究中就体现了出来，如叠音名词里的AT0后接T4时音高偏高而不是像后接NT0时那样偏低。总之，轻声调值至少受三种因素影响：原字调和前调的音高-计时结构、对应字/词的性质与形态句法结构、在韵律单元中的位置。因此不能笼统归类。

其次，Huang and Shi (2019)提到的可轻声、必轻声、正轻声与本研究定义的NT、NT0、AT0并没有一一对应关系。在上节呈现的完全轻化过程中NT0虽然可以从NT推导出来，AT0可以从NT0推导出来，但并不是所有的NT0都是从NT推导而来的，也不是所有的AT0都是从NT0推导而来的。如叠音名词“姐姐”中的后字，虽然它有本调T3，可以成为NT或NT0，但实际的语音表现却是AT0，说明这个字一开始就应该是无调值的，否则就会引起前字变调。既然前字没有变调，说明后字本身就无调值，与轻化过程无关。不过，本研究认为一些声调确实可以看作是处于轻化过程中的不同阶段，沿途有不同的声学表现，与Huang and Shi (2019)提到的汉语重轻连续统之说有相似之处。

最后，Huang and Shi (2019)的重轻连续统之说还牵涉到一个“轻化程度”的概念。他们的实验数据显示正轻声在时长、音高和调域上和非轻声相比压缩得更厉害，因此他们将正轻声放在连续统的最右端，也就是说正轻声的轻化程度最大。而上述Yoon, Kim, and Eom (2021)的研究也显示在T1/T2/T4后，功能性助词(相当于NT0)比重叠名词(相当于AT0)的整体音高低，调域窄，似乎轻化程度更高，但是从音系的角度看，应该是AT0比NT0的轻化程度更高，因为它连调值都没有！那我们要如何理解这一看似矛盾的情况呢？本文认为轻化程度不能只凭绝对的语音表现而定。我们说AT0比NT0轻化程度高是指AT0很容易被前调同化而失去自己的特征，从这个意义来说，轻声(NT0)不如失去调值对比能力的AT0轻化程度大。况且上述研究中发现的NT0调域压缩程度大并不代表其轻化程度大，而是因为NT0若想保留自己的特征就必须与前调异化、造成调值的对立，如前调高NT0就必须低，前调低NT0就必须高，这也就是为什么在T3后，NT0的音高反而比AT0的要高，因为只有与前面的低调形成对立，才能保住自己的特征，并不是为了加大轻化程度而为之。当然从与前调重轻对比的角度，无疑是NT0最轻，而AT0相当于已经融入了前调，对比之说无从谈起。因此，上述看似矛盾的情况如果分别从连调重轻对比和声调本身轻重的不同角度去理解就不矛盾了。

4 总结

至此，本文回顾了以往研究中关于轻声界定、分类的不同观点，探讨了如何以基于μX的声调计时模型为框架来界定轻声、并划分轻声类别。本文还展示了如何用从该模型发展出来的音高-计时结构来解释轻声的音高演变过程，揭示了不同类别轻声、轻音、弱化调之间的关系，并解释了近年来关于不同词类轻声表现不同的实验研究结果。后续研究可以分三个方向进行，一是深入探讨轻声的底层计时结构与轻声实际时长及音高之间的关系，因为按照声调计时指定模型，它们之间应该有特定的对应关

系，如μ对应的音高成分在时长上要比X对应的长；二是完善对不同词类中轻声的产出与感知模式研究，以便进一步证实轻声与词类之间的关系，如有轻声表现的非叠音词类也可以进一步分为名词、动词、形容词等进行研究；三是研究轻声在不同汉语方言中的表现以及在韵律层级中的地位。如某些吴语方言通过特定的变调机制可将声调变成类似于轻声的中平或低平调，且在韵律词层和短语层分别有不同的变调机制，以形成或左重或右重的韵律模式。厘清这些就可以让我们通过轻声这个窗口对汉语词重音及与之相关的韵律和节奏模式有更加深入的了解，并为汉语普通话与方言的韵律与节奏类型学研究提供借鉴。

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贵州省六枝话“漂亮”一词的语义分析

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摘 要： 在普通话中，“漂亮”作为常用的形容词，其基本义是好看，美观，出色。前人对“漂亮”一词的语义研究，多集中在词义演变、句法功能差异以及审美联系等层面。然而，立足于方言视角研究“漂亮”一词的语义多样性及社会文化内涵的成果却相对匮乏。各个方言区对“漂亮”一词的表述多样，各具地方特色。在六枝话中，除“漂亮”一词外，还有大量表示漂亮之义的词，如“撑达”“抻”“板扎”“妖精”等。这些词与普通话“漂亮”一词在语义上均表达“美”的范畴，但在用法和侧重点上存在差异。文章通过田野调查法收集整理相关方言词的语料，并采用义素分析法，根据语义特征和语义成分进行分类，结合具体的语境分析词汇的搭配对象，最后从社会文化维度展开阐释。初步发现，普通话中“漂亮”一词的适用范围较广，而六枝话中“漂亮”义词有具体的语义指向，如“撑达”强调端庄得体、清爽利落的气质；“板扎”原指物体扎得牢固，后用来形容人精神饱满；“妖精”则含有几分调侃和打趣的意味。通过对这些方言词汇的探析，丰富了“漂亮”一词的语义研究视角，反映了当地人独特的审美特点、语言习惯和深厚的文化内涵，深化我们对区域方言多样性的认知。

关键词： 义素分析法；贵州省六枝话；漂亮；语义特征；社会文化内涵

Semantic Analysis of the Word "Beautiful" in Liuzhi Dialect of Guizhou Province

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Abstract: In Mandarin, "beautiful" is a commonly used adjective, whose basic meaning is good-looking, beautiful and outstanding. Previous studies on the semantics of " beautiful " have mainly focused on its semantic evolution, syntactic functional differences and aesthetic connections. However, research on the semantic diversity and social cultural connotations of " beautiful " from the perspective of dialects is relatively scarce. In different dialect areas, there are various expressions for " beautiful ", each with its own local characteristics. In Liuzhi dialect, apart from " beautiful ", there are also many words expressing the meaning of "beautiful", such as "ceng tou" "cong" "ban za" "yaojing" and so on. These words all fall within the semantic category of "beauty" like " beautiful " in Mandarin, but their usages and emphases differ. Through field investigation to collect and sort out the relevant dialect words, and using the semantic feature analysis method to classify them based on semantic features and components, and analyzing the collocation objects in specific

contexts, the social and cultural dimensions are finally explored. It is initially found that the application scope of " beautiful " in Mandarin is relatively broad, while the synonyms of " beautiful" in Liuzhi dialect have specific semantic orientations. For instance, "ceng tou" emphasizes a dignified and neat demeanor; "ban za" originally referred to objects being firmly fastened, but later was used to describe people being energetic; "yao jing" has a touch of teasing and joking. Through the exploration of these dialect words, the research perspective on the semantics of " beautiful " is enriched, reflecting the unique aesthetic characteristics, language habits and profound cultural connotations of the local people, and deepening our understanding of the diversity of regional dialects.

Keywords: Semantic Analysis; Liuzhi dialect in Guizhou Province; Beautiful; Semantic features; Socio-cultural connotations

引言

“语言是人类最重要的交际工具和思维工具，又是文化的载体和重要组成部分。”[①]“语言是由词汇材料和语法规则构成的音义结合的符号系统。其中词是语言中最小的能够独立运用的有音又有义的语言单位。”[②]词分为单纯词和合成词，合成词由两个或两个以上语素构成，“漂亮”就是一个复合式合成词。在现代汉语中，“漂亮”是一个常用的形容词，广泛应用于对人、事物或行为等多方面的描述与评价，其语义丰富且具有一定的灵活性。

六枝，隶属于贵州省六盘水市。东临普定、镇宁，西接普安、晴隆、水城，南连关岭县，北靠织金、纳雍县，总面积 1799.48 平方公里。2022 年，六枝户籍人口 75.83 万人，常住人口 53.41 万人。西南官话是汉语官话方言中分布范围最广、使用人口最多的方言区，贵州省六枝话是西南官话的分支。根据《贵州省志汉语方言志》的划分，六枝话属于西南官话的黔中片。“漂亮”不仅在当代语境中含有丰富的语义，在不同的方言中，对“漂亮”的表述也不同。在六枝话中，表达“漂亮”义的词有很多，如“撑抖”“抻”“板扎”“妖精”等，这些词在不同的语境中有不同的用法。

一、六枝话“漂亮”一词的研究

关于“漂亮”一词的语义研究的论文相对来说比较少。有学者从词义演变的角度研究“漂亮”一词。钱颖科的《“漂亮”的词义演变探析》（2022）分别从“漂”和“亮”二字的本义、引申义入手，进一步从历时的角度探讨“漂”“亮”二字组合成“漂亮”一词后的释义。初步判定“漂亮”为已有短语凝固成词，是现代汉语合成词，存在单语素并列关系，无论“漂”或“亮”组成什么新词，都不能完全替代“漂亮”。[③]

有学者从英汉对比的视角研究“漂亮”一词的句法功能。符志芳，罗思明的《英汉“漂亮”类形容词的句法功能与功能负荷量对比研究》（2017）立足 BNC 与 CCL 语料，对英汉“漂亮”类形容词的句法功能

① 李小凡，项梦冰：《汉语方言学基础教程（第二版）》，《北京大学出版社》，2020 年第 8 期，第 1 页。
② 黄伯荣，廖序东：《现代汉语（增订六版）》，《高等教育出版社》，2017 年第 6 期，第 202 页。
③ 钱颖科：《“漂亮”的词义演变探析》，《汉字文化》，2022 年第 2 期,第 206-207 页。

进行比较分析。发现现代汉语中“漂亮”与“美丽”的共性与区别，“美丽”和“漂亮”均能作主语、谓语、宾语、定语、状语、补语，但“美丽”通常只能作直接谓语，而“漂亮”不仅可直接作谓语，还可作重叠式谓语。[①]

有学者从近义词辨析的角度分析“漂亮”类词的相似之处和不同之处。高亚辉的《基于语料库对近义形容词的辨析——以“漂亮”和“美丽”为例》（2015）以“漂亮”和“美丽”为例，基于国家语委语料库中出现的所有语料，从语义，语法和语用三个方面入手，对“漂亮”和“美丽”进行分析，得出“漂亮”和“美丽”都有“好看”的意思，但在语法功能等方面有所不同。[②]

傅来兮则从方言中表示“漂亮”义的词入手，探究各个方言词的源流与内涵。他在《陕北方言中“漂亮”义词语探析》中（2009）对陕北方言中表示“漂亮”义的词“俊”“奴”“可喜”“袭人”“骨香”“拴整”“靓”等进行分析，揭示陕北方言词语丰富有趣的表达形式、效果和文化韵味。[③]

除了对从词义演变、对比角度、方言词汇角度研究“漂亮”一词的词义以外，还有学者从审美文化的角度分析“漂亮”所体现的审美内涵。如刘士林的《俗语“漂亮”与美的本源》[④]（1998）、高磊的《“漂亮”与“美”》[⑤]（2008）、高磊的《“漂亮”与“漂亮主义”》[⑥]（2008）等从不同的角度阐释了“漂亮”与审美之间的联系。

在前人的研究中，从方言的角度研究“漂亮”一词的只有傅来兮的《陕北方言中“漂亮”义词语探析》，其他方言区关于“漂亮”一词的研究目前尚未发现。六枝话中“漂亮”一词的用法也有独特之处，在不同的语境中，“漂亮”表现出不同的含义。

二、六枝话“漂亮”一词的基本义

“词义是词的意义，即词的内容。”[⑦]一个词有本义、基本义及引申义。本义指的是“词本来的意义，也就是从记录这个词的汉字结构上所反映出来的并在古代文献用例中得到证明的含义”[⑧]。

“漂亮”的本义，可以从先秦时代的一些记载中加以了解。“亮”一词，《说文解字》中解释为：“亮，明也。”“亮”就是光明、显现，它与自然光线和人的视觉有关。“漂”一词的意义更加繁琐。《说文解字》中解释为：“漂，浮也。”“漂”的本义是浮，浮流。[⑨]《集韵·宵韵》解作“漂，击絮水中也”。它本是一种手工艺，《史记·淮阴侯列传》中提到的“漂母”，《庄子·逍遥游》中提到的“洴澼絖”，都是对这一手工艺的具体的记载。至今这一手工艺和“漂”这一词仍在民间使用。“漂”的含义，可以理解为一种去除杂质的过程，像今天所说的“漂白”，“白”的意思不是指颜色，而是指一件事物的本色、本质表露出来。因此，

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① 符志芳，罗思明：《英汉“漂亮”类形容词的句法功能与功能负荷量对比研究》，《现代语文（语言研究版）》，2017 年第 7 期，第 128-130 页。
② 高亚辉：《基于语料库对近义形容词的辨析——以“漂亮”和“美丽”为例》，《语文学刊》，2015 年第 6 期，第 43-44 页。
③ 傅来兮：《陕北方言中“漂亮”义词语探析》，《榆林学院学报》，2009 年第 3 期，第 18-21 页。
④ 刘士林：《俗语“漂亮”与美的本源》，《江苏社会科学》，1998 年第 3 期，第 107-112 页。
⑤ 高磊：《“漂亮”与“美”》，《电影文学》，2008 年第 2 期，第 42-43 页。
⑥ 高磊：《“漂亮”与“漂亮主义”》，《电影文学》，2008 年第 3 期，第 83-84 页。
⑦ 黄伯荣，廖序东：《现代汉语（增订六版）》，《高等教育出版社》，2017 年第 6 期，第 212 页。
⑧ 王力：《古代漢語》，《中华书局》，2018 年第 6 期，第 390 页。
⑨ 许慎撰：《说文解字注》，[清]段玉裁注，《上海古籍出版社》，1988 年。

漂亮的本义就是，通过人工去除杂质，使一个事物的本质进入到光明之中。[①]

一个词除了本义，还有基本义。有的词有几个义项，几个义项之间的地位并不是平等的，其中最常用的意义叫基本义。“漂亮”在各个词典中的释义基本一致，但又各不相同。我们从各个词典的释义来总结“漂亮”一词的基本义。《辞海》中“漂亮”一词的释义包括两个，分别是：①色彩鲜明。《说文·糸部》：“繓，丝色也。”段玉裁注：“《考工记》曰：‘丝欲沈。’注云：‘如在水中时色。’今人谓之漂亮。”引申指美观。如：打扮得很漂亮。②出色。如：事情办得漂亮；打一个漂亮仗。[②]

《现代汉语词典》（第六版）中“漂亮”一词的释义包括两个，分别是：形，①好看；美观。如：她长得~|衣服~|节日里，孩子们打扮得漂漂亮亮的。②出色。如：事情办得~|打了一个~仗|普通话说得很~。”[③]

《新华字典》（第 12 版）中“漂亮”一词的释义包括两个，分别是：①美，好看；②出色。如：活儿干得很~。[④]

通过词典中的释义，我们发现“漂亮”一词的基本义主要是用来形容人长得好看。用义素分析法分析六枝话中“漂亮”表示人的外貌好看的义项，则有：

（1）[+女性][+外貌][+好看]（阿家小姑娘些~得很。）

（2）[+小孩][+外貌][+可爱]（那个小孩子长得很~。）

“漂亮”用来形容人的外貌时，侧重点不一样。用来形容女性时，侧重于表现女性的容貌精致、有气质，具有吸引力，让人觉得好看。用来形容小孩时，侧重于表现小孩子纯真可爱的感觉，凸显小孩子的活泼，这种“漂亮”是纯粹的，没有参杂其他东西的漂亮。

三、六枝话中“漂亮”一词的引申义

引申义指的是“在基本义的基础上经过推演发展而产生的意义”[⑤]。引申主要有两种方式：隐喻和转喻。隐喻建立在两个意义所反映的现实现象的某种相似的基础上。转喻的基础不是现实现象的相似，而是两类现实现象之间存在着某种联系。这种联系在人们的心目中经常出现而固定化，因而可以用指称甲类现象的词去指称乙类现象。[⑥]六枝话中，“漂亮”一词在基本义的基础上，通过隐喻或转喻的方式引申出其他一些意思，可以分为以下几类。

（一）自然界事物的美观

“漂亮”最基本的意思是用来形容人的外表漂亮，除此之外，“漂亮”常常用来形容自然界和人类社会各种事物的美观。自然界的事物包括生物和非生物，六枝话中“漂亮”一词用在描述自然界的事物时有自己的特点。

1.生物类

生物类包括动物、植物等，“漂亮”用来形容植物的美时，侧重于体现植物的颜色和形态好看；当用

① 刘士林：《俗语“漂亮”与美的本源》，《江苏社会科学》，1998 年第 3 期，第 107-112 页。
② 陈至立：《辞海（第七版）》，《上海辞书出版社》，2020 年第 8 期，第 923 页。
③ 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室：《现代汉语词典（第六版）》，《商务印书馆》，2012 年第 6 期，第 995 页。
④ 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室编：《新华字典（第 12 版）》，《商务印书馆》，2020 年第 6 期，第 354 页。
⑤ 黄伯荣，廖序东：《现代汉语（增订六版）》，《高等教育出版社》，2017 年第 6 期，第 218 页。
⑥ 叶蜚声，徐通锵：《语言学纲要》，《北京大学出版社》，2020 年第 12 期，第 128 页。

来形容动物时，侧重于展现动物的外观和行为动作等的特征。

例如：

（3）[+动物] [+外观][+可爱]（例句：这只猫咪太~咯。）

（4）[+草本植物][+颜色][+好看]（例句：那朵牡丹花很~。）

2.非生物类

非生物指的是自然界的山川、河流、天空、白云等自然景观和物质。“漂亮”用来形容自然景观时，注重展现自然景观给人带来的视觉冲击、综合的美感以及引发人情感上的共鸣。

例如：

（5）[+自然景观][+外观][+好看] （例句：天上的白云像棉花糖一样太~咯。）

（6）[+自然景观][+颜色][+愉悦] （例句：今天天气很好，天空蓝蓝的很~。）

（二）人造事物的美观

人造事物包括建筑、交通工具、生活用品等类别。“漂亮”用来形容建筑、生活用品时，侧重于表现设计风格、材质、制作工艺等的精良。

例如：

（7）[+建筑][+外观][+大气]（例句：这家房子修得太~咯，亮堂堂嘞!）

（8）[+饰品][+佩戴于手腕][+视觉美感]（例句：你这个手链~得很!）

（9）[+交通工具][+外形][+气派]（例句：这辆小汽车很~!）

（10）[+服饰][+做工][+精致]（例句：你这条裙子~得很!）

在六枝话中，“漂亮”用来形容事物的美观时，可以用在程度副词后，表示程度的加深，形容非常漂亮。还可以用在述补结构中，例②中“漂亮得很”就是述补结构。“漂亮”是中心语，是被描述的对象，表示美丽、好看的意思；“得”是结构助词，用于连接中心语和补语；“很”是补语，用来补充说明“漂亮”的程度，强调非常、十分的意思。整体意思是极其漂亮、非常好看。

（三）文笔出色；精彩

“漂亮”可以用来形容文章写得出色、精彩，表达一种夸赞、褒奖的态度。

例如：

（11）[+文章][+语言][+优美]（例如：阿个作家写嘞这篇散文太~咯，文字优美得很。）

（12）[+作者][+写作能力][+高超]（例如：你看这篇文章写得~不？文笔硬是好。）

上面两个例子用“漂亮”来形容文章语言优美，作者写作能力强。“漂亮”传达给人的情感是这篇文章确实写的十分优美，令人惊叹。同时，也是对写作者能力的肯定。

（四）能力强，技艺高

这里的技艺包括厨艺、手工艺等技能。在六枝话中，“漂亮”常用来形容某人某方面的能力强，技艺高超。

例如：

（13）[+烹饪][+味道][+出色]（例如：这盘菜炒得~，色香味俱全嘞。）

（14）[+烹饪主体][+技艺][+高超]（例如：这家馆子的大厨厨艺太~了嘛，炒出来的菜颜色好看得很。）

（15）[+专业技能][+手工操作][+精良]（例如：那个木工手艺~得很，打的家具又好看又结实。）

例子中的“漂亮”不仅指菜的外观好看，还包含对做菜者厨艺的高度认可和赞美。强调菜在色、香、味等各方面都很出色，让人看着有食欲。“漂亮”除了表现厨艺的高超，还能展现人在手工艺等其他技艺方面的能力强。

（五）事情进展顺利，圆满

在六枝话中，“漂亮”还表示事情进展的顺利、圆满。

例如：

（16）[+集体项目][+筹划实施][+令人满意]（例如：这次活动组织得~，大家都玩得很开心。）

（17）[+行为主体][+行事能力][+出色]（例如：他这事办得真~，一点都不拖泥带水。）

例（16）“这次活动组织得漂亮”，说明活动的组织工作在各个方面都安排得很好，让人满意；例（17）“他这事办得真漂亮”，强调他处理事情的方式、方法得当，效率高，效果好。

（六）说话、举止得体

“漂亮”还可以形容行为主体说话得体，举止落落大方。

例如：

（18）[+人][+语言表达][+得体]（例如：你这话讲得~，让人听了心里舒服。）

（19）[+人][+行为表现][+大方]（例如：你看人家在台上演讲，举止~得很，一点都不怯场。）

这两个例子中的“漂亮”带有夸赞和褒奖的意味，强调说话者说话得体，举止大方。例（18）中“话讲得漂亮”带来的是一种积极的心理感受；例（19）中用“漂亮”来形容举止，说明说话者自信大方，给人留下深刻印象。

在现代语境下，“漂亮”除了褒义之外，在一些语境下也会带有贬义，用来表示反讽。当说话者的语气带有嘲讽、讥笑时，“漂亮”就成了反讽。例如：“你可真漂亮啊，把事情搞得一团糟。”这里的“漂亮”其实是在批评对方把事情办得很差，是用正话反说的方式来表达不满和指责。此外，“漂亮”被用来形容行为带有不良企图时，也带有贬义。比如：“他那番漂亮的说辞，不过是为了哄骗别人给他投资，实际上项目根本不靠谱。”在这个句子里，“漂亮的说辞”强调言辞表面很好听，但背后是欺骗的意图。

四、六枝话中表示“漂亮”义的方言词

六枝话中含有漂亮义的方言词有很多，分别是“撑达”“抻”“板扎”“妖精”，这些词都包含漂亮的意思。

（一）撑达（[tsʰəŋ⁵⁵ tʰou]）

六枝话的“撑达”用国际音标标注为[tsʰəŋ⁵⁵ tʰou]。《新华字典》中解释“撑”，形声字。从手，掌声。本义是支撑。“撑”作形容词时，有两个意思：①过度饱满，充填使饱满。如：有点撑。②美丽。如：撑达。[①]撑达就是漂亮、出色的意思。在六枝话中，“撑达”通常用来形容人或事物的外表干净、整洁、清爽、利落，也可以表示一个人做事有条理、干脆、不拖沓。

① 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室编：《新华字典（第12版）》，《商务印书馆》，2020年第6期，第56页。

例如：

（20） [+人][+穿着][+整洁]（例句：这个人今天穿得好~哦，看起来很精神。）

（21）[+人][+行动][+利落]（例句：他做事很~，从不拖泥带水。）

（二）抻 [tsʰʊŋ⁵¹]

六枝话中“抻”用国际音标标注为[tsʰʊŋ⁵¹] 。六枝话中“抻”的意思是平整、挺阔、舒展，通常用来形容衣服穿着时的状态，表示这件衣服穿在身上显得很平整，没有褶皱，给人一种干净利落、整洁得体的感觉，带有一定的夸赞意味。引申为表现某人穿着很漂亮，很正式，现在也用来形容人以外的其他事物。

例如：

（22）[+人][+服饰][+舒展]（例句：这件衣服你穿起好~哦，太适合你了。）

（23）[+人][+外貌][+精致]（例句：那个新娘子~得很。）

（三）板扎[pan²¹ tsa²¹]

六枝话中“板扎”用国际音标标注为[pan²¹ tsa²¹]。“板扎”一词源于云南民间。最初，“板扎”是用于形容物体扎得牢固、紧实的状态，如在制作一些手工制品或绑扎物件时，扎得很结实、很规整，就可以说“板扎”，这与云南当地的手工艺制作等活动密切相关。在长期的使用过程中，其含义逐渐丰富和扩展。一方面，它开始用于形容人做事认真、踏实、可靠，如“这人干活板扎得很，交给他的任务都能出色完成”；另一方面，也用于形容事物的品质好、令人满意，比如“这顿饭做得板扎，味道太好了”。随着时间推移和交流传播，“板扎”一词在云南周边地区的方言中被广泛使用，成为一个常用词汇，用来表达对人或事物的赞美和肯定。在六枝话中，也能看到“板扎”这样的词汇。“板扎”常常用来形容一个人的外貌好看、端正、有气质，给人一种健康、精神饱满的感觉，包含了对其外貌的赞美和欣赏。

例如：

（24） [+女性][+外貌][+出众]（例如：你家姑娘长得~得很，又高挑又漂亮。）

（25）[-女性][+外貌][+出众]（例如：那个小伙子长得~哦，浓眉大眼的，看着就精神。）

我们发现，六枝话中表示漂亮义的词“板扎”除了可以形容女性外貌出众外，还可以用来表示男性的外貌出众。而普通话中“漂亮”一词一般只形容女性，形容男性多用“帅气”“英俊”这类词。

（四）妖精[iəu55 tɕin55]

六枝话中“妖精”用国际音标标注为[iəu⁵⁵ tɕin⁵⁵]。《现代汉语词典》对“妖精”一词的解释为，①妖怪，有魔法或巫术的鬼神；②比喻姿色迷人的女子。[①]《儒林外史》中有这样一句话“你若丢了我，再娶了别的妖精。”这里的“妖精”就是比喻姿色迷人的女子。在六枝话中，“妖精”一词用来形容人长得好看时，通常带有一种特别的意味，既有夸赞其外貌出众、美丽动人，有时候可能带有一丝调侃或打趣，形容这个人打扮得过于艳丽或有某种独特的魅力，让人感觉像“妖精”一样勾人。

例如：

（26）[+人][+装扮][+张扬]（例如：你今天打扮得像个~一样，太好看了，走在街上怕要迷倒一大片哦。）

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① 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室：《现代汉语词典（第六版）》，《商务印书馆》，2012 年第 6 期，第 1511 页。

（27）[+人][+五官][+精致协调]（例如：她长得~得很，那眼睛一眨，就像会勾人魂一样。）

结语

六枝话中的“漂亮”一词具有广泛的语义范畴。从基本义来看，“漂亮”主要是对人的外观的描述。此外，“漂亮”还延申到对一些事物的外观、人的出色表现、技能、抽象概念等的描述。通过义素分析法，我们清楚地看到“漂亮”一词在不同的语境中的侧重点，为进一步分析“漂亮”提供了便利。六枝话中表示“漂亮”义的词也很多，这些词既含有“漂亮”义的基本意思，又含有其他一些意思。不同方言区往往会用不同的词来表示“漂亮”，这反映了人们对美好品质的追求的不同，也反映出当地独特的审美观念、文化价值取向和语言表达习惯。通过对六枝话“漂亮”一词的深入分析，我们能更好地领略“漂亮”一词特点和深刻内涵。

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美国总统就职演讲的历时批评隐喻分析

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摘要：政治演讲中隐喻作为认知与修辞的双重工具，在阐释抽象理念、构建国家形象及塑造意识形态方面具有重要作用。本研究以批评隐喻分析（CMA）为理论框架，结合语篇-历史分析法（DHA）的语境理论，构建 1977-2021 年间 12 篇美国总统就职演讲历时语料库，基于“9·11 事件”及 2000 年大选的政治极化效应等动因，以 2000 年为节点划分两个子库。采用 Wmatrix 语义标注工具与 MIPVU 隐喻识别程序，通过人工细读与卡方检验，系统考察暴力、人体及建筑隐喻的频次差异及源域-目的域投射变异，并量化验证其显著性（如暴力隐喻 $x^2=4.14$，$p<0.05$）。研究聚焦隐喻选择与社会历史语境的深层互动，揭示其意识形态动因。

研究发现：第一，暴力隐喻使用显著增长，其源域从冷战时期维护普世价值转向后 9·11 时代强调国土安全，映射国家安全议题显性化与单边主义倾向；第二，人体隐喻频次显著下降，其目的域从“国家运作核心”转向情感动员，折射社会共识构建从理性阐释向情感共鸣的策略转换；第三，建筑隐喻使用频次同样差异显著，目的域从抽象价值体系转向实体国家建设，反映全球化背景下美国国际地位焦虑。研究表明，隐喻变异受三重历史语境驱动：冷战意识形态对立、9·11 事件后的国家安全危机及新兴国家崛起对霸权地位的挑战。

本研究通过融合历时分析与批评话语分析视角，揭示了政治隐喻的动态性、策略性及其权力再生产机制，不仅为解码美国政治话语的意识形态变迁提供了认知语言学证据，也为跨文化政治传播与批判性话语研究提供了方法论范式。

关键词：历时批评隐喻分析；概念隐喻；语境理论；就职演讲；意识形态变迁

引言

作为美国政治文化中最具象征意义的语言事件之一，美国总统就职演讲不仅承担着阐释施政方针、凝聚民众共识的重要任务，还反映了特定历史时期的社会状况和意识形态。隐喻作为政治话语的核心策略，通过跨域映射阐释抽象理念、塑造国家形象并回应历史情境，其选择与重构受社会政治环境的历时性制约。目前对于隐喻的研究集中于共时研究，即探讨某一特定时期或语境中的隐喻使用模式，但对隐喻的历时变化及其与社会语境之间的互动关系却鲜有关注。因此本文从历时视角分析美国总统就职演讲中的隐喻使用变迁，结合社会、历史和文化因素探讨其背后的原因以及意识形态意义，揭示美国社会的发展与价值观变迁，进而为理解美国政治话语特征提供重要参考。

1. 理论基础与分析框架

概念隐喻作为人类赖以生存的基本途径和思维方式，是植根于概念系统的跨认知域映射(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980)。概念隐喻理论（Conceptual Metaphor Theory）认为，隐喻不仅仅是语言现象，它通过将一个概念域（源域，source domain）的结构映射到另一个概念域（目的域，target domain），帮助人们理解和体验抽象或复杂的概念，而概念隐喻主要包括三种形式，即本体隐喻、方位隐喻和结构隐喻。人们运用概念隐喻进行思考与推理以及向他人解释和组织话语，因此概念隐喻不仅能够揭示话语产出者的概念化结果，还能够反映他们所持的立场与价值观（张慧，盖飞虹，2022: 622）。Charteris-Black (2004: 34)首次提出批评隐喻分析(Critical Metaphor Analysis, CMA)，意在通过隐喻分析揭示语言使用者潜在或无意识的意图，批评隐喻分析综合了批评话语分析、语料库语言学、语用学和认知语言学的研究方法，可用于更深入探讨隐喻如何在特定的社会和政治背景下被用来构建和维持某些观点或立场。

CMA 被广泛应用于各类语篇的研究，在政治话语研究中，CMA 成为分析如何通过隐喻塑造意识形态与政治议程的重要工具，如孙毅等（2022）分析英国脱欧话语中政治隐喻类型，揭示隐喻背后更深层次的社会意识形态和政治关系演变。而对于政治演讲而言，隐喻往往超越了直接的政治声明，通过比喻、象征等方式来表达国家的前景、集体的价值观及社会的期望，Charteris-Black（2014）在对政治演讲的研究中，结合隐喻分析、修辞学和批评话语分析，揭示了政治演讲在塑造社会共识、传播意识形态以及维系权力结构中的关键作用，国内学者武建国等（2020）通过分析特朗普演讲中的政治隐喻，发现政治演讲中，隐喻常被用于实现劝说和表达的效果，而借助批评隐喻分析模型可以深入解析这些隐喻的使用，并揭示其背后隐藏的政治意图。这些研究展示了政治话语如何借助隐喻来行使权力、操纵受众并传播意识形态，也充分展示 CMA 可以为政治话语的说服策略和意识形态基础分析提供有力框架。

目前针对概念隐喻的分析集中于共时研究，但共时状态必须置于被创造时的一系列因素下加以理解，因此必须考量历时的维度(Bybee, 1988: 351)。随着时间的推移，语言中的隐喻类型和功能会发生变化，其反映的思维方式和意识形态也在变迁（武建国等，2023：93），针对 CMA 展开历时研究，可以揭示隐喻使用的动态变化，探讨隐喻与历史语境的复杂互动，进而揭示意识形态与权力结构的演变。国内学者宋益名，王德亮（2024）曾对美国对华经济报道展开历时批评隐喻分析，通过研究隐喻的使用模式、话语功能和历时变化，进而分析话语背后的意识形态，但对历时语料库中同一源域所投射目的域随政治、社会及历史因素变迁而产生的变化及其意识形态基础仍鲜有研究。

Charteris-Black(2004)指出: CMA 理论框架主要包括隐喻的识别(identification)、阐释(interpretation)与说明(exposition)三个步骤，在这一框架下，CMA 注重语言形式与社会权力之间的交互关系，旨在揭示隐喻作为话语工具如何服务于特定的社会利益与价值观。在针对隐喻的说明阶段，本研究引入 Ruth Wodak 所提出的语篇-历史分析法（Discourse-Historical Approach, DHA），它可通过关注并追踪微观层面上语境重置成分的话语—历史轨迹和语境因素对话语事件的影响，探讨话语如何随着社会政治变化而变化(Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 90)。CMA 通过语义标注与隐喻识别揭示语言表层特征，DHA 则通过历时语境分析追溯话语策略的演变动因，从而将微观语言现象与宏观社会权力结构相联结。因此本研究在标注隐喻实例、归纳概念隐喻框架的使用模式之后，借助 DHA 的语境理论推断使用模式背后的政治、社会和历史语境因素。

2. 研究设计

本研究收集 1977 年至 2021 年间 12 篇美国总统就职演讲，以 2000 年为界限构建两个语料库，其中 1977-1997 演讲语料库包含 6 篇就职演讲，共计 12181 词，2001-2021 演讲语料库同样包含 6 篇就职演讲，共计 12013 词。以 2000 年为分界点基于三重考量：其一，2000 年总统大选因佛罗里达州计票争议引发最高法院介入裁决，导致两党对立空前激化，政治修辞从政策辩论转向身份对立与合法性争议；其二，9·11 事件（2001 年）彻底重塑国家安全话语体系，反恐叙事成为国家议程核心；其三，冷战后全球化加速与两党初选制度变革的长期效应叠加，推动政治话语民粹化。

本研究使用语料库工具 Wmatrix 和其内嵌的 USAS 语义标签（Rayson et al. 2004），系统自动标注后分别抽取两个语料库中每个语义域标签下的索引行，之后运用隐喻识别程序 MIPVU（Steen et al. 2010：25-26），人工细读每条索引行的上下文，进而识别该词汇用法是否为隐喻，在识别过程中参照语义标签说明将具有研究价值的、典型的标签归纳为若干概念隐喻框架，并计算每个框架下的隐喻频数。在得到两个语料库中各框架下的频数后，借助 SPSS 对同一框架分别进行 Pearson 卡方检验，得到在不同时期使用频率具有显著差异的概念隐喻框架，从而揭示在不同时期总统就职演讲中，概念隐喻的使用种类有何变化。在隐喻的说明阶段，本研究首先将分析所选取框架下的隐喻在塑造国家认同、公众情感以及政治议程上所起到的作用，之后深入分析在各语义域标签下同一源域是否投射到同一目的域，最后结合语篇-历史分析法中的语境理论，深入分析概念隐喻使用种类的变异及隐喻使用目的域的变异与政治环境、社会环境和历史环境的关系及背后蕴含的意识形态基础。

3. 主要隐喻使用模式

基于上述方法识别两个语料库中的隐喻，本研究对比了 8 类较为普遍的概念隐喻框架，分别为物理、旅途、暴力、人体、健康、建筑、植物、食物隐喻，其中 1977-1997 演讲语料库标记了 211 个隐喻实例，2001-2021 演讲语料库 261 个，共计 472 个，表 1 记录了两个语料库中各自 8 类隐喻框架出现的频数。

1977-1997 总统演讲语料库中旅途、暴力及人体隐喻使用频率最高，分别占识别隐喻数的 24.17%、21.8%和 18.96%，而 2001-2021 总统演讲语料库中暴力、旅途及物理隐喻使用频率最高，分别占识别隐喻数的 29.12%、23.75%和 19.92%。针对统计所得数据进行分析，对 8 个隐喻类型分别进行 Pearson 卡方检验，当显著性水平 a=0.05 时，对于 df=1 的自由度，根据卡方分布表临界值近似为 3.841。计算得出暴力隐喻、人体隐喻及建筑隐喻的 x2 值分别为 4.14、6.43、6.01，均大于近似值 3.841，因此可得暴力、人体及建筑隐喻使用的频率变化在两个时期之间是统计学上显著的，而其余五种隐喻类型 x2 值均小于 3.841，其增加或减少不足以被认定为显著变化。

表 1 历时语料库中的隐喻表达

历时语料库	物理	旅途	暴力	人体	健康	建筑	植物	食物
1977-1997	37	51	46	40	9	21	5	2

2001-2021	52	62	76	29	15	12	9	6

暴力隐喻在不同时代总统就职演讲中均被大量使用，在识别隐喻数中占比都超过了 20%。政治话语中暴力隐喻较为常见，通过借用暴力、冲突和战争等语义域来表达和塑造某些政治议题的理解。在政治演讲语篇中，战争、冲突隐喻可用于描述国家或党派等对立实体之间的竞争、冲突与对立，激发公众的情感共鸣，常被用于形象构建和自身政治议程的强化，如在“wars against poverty”中将“贫困”塑造为对立实体。“保护“这一概念也被用于构建暴力隐喻，象征着对外部或内部威胁的抵御，如“protect our nation”，提升民众对本届政府的信任。人体隐喻在 1977-1997 演讲中普遍出现，而在 2000 年后的就职演讲中大量减少。政治演讲中，解剖与生理学隐喻常被用来描述实体的运作及核心价值，也用于描述对复杂概念、情感或行为的投入及深刻理解，例如“the heart of our task”，通过“心脏”隐喻核心功能，而“your heart to patriotism”则隐喻对爱国主义情感的接受与理解。人体隐喻赋予实体动态性与人性化特质，进而促进对实体的运作与现状的理解，进而强化民众对政府政策和愿景的支持。建筑隐喻在两个语料库中使用量均较低，但仍体现出显著的统计学差异。在政治演讲语篇中，建筑隐喻通常借助建筑比喻实体的整体结构和发展过程，借助建筑部件比喻实体的重要组成部分及其功能，如“rebuild our country”和“the door to prosperity”。建筑隐喻通过“建设”、“重建”等动态表达，塑造国家等实体成长与完善的过程感，进而激发民众对国家未来发展的信心和参与感。

4. 美国总统就职演讲的历时批评隐喻分析

本节展开对使用频率变化显著的概念隐喻框架的历时批评隐喻分析，深入研究暴力、人体及建筑隐喻在不同时期总统就职演讲中使用的演变，并剖析隐喻使用变化背后的社会、政治及历史因素。

4.1 暴力隐喻

暴力隐喻在 1977-1997 演讲中出现 46 次，而在 2001-2021 演讲中使用显著增多，共计 76 次，而差异的出现主要集中于 S8+(帮助)及 A1.1.2(破坏，摧毁)两个语义域。相较于 1977-1997 演讲，2001-2021 演讲中使用了更多“defend”, “defense”, “protect”等具有“保护”含义的隐喻，这些词汇所涉及的具体保护行为在不同时期的演讲中也被映射到了不同的目的域。

例 1: Not change for change’s sake, but change to **preserve** America’s ideals; life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.（William J. Clinton 1993 就职演讲）

例 2: And it is the world’s only hope, to conquer poverty and **preserve** peace.（Ronald Reagan 1985 连任演讲）

例 3: We will **defend** our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law.（Barack Hussein Obama 2013 连任演讲）

例 4: We must **protect** our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs.（Donald J. Trump 2017 就职演讲）

例 1 与例 2 分别来自克林顿在 1993 年的就职演讲和里根在 1985 年的连任演讲，都使用了“preserve”构建隐喻，源域是物理世界中保存或保护某物的行为，目的域中保护的是更加抽象的概念——美国的理想和价值观，特别是生命、自由、和平和追求幸福的权利，隐喻也所传达出的新任职总统的责任感是对构成“美国梦”的基本价值观的责任感。例 3 和例 4 分别来自奥巴马在 2013 年的连任演讲和特朗普在 2017 年的就职演讲，尽管更偏向具体的物理或军事防御行为，其中使用的“defend”, “protect”所构造两个隐喻的源域仍与“preserve”隐喻相似，但目的域却有很大的区别，即确保公民不受内外部威胁的影响，以及保护边境安全和领土完整。同时，例 3 和例 4 中被保护对象“our people”和“our borders”都包含了“our”一词，这种现象也普遍出现于 2001-2021 演讲中，体现出了极强的群内群外对立含义，将美国构建为单独的利益体，区别于其他国家和地区。

例 5: It threatens to **shatter** the lives of millions of our people.（Ronald Reagan 1981 就职演讲）

两个语料库在 A1.1.2(破坏，摧毁)语义域的使用方法上相似，都借助“destroy”, “break”等涉及“破坏”概念的词汇构造隐喻来塑造威胁或体现破除威胁的决心，如例 4 与例 5，分别使用了“destroy”和“shatter”构建源域涉及物理世界中的破坏行为的隐喻，目的域设定为对就业市场和数百万人生活的负面影响，进而塑造非法移民（例 4）和国内通货膨胀（例 5）的威胁。但不同时期就职演讲在该语义域隐喻的使用数量上出现了显著差异，“破坏、摧毁”概念所构建的隐喻在 2001-2021 演讲中出现更为频繁。

S8+(帮助)语义域下隐喻使用目的域从自由、平等等普适价值观向美国作为单独实体的利益这一转变以及 A1.1.2(破坏,摧毁)语义域下隐喻使用的增加是在特定的社会、政治及历史背景下发生的。1977-1997 年代初期，美国正处于冷战之中，强调将民主制度和个人自由作为对抗敌对阵营的思想武器，同时 1960 年代的民权运动在 70 和 80 年代持续发展，极大推动了社会对平等与正义的关注，因此总统们倾向使用“自由”、“人权”等涉及美国的核心价值的词汇，并力求将这些理念推广为全球性的普适标准。进入 21 世纪，2001 年的 9·11 事件彻底改变了美国的安全观念，促使时任总统的小布什发起了包括阿富汗战争和伊拉克战争在内的全球反恐战争，美国自身国家安全成为首要议题，因此 2001-2021 年间总统们的就职演讲更多使用隐喻展现恐怖主义威胁和保护美国人民免受伤害的决心。2008 年金融危机之后全球经济竞争加剧，逆全球化浪潮之下，单边主义和保护主义盛行，2017 年就职的特朗普总统更是明确将“美国优先”作为其核心口号，强调边境墙建设并将贸易战升级。由此可见，不同时代总统就职演讲中暴力隐喻在使用数量和方法上的变化折射美国如何在国际恐怖主义威胁和全球经济竞争加剧背景下寻求自身定位，从相对理想主义的时代逐渐过渡到更加注重自身利益和国家安全的新阶段。

4.2 人体隐喻

人体隐喻频次从 1977-1997 年的 40 例（占比 18.96%）降至 2001-2021 年的 29 例（占比 11.11%），这一差异主要体现在 B1(解剖与生理学)语义域上。人体隐喻主要借助“heart”一词实现，而在 1977-1997 演讲与 2001-2021 演讲中，“heart”所涉及的物理心脏的功能和特性同样被映射到了不同的目的域。

例 6: Whoever would understand in his **heart** the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.（Ronald Reagan 1981 就职演讲）
例 7: We know in our **hearts**, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.（George Herbert Walker Bush 1989 就职演讲）
例 8: When you open your **heart** to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.（Donald J. Trump 2017 就职演讲）
例 9: My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our **hearts** with pride.（Barack Hussein Obama 2013 连任演讲）

例 6 和例 7 分别来自里根和老布什的就职演讲，分别在“understand in his heart”和“know in our heart”中借助“heart”构建隐喻，两个隐喻使用都将源域，即心脏作为身体的中心器官，映射到对某种抽象概念的深刻理解与洞察，分别是“the meaning of America”和“our strength is a force for good”，1977-1997 演讲中“heart”构建的隐喻在整体上也更多用于表达“用心去做某事”和“用心去理解某种概念”。例 8 和例 9 来自 2000 年后的总统就职演讲，两个“heart”所构建隐喻的目的域均为情感、直觉和个人深层感受的象征，强调对“爱国主义”和“骄傲”两种情感的深刻体会，而例 9 中的“骄傲”本质上仍为“在国旗下”对国家的骄傲之情。但无论是 1977-1997 演讲中借助隐喻强调对概念的理解还是 2001-2021 演讲中强调对感情的理解，本质上都体现出总统在就职时对美国国家价值观、精神和传统的维护与宣传，其中 2001-2021 演讲中诉诸情感的使用方法更为直接。

例 10: At the **heart** of our efforts is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth.（Ronald Reagan 1985 就职演讲）
例 11: This is the **heart** of our task.（William J. Clinton 1997 连任演讲）

1977-1997 演讲中还出现了 2001-2021 演讲未出现的隐喻用法，即例 10 和例 11 中“the heart of our efforts”和“the heart of our task”将“heart”的源域映射到关键作用和不可或缺的地位这一目的域，定义“工作或任务的核心”，从而强调所描述事物在系统或结构中的中心地位。

1977-1997 总统就职演讲中对于人体隐喻运用数量更多，且同一源域所投射的目的域种类更加丰富，两个语料库中对 B1(解剖与生理学)语义域的使用体现出由借助隐喻强调概念理解向借助隐喻强调情感理解的转化，这些变化是由特定社会、政治及历史因素共同决定的。首先是公共卫生运动的影响，1980 年代中期至 90 年代初的艾滋病危机使公众对于个人健康管理的关注度显著提高，也促使总统们更多地提及健康话题，人体隐喻在此背景下被用来传递希望、坚韧和团结的信息，同时 70 年代开始民众环境保护意识的逐渐增强，美国政府也相应地制定了一系列环保政策，这些因素以及 1990 年代启动的人类基因组计划等重大生物学上的突破，在很大程度上促进了健康隐喻及人体隐喻的应用。21 世纪以来，面

对 9·11 事件之后更加复杂的国家安全问题以及包括政治极化与社会分裂在内的更多的社会问题，总统演讲改变了人体隐喻的使用方式，通过借助隐喻直接诉诸积极或消极的情感来凝聚民众，相较于将目的域设定为对复杂概念的理解，对简单情感的理解不仅可以即时引起听众的关注，还可以快速传递明确信息。

4.3 建筑隐喻

建筑隐喻在演讲中出现的总体数量较少，在 1977-1997 演讲中出现 21 次，在 2001-2021 演讲中仅出现 12 次，H1(建筑，房屋)语义域的使用数量在两个语料库中相似，但在投射的目的域种类上体现出显著差异，两个语料库中演讲都借助“build”和“rebuild”等词构建隐喻，但用来塑造不同的“建筑物”，而 1977-1997 演讲中使用了更多 H2(建筑物的部件)语义域构建隐喻导致两个语料库建筑隐喻数量出现差异。

例 12: We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to **rebuild** our country and restore its promise for all of our people.（Donald J. Trump 2017 就职演讲）
例 13: I will work to **build** a single nation of justice and opportunity.（George W. Bush 2001 就职演讲）
例 14: The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity, —not a guarantee, but a real opportunity to **build** better lives.（William J. Clinton 1997 连任演讲）
例 15: Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are **building** democracy and freedom.（William J. Clinton 1993 就职演讲）

例 14 和例 15 分别来自克林顿的就职演讲和连任演讲，在“build better lives”和“building democracy and freedom”两处都使用了“build”构建建筑隐喻，源域是建造实体结构的过程，包括规划、设计、施工等，在映射的目的域中则将民主和自由视为建设性活动，暗示这些政治和社会价值以及民众的美好生活可以通过系统的努力逐步确立和巩固，1977-1997 演讲中建筑隐喻的目的域也均偏向美国价值观和民众生活等较为抽象概念的构建或重建。例 12 和例 13 中的建筑隐喻“rebuild our country”和“build a single nation”的目的域都是国家这一独立实体的建设性活动，这种使用也符合 2001-2021 演讲中建筑隐喻使用的普遍趋势。

例 16: Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the **door** to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the **door** to prosperity.（George Herbert Walker Bush 1989 就职演讲）
例 17: We meet on democracy’s front **porch**, a good place to talk as neighbors and as friends.（George Herbert Walker Bush 1989 就职演讲）

例 16 和例 17 都来自老布什 1989 年的就职演讲，例 16 的上下文将未来比作一扇可以直接走进一个

叫做明天的房间的门，借助“door”一词构建隐喻，将源域建筑物的入口或通道投射到通往民主和自由市场的途径，即坚持借助自由和繁荣从而实现民主和自由市场。例 17 使用“porch”构建隐喻，门廊是房屋的外部延伸，通常用于迎接客人、进行社交活动，象征着开放和友好交流的空间，在被投射的目的域中，民主不仅是一种制度安排，更是一种融入日常生活、自由愉快的社会实践，这一隐喻的使用简化了民主制度运作的复杂性以激发促进听众的理解和共鸣。

2001-2021 演讲中建筑隐喻的使用明显减少，同时相较于 1977-1997 演讲将源域投射到自由、民主等抽象概念，2000 年后的总统就职演说更多将目的域设定为国家这一实体。建筑隐喻使用变化所涉及的政治、历史和社会背景原因与暴力、人体隐喻相似，上世纪总统演讲对该隐喻频繁使用，并将抽象的自由、民主等美国核心价值作为投射目标，反映了冷战时代的意识形态竞争与美国的全球领导地位。而 2001-2021 年，建筑隐喻更多投射到国家这一具体实体，这种使用回应了恐怖主义威胁和社会分裂等现实问题，同时与 20 世纪末相比，21 世纪的美国在国际体系中的主导地位逐渐受到挑战，特别是在 2008 年金融危机后，新兴国家崛起和多极化趋势令美国不得不重新审视其在国际社会的地位，这一变化同样要求美国在新世纪将注意力从较为抽象的价值观概念转向自身的地位和具体利益。

5. 结论

本研究拓展了批评隐喻分析的研究广度，同时也验证了政治演讲语篇的历时批评隐喻分析的适用性与有效性。研究表明，不同时期美国总统就职演讲在暴力隐喻、人体隐喻和建筑隐喻的使用频率上具有显著差异，概念隐喻框架下语义域的使用也存在差异，即同一源域在不同时期演讲中被投射到不同目的域。而上述差异的产生具有一些共同的社会、政治及历史因素，首先，冷战时期的意识形态对立使得演讲中的隐喻更多服务价值观构建；其次，9·11 事件之后国家安全等问题日益复杂严峻使冲突、保护隐喻使用增多；第三，全球化浪潮下新兴国家崛起威胁美国国际地位，使得隐喻使用从构建价值观概念转向自身的地位与利益。政治演讲中的隐喻选择具有极强的策略性，既反映了特定社会历史背景，也服务于执政者的施政目标，对隐喻的历时批评分析可以促进对隐喻使用和语境因素关系的理解，以及对意识形态变迁的把握。

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[1]Evaluating the Role of Large Language Models in Translation Assessment: Reliability and Validity

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Abstract: As artificial intelligence continues to transform foreign language education, its impact on assessment methods has become a crucial area of research. In the context of translation education, where the demand for high quality professionals is rising, ensuring fair, consistent, and efficient assessment remains a challenge. Traditional assessment methods, though widely used, are often labor intensive. The integration of AI, particularly large language models (LLMs), into translation assessment would offer a potential solution by providing automated, scalable, and more objective assessment. However, the reliability and validity of LLM-based assessment in translation teaching require systematic investigation to find its effectiveness and pedagogical implications. Therefore, this study examines the applicability of LLMs in the assessment of English translation teaching, focusing on the reliability, validity, and consistency of LLM-based and human scoring. In this research, 30 participants are recruited, who are undergraduate students majoring in Business English.They completed translation tasks, which are bidirectional translation tasks between English and Chinese in two specialized domains, science and business. Assessment criteria are adapted from validated rating scales with established reliability and validity, followed by further validation. The translations are assessed by four mainstream LLMs (i.e. ChatGPT-4o, Tencent Yuanbao, Qwen-2.5, and DeepSeek) alongside two experienced translation instructors. A Many-Facet Rasch Model (MFRM) is employed to analyze the reliability and validity of LLM-based and human ratings as well as the scoring criteria. Results show that Qwen-2.5 demonstrated the highest alignment with human expert ratings, with the lowest Root Mean Square Error (RMSE) and near ideal internal consistency. In contrast, ChatGPT-4o exhibited substantial over-scoring and the least reliable rating behavior. Additionally, LLMs struggled most with the English to Chinese scientific translation task, revealing sensitivity to task type and direction. By examining the alignment and discrepancies between LLM-based and human scores, this study provides empirical insights into their effectiveness in translation assessment, offering a theoretical foundation and practical implications for the adoption of AI-based assessment tools in translation education.

Keywords: Large Language Models, translation assessment, human scoring, Many-Facet Rasch Model

1 Introduction

The field of education is undergoing significant transformations due to recent advancements in LLMs, which offer opportunities to enhance the efficiency of assessment (Steiss et al., 2024) and provide tailored learning feedback (Azaiz et al., 2024). LLMs, with their ability to process vast amounts of data and generate

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sophisticated outputs, offer a promising solution to traditional challenges in educational evaluation, such as time intensive grading and potential biases in human scoring (Seo et al., 2025). Given the growing demand for university foreign language education, the application of LLMs in translation assessment is now a focal point of scholarly inquiry in the trend of internationalization (Yu, 2024).

Despite the potential benefits of LLMs in translation assessment, the accuracy and reliability of their use in educational assessment have not been fully verified (Seo et al., 2025), and there remains a lack of empirical studies rigorously investigating the reliability and validity of these models in translation teaching. Moreover, the current research has not comprehensively conducted a systematic comparison of the performance differences of various models in translation evaluation. Particularly, studies regarding their adaptability to different text types remain insufficient. At the same time, existing studies have not delved deeply into the consistency mechanism between the scores given by models and those of human reviewers.

This study systematically evaluates the application effects of four LLMs in English translation teaching assessment through multidimensional empirical research. Employing the Rasch Model and RMSE, the research compares LLMs generated scores with those from human evaluators, providing insights into their consistency and accuracy. The study focuses on undergraduate students in Business English, assessing their translations in two specialized domains: business and science. By analyzing the alignment between LLMs based and human assessments, it provides a scientific basis for teachers to select AI assessment tools and helps the digital transformation of education move from technological experimentation to effective implementation.

2 Literature review

2.1 Translation Assessment

Translation assessment is a pivotal component in translation education (Kelly, 2005; Colina, 2015), serving as a tool to evaluate students' competencies and guide their learning processes (Hu, 2018). Effective assessment and feedback mechanisms are essential for developing students' translation skills (Wiliam, 2011), as they provide insights into areas of strength and aspects requiring improvement. Feedback, in particular, plays a crucial role in enhancing student engagement and fostering a deeper understanding of translation practices. Research has shown that well structured feedback can significantly influence students' learning outcomes and motivation (Zheng et al., 2020).

Despite its importance, traditional translation assessment faces several challenges. One significant issue is the subjectivity inherent in human evaluations, which can lead to inconsistencies and biases in assessing translation quality (Akbari & Shahnazari, 2019). Meanwhile, the number of studies that have explored assessment and feedback in the context of translation education is relatively limited (Man et al., 2022). Moreover, the manual nature of traditional assessments is time consuming (Wainer & Thissen, 1993) and may not provide timely feedback to all students (Zhu et al., 2020), hindering their learning progression. Additionally, conventional assessment methods often focus on summative evaluation, neglecting the formative aspects that are crucial for continuous learning and development (Man et al., 2022).

In light of these challenges, integrating LLMs into translation assessment emerges as a promising solution.

LLMs, such as GPT-4, have demonstrated capabilities in understanding and generating human-like text, suggesting their potential in evaluating translation quality with greater consistency and efficiency (Zhang et al., 2024). Studies have indicated that LLMs can serve as effective tools for assessing translation quality, offering objective evaluations that align closely with human judgments (Kocmi & Federmann, 2023). The adoption of LLMs in translation assessment could address the limitations of traditional methods, providing scalable and timely feedback to students, thereby enhancing the overall educational experience. This study aims to explore the integration of LLMs into translation assessment, evaluating their performance against traditional human evaluations. By systematically analyzing the consistency and objectivity of LLM-based assessments, this research seeks to determine the viability of LLMs as tools for translation evaluation in educational settings. The findings are expected to contribute to the development of more efficient and reliable assessment methods, addressing the limitations of traditional approaches.

2.2 LLMs in Assessment and Feedback

LLMs have shown considerable promise in various educational contexts, and also translation instruction feedback and evaluation are no exception (Qin & Lu, 2024). Recent studies affirm their potential to enhance efficiency, reduce subjective defects of manual scoring, and support large scale evaluation (Xu, Su, & Liu, 2025; Mizumoto & Eguchi, 2023). In writing assessment, for instance, GPT-4 performed well, demonstrating excellent intrarater reliability and good validity (Pack, Barrett, & Escalante, 2024). These developments suggest that LLMs might also be viable tools for translation assessment, an area traditionally marked by subjective and labor intensive human evaluation.

In parallel, an emerging body of research has begun to explore how LLMs perform in translation tasks across different text genres. For example, Karpinska and Iyyer (2023) found that GPT-3.5 produced more coherent and stylistically consistent results at the paragraph level in literary translation, compared to sentence by sentence rendering. However, they also identified persistent issues such as content omissions, which required human intervention to preserve the author's voice. In scientific translation, Kleidermacher and Zou (2025) assessed LLM performance in multilingual academic paper translation and noted that, although scientific content was conveyed accurately, the overtranslation of domain specific terms compromised both professionalism and readability. Furthermore, in the context of long form translation, Wang et al. (2024) found that translation quality declined as text length increased, with notable problems in context retention and coherence. Collectively, these findings highlight the importance of considering genre specific features when evaluating LLMs' translation performance, and they call for the development of targeted evaluation frameworks and criteria.

Despite these advancements, empirical research that directly investigates the use of LLMs in learner translation assessment, particularly in educational settings, remains limited. Existing studies have primarily focused on the evaluation of machine translation output, rather than assessing human translated texts produced by students. For instance, Raunak et al. (2023) demonstrated the effectiveness of GPT-4 in professional post editing tasks involving language pairs such as English to Chinese. Hu et al. (2024) further noted that much of the current work centers on optimizing the performance of individual models, without systematically comparing different LLMs. Similarly, Laskar et al. (2023) observed that international research tends to apply a single model to specific text types, with few horizontal comparative studies across multiple mainstream LLMs. As a result, this makes it difficult to fully understand the strengths and limitations of different models in

English translation teaching evaluation.

Building on these observations, this study examines the scoring performance of four mainstream LLMs (ChatGPT-4o, Tencent Yuanbao, Qwen-2.5, and DeepSeek) in the evaluation of English to Chinese (EtoC) and Chinese to English (CtoE) translations. It compares their performance across different text types, including scientific and business, thereby extending the scope beyond the evaluation of a single model or text genre. By employing adapted and validated rating scales based on TEM-8 and CATTI-3 standards, this study provides a systematic, multidimensional comparison of LLMs, offering empirical insights into their respective strengths and limitations in translation assessment contexts.

3 Methods

3.1 Research Questions

Given the pressing need for greater objectivity and efficiency in translation assessment, this study explores the multidimensional application of LLMs in English translation teaching evaluation, focusing on scoring accuracy of large language models and their consistency with human evaluations. Through this investigation, we aim to provide a theoretical foundation for the digital transformation of translation evaluation practices. Accordingly, this study is guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: Among the evaluated large language models (ChatGPT-4o, Tencent Yuanbao, Qwen-2.5, and DeepSeek), which demonstrate higher scoring accuracy and internal reliability in assessing translation quality?

RQ2: Which large language models exhibit the highest level of consistency with human expert judgments in translation assessment?

RQ3: Do different text types or translation direction affect the evaluation performance of large language models?

3.2 Participants

The study involved a total of 30 participants from a 211 university in Beijing, including undergraduates who are majoring in Business English. All participants had completed at least one foundational translation course.

3.3 Instruments

Four widely recognized LLMs were selected for evaluation based on their performance in several authoritative benchmarking reports, including *the 2025 DIKWP Evaluation Report on LLM Consciousness Quotient*, *the 2024 Comprehensive Evaluation of LLMs*, and *the AI Model Benchmarking Report for Media-related Capabilities in China*. The models chosen were ChatGPT-4o, Tencent Yuanbao, Qwen-2.5, and DeepSeek.

This study employed paragraph level translation tasks, with two rounds of translation assignments designed to ensure an adequate sample size. Each round included one EtoC passage translation (approximately 150

words) and one CtoE passage translation (approximately 120 words). The selected text types covered two genres: scientific texts and business correspondence. The translation materials were excerpted from CATTI-2 scientific texts and authentic business letters. To control the difficulty level, the texts were pre-evaluated using the Hemingway Editor for readability and tested with machine translation via DeepL to assess translatability. Based on these assessments, texts of moderate difficulty were ultimately selected.

Based on the established assessment frameworks of the TEM-8 and CATTI-2 translation standards, two tailored scoring rubrics were developed to evaluate translations of scientific texts and business correspondence, respectively. The rubrics were systematically adapted to align with the distinct linguistic and stylistic requirements of each text type. To ensure content validity, expert reviewers with extensive experience in translation assessment and scale development were consulted during the design and refinement process. Preliminary validation results indicated satisfactory internal consistency, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of 0.85 for the scientific text rubric and 0.877 for the business text rubric. Each rubric adopts a four point Likert scale (1 = Very Poor, 2 = Fair, 3 = Good, 4 = Excellent), enabling multidimensional and nuanced evaluation of translation quality across key domains.

3.3 Procedure

To ensure scoring reliability and experimental repeatability, the study followed a standardized procedure. Two rounds of translation tasks were designed, covering business and scientific domains respectively. Each round included one CtoE and one EtoC paragraph level translation, with a length of approximately 120-150 words. The tasks were administered online via the Wenjuanxing platform, with a uniform release time. Each task remained open for 30 minutes, and participants were required to complete and submit their translations within the allotted time. A total of 30 undergraduate participants completed four tasks each, resulting in 120 translations.

After collection, all translations were coded and categorized before being input into four mainstream LLMs (ChatGPT-4o, Tencent Yuanbao, Qwen-2.5, and DeepSeek) for automatic scoring. A standardized prompt was used across all models, and evaluation dimensions were based on the business and scientific rubrics previously developed. To prevent interference caused by memory functions, each LLM scored independently. The model generated scores were exported in .csv format for further processing.

Human scoring was conducted by two experienced translation instructors. Prior to evaluation, the two raters received rubric training to ensure a shared understanding of scoring criteria, followed by a pilot rating of five translations. The average score of the two raters was used as the expert benchmark for subsequent comparison.

All scoring results were compiled and analyzed using the Many Facet Rasch Model via FACETS 4.3.2. In addition, RMSE between each model and the human benchmark was computed using R 4.5.0 to evaluate the consistency and reliability of LLM-based scoring.

4 Results

To evaluate the accuracy, consistency, and task sensitivity of four LLMs in translation assessment, this study

employed two complementary methods: the MFRM analysis conducted using Facets software, and the RMSE analysis performed using R Project. The evaluations were benchmarked against scores provided by two human expert raters and were conducted across four distinct translation tasks: Business CtoE, Business EtoC, Scientific CtoE, and Scientific EtoC.

4.1 Accuracy and Reliability of LLM-Based Scoring

To assess the scoring accuracy and reliability of both LLMs and human raters, we examined two core MFRM outputs: rater severity (logit measures) and fit statistics (Infit Mean Square values). Table 1 summarizes these statistics, while Figures 1 and 2 visually display the corresponding logit and Infit MnSq distributions.Table 1 reports key MFRM indicators reflecting rater severity, model fit, and measurement reliability. The severity estimates ranged from 1.41 to -1.78 logits, with a standard deviation of 1.10 (population) and 1.23 (sample), indicating substantial variation in rater stringency. Point-measure correlations (PtMea Corr) varied moderately across raters, suggesting differing alignment with the underlying measurement construct. Discrimination indices ranged from 0.25 to 1.37, further reflecting variation in rater sensitivity. The model demonstrated high separation (6.30) and reliability (0.98), confirming its capacity to distinguish rater effects with precision. The fixed chi-square test was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 147.6$, df = 4, $p < .01$), indicating systematic differences among raters rather than random fluctuation.

Table 1. Raters Measurement Report (arranged by mN).

Total Score	Total Count	Obsvd Average	Fair(M) Average	- Measure	S.E.	Infit MnSq	Infit ZStd	Outfit MnSq	Outfit ZStd	Estim. Discrm	Correlation PtMea	PtExp	N	Raters
307	120	2.56	2.62	1.41	.17	1.58	3.8	1.71	4.1	.25	.68	.56	1	ChatGPT-4o
335	120	2.79	2.84	.58	.18	.64	-2.8	.61	-2.9	1.33	.38	.52	4	Tencent Yuanbao
333	118	2.82	2.86	.45	.18	.56	-3.5	.53	-3.5	1.37	.52	.52	2	Deepseek
370	120	3.08	3.07	-.65	.19	.98	.0	.99	.0	1.01	.51	.51	5	Qwen-2.5
280	84	3.33	3.31	-1.78	.24	.97	-.1	.96	-.2	1.03	.54	.54	3	Expert
325.0	112.4	2.92	2.94	.00	.19	.95	-.6	.96	-.5		.53		Mean (Count: 5)	
30.1	14.2	.27	.23	1.10	.02	.36	2.6	.42	2.7		.10		S.D. (Population)	
33.7	15.9	.30	.26	1.23	.03	.40	2.9	.47	3.1		.11		S.D. (Sample)	

Model, Populn: RMSE .19 Adj (True) S.D. 1.09 Separation 5.62 Strata 7.83 Reliability .97
Model, Sample: RMSE .19 Adj (True) S.D. 1.22 Separation 6.30 Strata 8.74 Reliability .98
Model, Fixed (all same) chi-squared: 147.6 d.f.: 4 significance (probability): .00
Model, Random (normal) chi-squared: 3.9 d.f.: 3 significance (probability): .27

Figure 1 illustrates the logit severity measures of the five raters. Higher logit values indicate greater leniency. ChatGPT-4o demonstrated the highest leniency (logit = 1.41), substantially above the expert baseline (logit =

− 1.78), suggesting a consistent tendency to assign inflated scores. Tencent Yuanbao (logit = 0.58) and Deepseek (logit = 0.45) also exhibited leniency but to a lesser extent. In contrast, Qwen-2.5 rating behavior (logit = − 0.65) was more conservative and aligned more closely with expert raters, who anchored the scale with the most stringent scoring tendency.

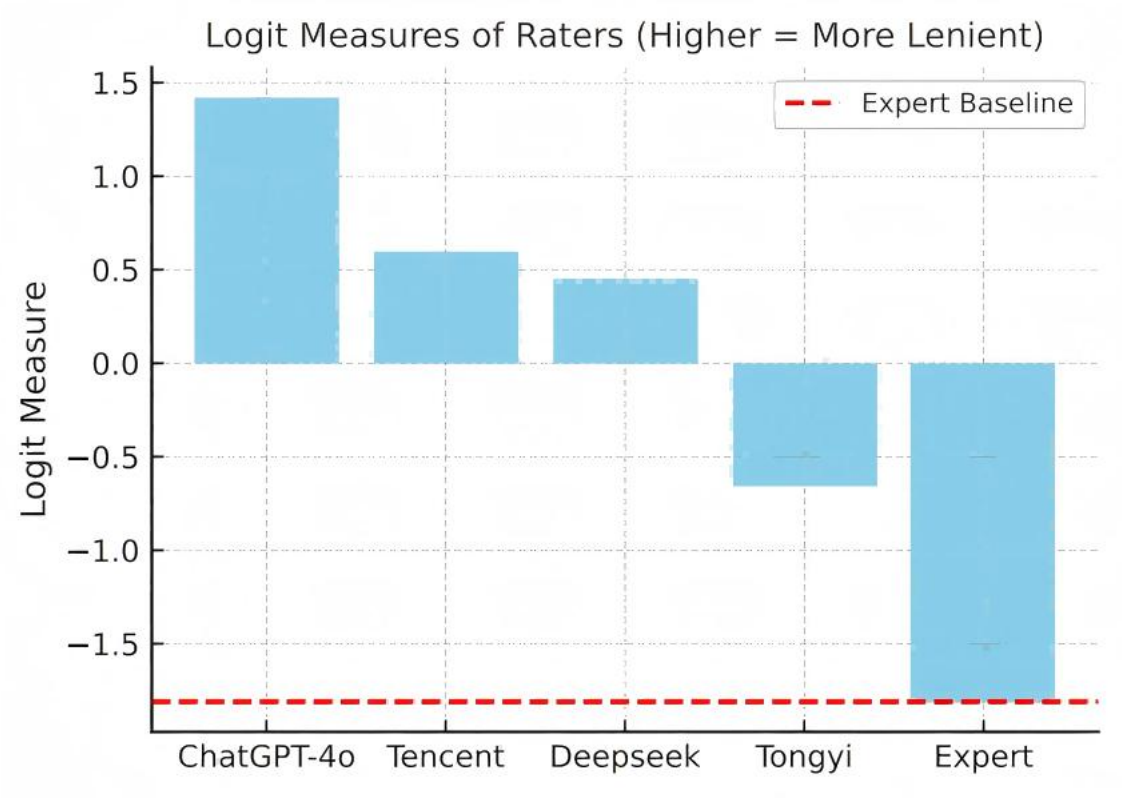


Figure 1. Logit Measures

Figure 2 presents the Infit MnSq values, which indicate the internal consistency and predictability of raters' scoring patterns. An Infit MnSq near 1.0 reflects ideal model data fit, while values substantially greater than 1.0 imply noisy or erratic judgments. ChatGPT-4o yielded the highest Infit MnSq (1.58), suggesting unpredictable scoring patterns that may undermine its rating reliability despite its high person measure correlation (PtMea Corr = 0.68). By contrast, Deepseek (MnSq = 0.56) and Tencent Yuanbao (MnSq = 0.64) exhibited the most stable and internally consistent scoring patterns, with MnSq values well below 1.0 , indicative of underfitting but within an acceptable range for rater consistency. Qwen-2.5 (MnSq = 0.98) and the expert raters (MnSq = 0.97) were closest to the ideal infit benchmark, affirming their stable and predictable scoring behavior.

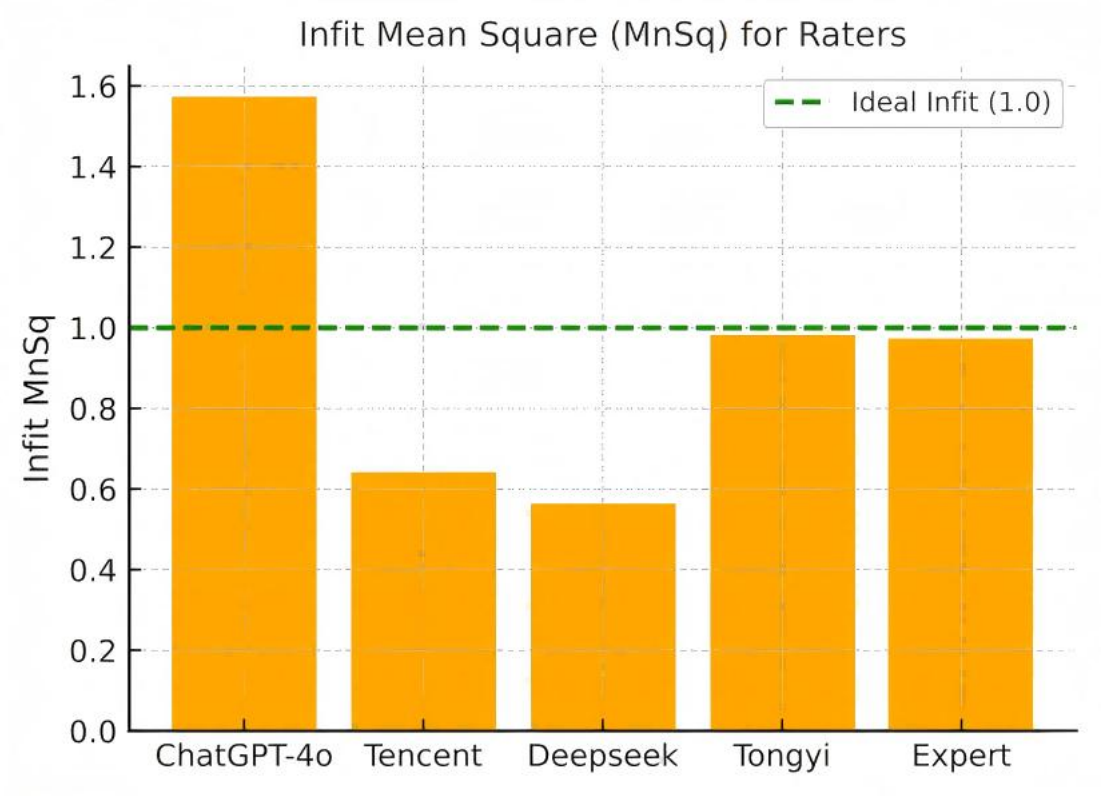


Figure 2. Infit MnSq

Overall, the model demonstrated high separation and reliability across raters (Sample Reliability = 0.98; Separation = 6.30), confirming the MFRM's robustness in distinguishing among rater severities. Statistically significant variation was found among raters (Fixed chi-square = 147.6, df = 4, $p < .01$), underscoring systematic differences in scoring stringency.

4.2 Consistency Between LLMs and Expert Scores

To investigate the alignment between large language model (LLM) evaluations and human expert judgments, two complementary methods were used: RMSE to assess absolute scoring deviations, and MFRM to examine rating bias, fit, and internal consistency.

Figure 3 presents the RMSE of each model's scores compared to the expert average (Teacher 1 and Teacher 2). Qwen-2.5 yielded the lowest RMSE across most translation tasks, particularly for Science CtoE (≈ 0.51) and Business EtoC (≈ 0.68), suggesting its ratings most closely mirrored those of human experts. Deepseek also maintained consistent performance across tasks. By contrast, ChatGPT-4o showed the highest RMSE in all four tasks, with a peak deviation in Business CtoE (≈ 1.26), indicating a less reliable alignment with expert scores.

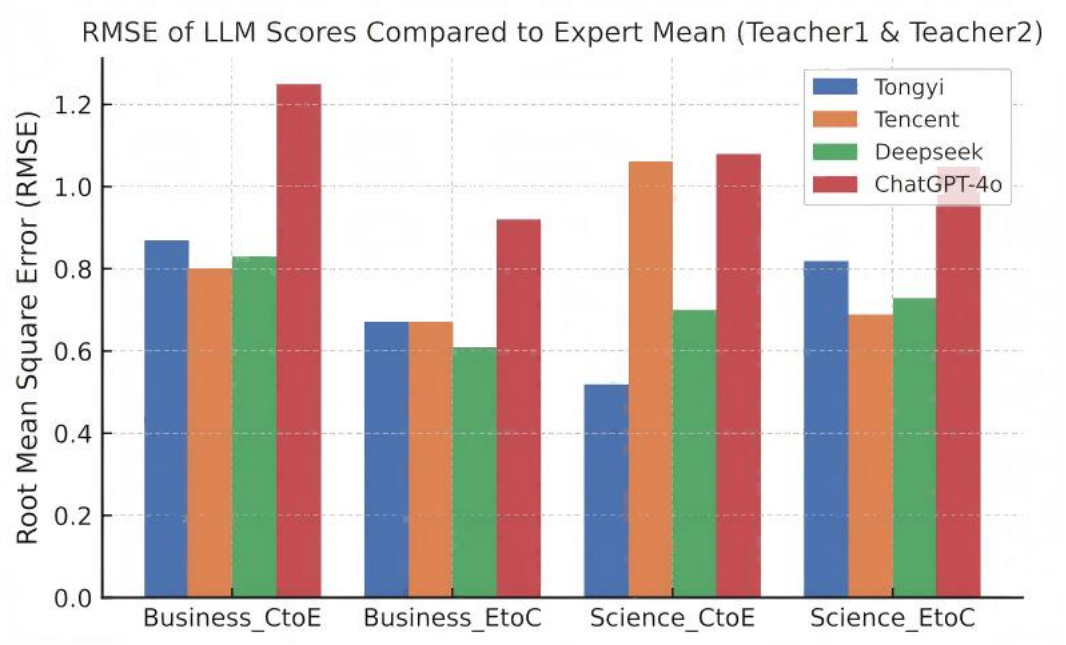


Figure 3. RMSE Analysis: LLM Scores vs Expert Average

Figure 1 and Table 1 illustrate the leniency of each rater in logits. The expert benchmark (logit = –1.78) was the most stringent. Among the LLMs, ChatGPT-4o was the most lenient, with a logit measure of +1.41, more than 3 logits higher than the experts, indicating a systematic over scoring tendency. Qwen-2.5, in contrast, had a logit of − 0.65, the closest to the expert baseline, implying minimal rating bias.

Infit MnSq values, indicating internal consistency, showed that Qwen-2.5 (Infit = 0.98) and the expert raters (Infit = 0.97) were well-calibrated, whereas ChatGPT-4o (Infit = 1.58) exhibited significant misfit, suggesting erratic scoring behavior. Furthermore, the Point Measure Correlation (PtMea Corr) which indicates alignment with the latent quality trait was highest for the expert (0.54), followed closely by Qwen-2.5 (0.51), while ChatGPT-4o again lagged (0.38).

4.3 Task-Sensitivity of LLM Evaluation

To assess whether LLM evaluation behavior varied across translation tasks, we analyzed task level fit statistics and difficulty measures derived from the Many Facet Rasch Model (Table 2, Figure 4). The four tasks under comparison included Business CtoE, Business EtoC, Science CtoE, and Science EtoC.

Figure 4 displays the Infit Mean Square (MnSq) values for the four tasks. While three tasks—Business CtoE (MnSq = 0.87), Business EtoC (0.82), and Science CtoE (0.83)—showed strong internal consistency with MnSq values well below 1.0, Science EtoC exhibited a considerably inflated MnSq of 1.41, signaling noisy and erratic rater behavior. This marked misfit suggests that LLMs encountered greater difficulty in maintaining consistent scoring patterns for the English to Chinese scientific translation task, likely due to its high syntactic

complexity and specialized terminology.

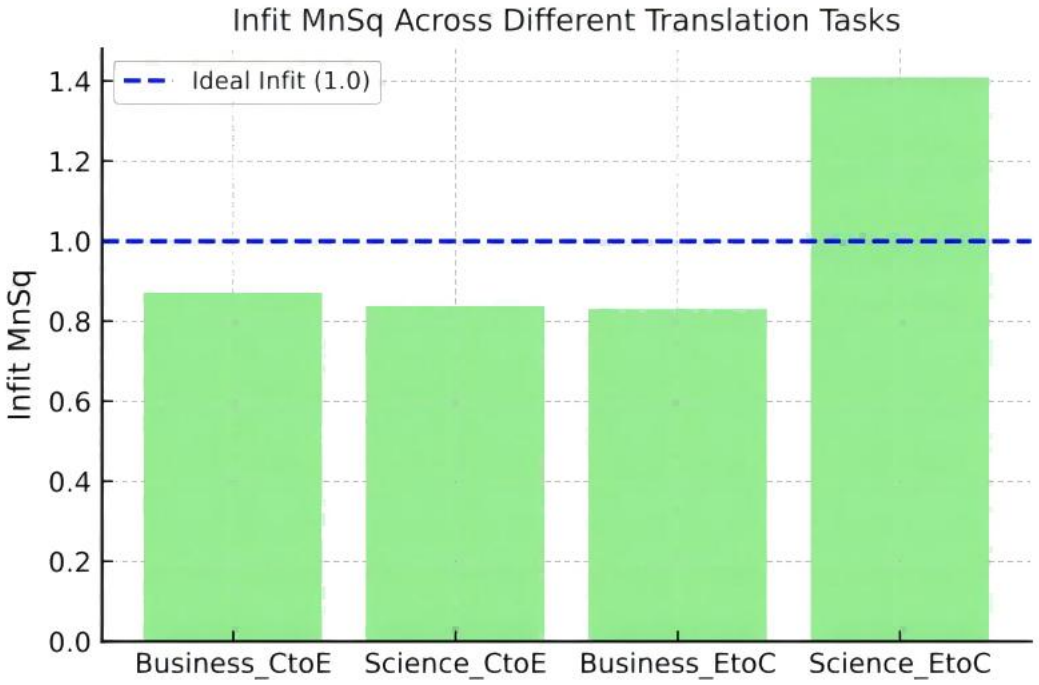


Figure 4. Infit MnSq Across Different Translation Tasks

Table 2 further highlights variation in perceived task difficulty using Rasch logits. Business CtoE (logit = 0.69) and Science CtoE (0.53) were the easiest tasks, with positive logit values indicating that these tasks were generally scored more leniently. In contrast, Science EtoC (logit = − 0.67) was the most difficult task, followed closely by Business EtoC (–0.54). The alignment between high MnSq and high difficulty for Science EtoC strengthens the interpretation that task features such as language direction and content domain significantly impact the consistency and validity of LLM scoring.

Table 2. Tasks Measurement Report (arranged by mN).

Total Score	Total Count	Obsvd Average	Fair(M) Average	- Measure	Model S.E.	Infit MnSq	Infit ZStd	Outfit MnSq	Outfit ZStd	Estim. Discrm	Correlation PtMea	PtExp	N Tasks
395	145	2.72	2.81	.69	.16	.87	-1.0	.84	-1.2	1.11	.66	.60	1 Business_CtoE
386	140	2.76	2.85	.53	.16	.83	-1.4	.84	-1.1	1.11	.58	.60	3 Science_CtoE
423	139	3.04	3.05	-.54	.18	.82	-1.4	.78	-1.6	1.17	.58	.60	2 Business_EtoC
421	138	3.05	3.07	-.67	.18	1.41	2.7	1.40	2.5	.65	.58	.58	4 Science_EtoC

406.3 140.5 2.89 2.95	.00 .17	.98 -.3 .96 -.4		.60	Mean (Count: 4)
16.1 2.7 .15 .12	.61 .01	.25 1.8 .25 1.7		.03	S.D. (Population)
18.6 3.1 .18 .13	.71 .01	.29 2.1 .29 2.0		.04	S.D. (Sample)
+----------+

Model, Populn: RMSE .17 Adj (True) S.D. .59 Separation 3.47 Strata 4.96 Reliability .92
Model, Sample: RMSE .17 Adj (True) S.D. .68 Separation 4.05 Strata 5.73 Reliability .94
Model, Fixed (all same) chi-squared: 52.4 d.f.: 3 significance (probability): .00
Model, Random (normal) chi-squared: 2.8 d.f.: 2 significance (probability): .24

Table 2 reveals clear variation in task difficulty and rating consistency. Business_CtoE (logit = 0.69) was the easiest task, while Science_EtoC (logit = –0.67) was the most difficult. Despite similar point-measure correlations across tasks (0.58–0.66), the high Infit MnSq for Science_EtoC (1.41) indicates unstable rating behavior on this task. The high separation (4.05) and reliability (0.94), along with a significant fixed chi-square (χ^2 = 52.4, $p < .01$), confirm meaningful differences in rater behavior across tasks, supporting the task-sensitivity of LLM evaluations.

5 Discussion

5.1 Scoring Accuracy and Internal Reliability of LLMs

The results indicate that among the four evaluated LLMs, Qwen-2.5 achieved the highest scoring accuracy and internal reliability, as evidenced by its low RMSE, near ideal Infit MnSq (0.98), and a rating severity closest to expert benchmarks (logit = − 0.65). In contrast, ChatGPT-4o displayed the highest leniency (logit = + 1.41) and the most erratic rating behavior (Infit MnSq = 1.58).Qwen-2.5's performance suggests that its evaluation patterns are stable and more aligned with the latent quality traits represented in human scoring. Its low MnSq implies a high degree of internal consistency, while the low RMSE confirms that its scoring is numerically close to expert judgments. ChatGPT-4o's over-scoring tendency and inflated MnSq values suggest noise and reduced reliability in its scoring decisions, despite a relatively high point measure correlation.

These findings align with prior studies (e.g., Teckwani et al., 2024; Mugaanyi et al., 2024) that emphasize variability in LLM performance and caution against assuming universal reliability across models. The results confirm assertions by Tang et al. (2024) that conservative LLM scoring strategies may lead to better alignment with human standards in educational evaluation contexts.The internal reliability of LLMs was evaluated using a limited set of translation tasks and scoring prompts. While MFRM offers robust reliability estimates, LLMs may behave differently under varied instructions or contextual parameters, which were not manipulated in this study.Subsequent research should explore how prompt design and response context influence model reliability. Including more models and larger datasets would allow for more generalizable comparisons. Additionally, future studies could examine whether calibration methods can enhance underperforming models' scoring stability.

5.2 Consistency Between LLMs and Human Expert Judgments

The analysis revealed that Qwen-2.5 exhibited the greatest consistency with human expert scores, reflected in

the lowest RMSE across tasks and high alignment with expert severity levels. DeepSeek also demonstrated consistent performance, whereas ChatGPT-4o had the highest average RMSE and deviated most significantly from expert scoring. Qwen-2.5's low deviation from expert scores suggests that it is more sensitive to quality variations as perceived by trained human raters. Its conservative severity (logit = − 0.65) mirrored the stringent standards of expert scorers (logit = − 1.78), enhancing its scoring fidelity. ChatGPT-4o's inflated scoring patterns (RMSE ≈ 1.26 in Business CtoE) reflect a tendency to reward surface level fluency or coherence without adequately penalizing errors in fidelity or appropriateness.

This result supports (Pedro et al., 2025), who found that LLM-human scoring consistency is influenced by different models. While some LLMs can emulate human judgment effectively, others require task specific fine tuning or adaptation. It also expands upon the work of Lee et al. (2024), showing that consistency is not just a function of training scale but also of internal decision rules embedded within the model.Consistency was judged against the average of two expert scores, which, while reliable, still carries a degree of subjectivity. In addition, the uniform scoring rubric may have been interpreted differently by each LLM depending on their pretraining context and prompt parsing mechanisms.Further studies should experiment with rubric reformulation and prompt engineering to improve consistency. Investigating explainability tools to understand why LLMs assign particular scores may help refine their alignment with expert scoring protocols.

5.3 Influence of Text Type and Translation Direction on LLM Evaluation

Translation task type and direction significantly influenced LLM evaluation behavior. The Science EtoC task showed the highest Infit MnSq (1.41), indicating inconsistent rating patterns. Additionally, Rasch difficulty measures identified Science EtoC as the most challenging (logit = − 0.67), whereas Business CtoE was the easiest (logit = + 0.69). The inconsistency in the Science EtoC task likely stems from its high linguistic complexity, domain specific terminology, and the need for more nuanced syntactic and pragmatic interpretation in English to Chinese translation. LLMs, particularly ChatGPT-4o, may rely heavily on lexical matching or fluent output without fully grasping specialized or domain specific content, leading to misaligned scores.

These observations are consistent with Kondo et al. (2024) and Kim et al. (2024), who noted that translation direction and domain specificity affect LLMs' accuracy. Moreover, the asymmetry in evaluation across tasks confirms findings from Liu et al. (2024), emphasizing that LLM performance must be benchmarked across various genres and text complexities for valid application in pedagogy. However, only four tasks were used, limiting the range of linguistic complexity and genres analyzed. Further, while the Rasch model accounts for task difficulty, it does not capture all subtleties of task content or LLM understanding mechanisms. Future research should explore a broader array of text types, including legal, literary, or colloquial translations, and compare performance in low resource language pairs. Cross task generalization of LLM evaluation patterns should also be examined to determine the scalability of model behavior across domains.

6 Conclusion

This study systematically compared four large language models with human expert scores across four translation tasks. Qwen-2.5 emerged as the most accurate and reliable model, aligning closely with expert judgments in both RMSE and MFRM analyses. In contrast, ChatGPT-4o exhibited substantial over-scoring and

inconsistent evaluation patterns. Task specific analysis revealed that scientific EtoC translation posed particular challenges for all LLMs, particularly in terms of internal scoring consistency.These findings offer critical insights for the integration of AI-based tools in translation assessment. By empirically demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of each model, this study provides a foundation for more informed and selective use of LLMs in educational settings. The evidence suggests that while LLMs hold promise in reducing human labor and enhancing objectivity, careful model selection is essential to ensure pedagogical validity.The study's scope was confined to a specific group of learners and tasks, which may not fully capture the variability in translation performance and model behavior across contexts. In addition, LLM outputs may be influenced by factors beyond rubric-based assessment criteria, such as prompt structure and model architecture. Future research should broaden the dataset to include more diverse learner populations, explore different translation text genre, and assess LLM-based scoring in conjunction with qualitative analysis of translation features. Conducting a qualitative analysis of the impact of applying LLMs in translation teaching assessment on students would also significantly contribute to the responsible use of AI in education.

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现代汉语“祝福句”的形式与标准研究

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摘要：本研究系统探讨现代汉语祝福句的形式、语义及语用特征，构建其判定标准体系。形式上，祝福句以“NP1+标记词+NP2+祝辞”为基本结构：NP1 为施祝者；NP2 为受祝者，可省略或通过介词前置；标记词由“祝”“愿”“希望”等意向动词充当，并以其是否出现区分显性与隐性祝福句；祝辞由形容词性、动词性短语或主谓小句构成，决定句子表意。语义上，祝福句须有“利他性”与“难及性”语义特征，通过施祝者和受祝者的同现机制、标记词的语义选择机制和祝辞的概率调控机制及三者相互制约决定了句子是否为祝福句。语用上，祝福句强调语境适应性。形容词性祝辞需依对象特性调整表达形式，必要时以副词修饰增强精准性；为确保祝福真诚有效，祝辞需结合受祝者当下状态进行选择。

一、引言

祝福句，顾名思义，是汉语中用来表达美好祝愿的一种句式。和传统句式研究不同的是，它既不是以句中的特殊标记作为判断标准，也不是以整个句式的结构特征命名，而是着眼于句子表情达意的功能——说话人（祝福者）在合适的情境下向听话人（受祝者）就某一特定事项表达祝愿、祈愿（祝辞）——而命名的、具有较强主观性的一种“情态句式”[①②]。正因为这种句式的主观性较强，所以在判断标准、实际使用、语用效果上都存在较多模糊不清、亟待解决的问题，如是否所有带“祝、希望”等祝福义动词的都可以表达祝福，决定祝辞是否合适、得体的因素有哪些等等。因此，本研究通过对现代汉语祝福句进行形式、语义、语用等多层面的研究，明确了其结构特点、语义特征和语用特色，最终在情态句式范畴下建立起外延明晰、内涵明确的“祝福句”范畴，有助于建立从语义出发对汉语句式系统的描写。

二、以往研究的回顾

据现有文献，前人尚未对祝福句的形式或语义明确地下过定义，而只是有一些描述性的说明。

周筱娟认为，现代汉语的“祝愿语”常为含标记词的兼语句式，可分典型式和非典型式。典型式的标记词有“祝、愿、祝愿、祝福”，非典型式的标记词是“让、希望”。“祝”的祝愿特征强于“愿”，“祝愿”“祝福”“希望”有时不属祝愿范畴，而“让”“希望”只有在特定条件下成为标记词。同时，该文还认为

[①] 邵敬敏. 创建语义分析为主的汉语语法国际教学新体系[J]. 华文教学与研究, 2020, (02): 1-5.

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隐标记祝愿句语表上没有标记词，但可补出[③]。

周文较为全面地梳理了祝福句的形式特征，对各类标记词及句式分析细致，为汉语祝福句研究提供基础框架。但是其梳理仅仅停留在语言表象的分类总结，研究方法较为单一，以相互独立的定性分析为主，并没有深入句式底层的生成逻辑。同时，该文对祝福句的语用环境探讨不够深入，未充分考虑不同场景、对象的差异对祝福句使用的影响

陈琛对祝福句的形式也做了基本定义，他认为“祝福”的概念内涵，可以结构化表示成：施祝者+标记词+受祝者+具体内容。其中“施祝者”是指发出祝福的主体，可用 NP1 表示；“标记词”为表达祝福情感的三价动词，有“祝”、“祝福”、“祝愿”等。“受祝者” 指接受祝福的人或者集体、单位，可用 NP2 表示；“具体内容”即祝辞，可用 VP/AP 表示。综上祝福句的结构形式可以码化为 NP1+标记词+NP2+VP/AP。此外，陈文还从语用环境角度初步分析了影响祝福句使用的制约因素，分为语境值、人际值和时间值。语境值方面，典型标记词可直接展示会话背景，隐性标记祝福句则依靠内容营造语境；人际值上，祝福内容选择受祝人身份、年龄、性别等影响；时间值体现为祝福语有应用时效。[④]

陈文清晰界定了祝福语的概念结构，明确了各语义要素，有助于理解祝福句的语义构成与传达的信息。同时，该文分析了语境、时间、人际三大因素对句子功能实现的影响，体现了语义对祝福句生成的重要意义。但是这种仅仅从形式表象总结的规律并不全面。例如，由于忽略了语义因素的影响，该文将“希望”也归纳进入了标记词的范畴，但其实并非所有的“希望句”都符合祝福句的语义要求，例如“老师希望你们都能努力学习，将来报效国家、服务人民。”同时，其文对各语义要素间的语义关系分析不够深入，未充分探讨施祝者、受祝者与祝福内容的语义关联。

总的来说，汉语句式，尤其是主观性强的情态句式要从具体的功能角度进行分类，而前人的划分与总结都没有充分考虑主观因素，显得较为笼统，也没在结构成分之间、不同句式之间进行关联，即没有考虑各成分之间的相互制约，这就导致许多模棱两可的句子的归类难题。在语用角度，以往研究仅仅对祝福句的语用习惯进行了粗略的总结，并没有具体分析影响祝福句生成和使用的限制因素，对于祝福句的应用场景也欠缺深入的分析，关于祝福句的语用研究有待深入。

三、祝福句的形式要求

结合前人研究和预料调查，可知祝福句的基本形式为：NP1+标记词+NP2+祝辞。例如：

1. 我祝你健康长寿、万事如意。

这句话中，NP1 是“我”，标记词是“祝”，NP2 是“你”，祝辞是 AP“健康长寿、万事如意”。

在祝福句中，NP1 和 NP2 的选择余地较为固定，一般由人称代词或者集体/单位名词充当。标记词也较为固定，都为表达祝福情感的三价心理动词，我们把带有标记词的叫做显性祝福句，没有标记词但仍然能够表达祝福义的句子称为隐性祝福句，例如“生日快乐”、“一路顺风”等。但是，并不是所有能

[③] 周筱娟.祝愿语的形式和意义特征[J].湖北师范学院学报(哲学社会科学版),2006,(03):68-71.

[④] 陈琛.汉语“祝福”语的概念结构及制约因素研究[C]//荆楚学术 2017 年第 8-9 期.湖北大学文学院，2017:369-371.

表达祝福语义的动词都能用作祝福句的标记词，同时，判断一个句子是否是祝福句也不能只依靠标记词的性质，祝福句能否生成需要看祝辞的表达。祝辞由形容词性短语（AP）、动词性短语（VP）或主谓小句（S）构成。祝辞是祝福句句子成分中最不固定的部分，它的选择受到多重因素影响，同时它的表达也影响着句子的表情达意，对于判断祝福句是否成立、语用效果是否恰当起到了关键的作用。

3.1 NP1 与 NP2 的结构特征及其相互限制

“作为人类最重要的交际工具，语言在本质上是对话性的。”⑤对话就会涉及人称，这是在影响主观性立场的诸方面中极为重要的因素⑥。因此，我们以人称为切入点，讨论 NP1 和 NP2 各自的结构特征及其相互限制。

3.1.1 NP1 的结构特征

从人称上看，NP1 一般为第一人称。例如：

2. 我祝愿中国人民取得更大的胜利。

NP1 也可以是第三人称，这时说话人是 NP1 的代言人，整个句子用于转述 NP1 发出的祝愿。例如：

3. 他们见面后，伏罗希洛夫主席告诉毛主席说：“苏加诺总统托我问候你，他祝你一切都好！

但是，NP1 一般不能是第二人称，这是因为祝福句在句类上属于向听话人传递未知的新信息的陈述句，而第二人称做主语的句子一般都是向对方索取信息的疑问句或者向对方提出要求的祈使句。唯一的例外类型是将其作为话语活动的起点，这时可以由第二人称充当主语，但这样的句子还能否成为祝福句，尚有争议。例如；

4. 你祝我生日快乐，我祝你植树节快乐，毛里求斯建国纪念日快乐。

最后，当说话人就是 NP1 时，NP1 可以省略。例如：

5. 我感谢你们高贵的友谊和至今所给予我们的一切帮助。祝我们强大的同盟者——苏联获得进一步的伟大的胜利。

3.1.2 NP2 的结构特征

NP2 一般是第二人称（包括广义的对言谈对象的指称如“我祝大家……”），用于接受 NP1 的祝愿，例如：

6. 我紧紧地握着你的手，祝你一切成功，健康和长寿。

NP2 在少数情况下也可以是第三人称，这时说话人是通过听话人的转述向 NP2 表达祝福。例如：

7. 在这里，我谨向他们致真挚的慰问与无限的同情，祝他们更健康更愉快的坚守着自己的工作岗位，更勇敢更坚决地斗争下去！

NP2 还可以是第一人称的复数，条件是这个复数形式必须包括听话人，也就是说话人向包括听话人在内的“我们”表示祝愿。例如：

8. 愿上帝祝福我们友谊万古长存。

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⑤ Bakhtin, M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by Mikhail Bakhtin*[M]. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

⑥ 邵敬敏. 主观性的类型与主观化的途径[J]. 汉语学报, 2017, (04):2-9.

反之，如果这个“我们”不包括听话人，则这样的句子只是陈述事实，不是祝福句。例如：

9. 得到肯定的回答以后，他们就握住我们的手，祝我们一路平安。

NP2 可以有条件地省略，主要见于一对一的封闭式的交流，如面谈和书信，这时语境可以明确 NP2 的所指。例如：

10. 祝安，下午好。

最后需要指出的是，有时候说话人会用对象介词如“向、为、对、同、跟、与”等把受祝者提前到标记词前，改变其在句子中出现的位置。例如：

11. 当此我国农业技术改革的号角已经响起，农业机械化的列车已经启闸开动的历史时刻，让我为你祝福吧，祝福你开遍祖国辽阔的田野！

这样做的目的有二：一是如例 11，如果不用介词，即“让我祝福你开遍祖国辽阔的田野吧”，祝辞内容太长，信息传递难度大。所以，通过介词将宾语前置，制造停顿点，调整并优化了信息结构，避免了宾语过长导致的信息传递困难。

二是祝福前有修饰语，介词将受祝者提前的同时修饰语和祝辞也同时提前，这样就能确保后续成分是真正的祝福句。例如；

12. 借春节来临之际，我们向读者致衷心的祝福，祝大家节日快乐，万事如意。

这句话因为要表示“祝大家节日快乐，万事如意”这个祝福是“衷心的”，而“节日快乐，万事如意”不能受“衷心的”修饰，所以为了强调祝福的特点，只能把“祝福”提出来，摆在介宾结构“向读者”之后，然后由此引出祝福的具体内容。当然，读者会指出“衷心”也可以放在“祝大家”之前，但这样一来“我们衷心地祝大家……”至少就有了歧义：一是仍可理解为祝福句；二是作为陈述句，记述“我们向大家衷心地发出了祝福”这个事实。因此，为了确保达成祝福功能，使用介词结构“吸引”含有修饰语的祝辞置于真正的祝福句之前。也就是说，祝福句必须是说话人当下说出的、具有“以言行事”功能的句子，因此它排斥任何有转述解读可能的形式。

3.1.3 NP1 与 NP2 的相互限制及其表现形式

首先，NP1 的范围不能和 NP2 所表示的范围一致。例如当 NP1 为第一人称时，NP2 只能是第二或第三人称，但不能也是第一人称。例如：

13. 我们祝你圆满地实现这一目标。

14. 我向中国人民祝福，我祝他们在建设社会主义以及保卫和平与自由的事业中得到成功。

15. *我祝我幸福快乐。

但是，此时的 NP2 可以是第一人称复数，例如：

16. 我祝我们大家能在一个保持和平的世界中友好地生活下去。

这是因为此时的“我”被包含在“我们”之内，即 NP1 是 NP2 的真子集，NP1 与 NP2 的范围也并不完全一致，所以该祝福句合法。

其次，当 NP1 为第三人称时，NP2 只能是第二人称，整个句子用于说话人向听话人转述 NP1 对他的祝福。例如：

17. 德斯克列斯库对胡耀邦说：“齐奥塞斯库总书记让我转达他对你的热情问候。他祝你在工作中取得更大的成绩”。

这时如果 NP2 是第一或第三人称，句子并不执行祝福功能，而只是记述事实。例如：

18. 今天早晨，我与布什总统通了电话，他祝我好运。

19. 他祝她做个幸福的新娘。

3.1.4 小结

综上所述，祝福句的 NP1 典型地是第一人称“我”或“我们”，非典型地是第三人称（用于说话人转述第三方对听话人的祝福）；NP2 典型地是第二人称“你”或“你们”，非典型地是第三人称（用于说话人请听话人作为第三方向受祝者转达祝福），如果“你”被包含在“我们”之内，NP2 也可以由“我们”充当。可以发现，无论 NP1 和 NP2 由哪些充分充当，祝福功能的实现必须是现场的、即时的，即“NP1（现在）+祝福标记词+NP2+祝辞”，因此像上文例 6 之所以被认为是祝福句，其实默认了是说话人在描述自己的行为，如果这句话被解读为说话人回忆过去的行为，那它也不是祝福句。在 NP1 与 NP2 的同现制约上，总的原则是二者在所指范围上不能重合，即不能自己对自己发出祝福。

3.2 标记词的选择

标记词一般由“祝”“愿”等表达祝福情感的三价心理动词充当，标记词的有无可以区分显性与隐性祝福句。

祝福句中常见的标记词有：祝、祝福、愿、祝愿、祈愿等。这些动词的特点是出现时需带三个论元（主语即 NP1、直接宾语即祝辞、间接宾语即 NP2）且传达祝福语义，即能够表达对他人的美好祝愿或正向期许。这些三价动词是祝福句中典型的标记词，例如：

20. 我祝你们幸福。

21. 我祝福你永远健康！

22. 我知道你是个人才，我愿你在抗战中建功立业，这是真心实话。

但是，不是所有能够表达祝福情感的三价心理动词都能被看作典型标记词，有些动词在不同语境下可表达多种不同语义，此时则需要根据语义来进行句式判断。例如：

23. 伯雍说：“这是你的好处，但是我希望你慢慢的把他们解放。”

24. 恩情重不过我们的毛主席，我希望毛主席万寿无疆。

这两个句子都含有三价动词“希望”，但通过两个句子的语义对比可以发现，例 23 表达了“要求”的语义，不符合祝福句表达美好祝愿和正向期许的语义要求，所以该类句子不属于祝福句。例 24 表达了对毛主席“长寿”的祝福，所以属于祝福句。（具体原因详见下文分析，这里只指出事实。）

3.3 祝辞的选择

首先，祝辞的内容需要作用于 NP2，且祝辞所表达的愿望与祝福的受益者是 NP2 本身，否则句子不成立。在此规则下，我们可以推出祝辞只能是形容词性短语、动词性短语或者主谓短语，而不能是名词或名词性结构。例如：

25. 新喜新喜，祝你幸福。

26．最后，她又一字一顿地用汉语大声说道：“我祝你们取得巨大的成功！”全场一片掌声。

27．妈妈，我和老爸相处得很好，今天是母亲节，祝你节日快乐，我们会等着你凯旋。

为什么由这样的要求呢？我们可以从句法上作出说明，那就是形容词性短语、动词性短语都可以作为 NP2 的谓语以陈述其被祝福的内容，主谓短语当然也可以和 NP2 组成主谓谓语句，而名词性短语一般情况下却不能直接充当谓语。请看：例 25 中的祝辞“幸福”是形容词，NP2 是“你”，“幸福”可以修饰“你”，也可以组成“你（将要）幸福”，这就说明了在意义上祝辞可以作用于 NP2，因此这句话作为祝福句是成立的。例 26 中的祝辞“取得巨大的成功”是动词性短语，NP2 是“你们”，祝辞可用作 NP2 的谓语“你们（将会）取得巨大的成功”，所以该祝福句也能成立。例 27 中的祝辞是“节日快乐”，NP2 是“你”，祝辞和 NP2 也可以组成主谓谓语句“你节日快乐”，因此该祝福句成立。但是名词无法作用于名词，所以祝辞是 NP 的句子无法成立。例如：

28．*祝你学业。

29．祝你学业有成。

其次，虽然标记词是三价动词，在句法上应带有作为直接宾语的祝辞，但是在祝福句的实际运用中，祝辞有时会出现省略现象。例如：

30．这是你们伟大的领袖，他为中国妇女作了很多事情，我祝福他！

31．我相信，在不久的将来，这个几乎濒于灭亡境地的弱小民族，也会重新人丁兴旺地壮大起来。我祝福他们！

在形式上，这两个祝福句在表层结构中只有两个论元，确实出现了成分的缺失，严格来说，缺少论元的三价动词句是不完整的。但从深层语义上看，这类句子其实在语境中隐含了祝辞内容，它们通过话语语境实现了三价的要求，这类祝福句对语境的要求较高。事实上，调查发现，省略祝辞的祝福句一般由“祝福”充当标记词，这种省略情况无法出现在“祝”字句中。这是因为“祝”在韵律上是一个单音节词（在现代汉语中要求黏着，例如和“愿、福”黏着），这就导致了它在语法上是一个不成词语素，因此不能有“NP1+祝+NP2”这样的“自由形式”。而“祝福”则不同，它在韵律上已经成双、在句法上也已经成词（当然是句法词）⑦，因此带不带宾语都是可以的，也就是说“祝福”中的“福”字的语义已经包含了对他人的美好祝愿或正向期许，因此“祝福”的语义指向是泛化的善意表达，其内容论元可以是具体的祝辞，也可以是隐含的、泛指的或语境中的祝愿。

四　祝福句的语义约束

语义指向分析不仅需关注词项的语义特征，词项或句子成分之间的互动关系也是影响语义表达的重要因素。对祝福句来说，我们的分析不能仅仅停留在 NP1、NP2、祝辞这些成分的静态分析上，还要关注它们之间的相互选择、相互制约关系。这种相互选择、相互制约关系无疑是由它们的语义决定的。例如，“愿”、“希望”等三价心理动词既可以表达祝愿情感/语气，也可以表达请愿或要求情感/语气，

⑦ 冯胜利,施春宏.韵律语法学的构建历程、理论架构与学理意义[J].语言科学,2021,20(01):38-59.

所以在搭配不同的直接宾语和/或间接宾语以及用于不同语境时，和各类句子成分互动所产生的语义指向也会有所差异。正因如此，将这类动词简单地都纳为祝福句的标记词是不合适的。也就是说，要判断一个句子是不是祝福句，最根本、最核心的决定因素是包括词项的语义特征和词项间的语义关系在内的语义因素。

根据语料调查和逻辑归纳，祝福句的语义约束可以提炼为“利他性”和“难及性”两个条件。

4.1 “利他性”语义约束

在一个合法的祝福句中，祝辞内容必须具有对于 NP2 的“利他性”。如果祝辞不利于 NP2 或对 NP2 呈中性，即使有三价心理动词作标记词，该类句式也不该被归纳为祝福句，例如：

32. 祝你出门被车撞。

该句中尽管有标记词为“祝”，但“撞车”这个内容并不利于 NP2（反而是有害于他），因此整句话不符合祝福的功能，而是表达了诅咒的情感，所以这句话当然不能被归入祝福句的范畴。

需要强调指出的是，“利他性”中的“他”必须是 NP2，而不能是 NP1 或其他人，也就是说祝福句必须是针对 NP2 发出的祝福、愿望或正向期许。这有助于甄别某些貌似祝福但其实只是对包含 NP2 在内的整个言语社团有利的句子。例如：

33. 祖国把你培养成博士，很不容易，我希望你能回国来工作。

例 33 中“回国工作”是否对“你”有利，从该句中无法确定。虽然我们可以按照社会常理推断“回国工作对国家有利，也对你有利”，但因为这个结果并不是完全针对 NP2 的，因此它仍然并不属于祝福句，这也是为什么我们在前文结构描写中指出 NP2 如果是第一人称复数“我们”，那么这个“我们”必须包含听话人在内的原因。如果我们将其修改为“希望你回国顺利”，加强祝辞有利于 NP2（也就是“你”）的针对性，那么它就是祝福句了。

4.2 “难及性”语义约束

在祝福句中，祝辞实现的可能性不能太大，即祝辞应对 NP2 具有“难及性”，否则该句子无法传递祝福情感。例如：

34. 因此，我希望厂矿企业重视对文艺工作的领导，在加强政治思想工作、搞好工业生产的同时，组织职工开展业余文艺活动。

此句中，NP1 是“我”，NP2 是“矿厂企业”，VP 是“重视对文艺工作的领导”。从 NP1 的角度看，VP 对于 NP2 来说是分内之事，理应可以轻易完成，并不具有“难及性”，因此例 33 在句类上表现为请求或命令的祈使句，而不是祝福句。

反之，如果祝辞相对 NP2 来说几乎不可能完成，这样的句子也难以实现为祝福。例如：

35. 我希望你今晚能睡个好觉。

36. 我希望你昨晚睡了个好觉。

显然，我们会把例 34 看成祝愿、祝福，而例 35 只看作希望。原因就是例 34 的祝辞指向将来，受祝人在将来时间（“今晚”）能否“睡个好觉”是有可能的（当然可能性不是很高，尤其是在人们睡眠质量普遍不高的当下），因此它满足“难及性”语义约束；而例 35 的祝辞指向过去，受祝人在过去时间（“昨

晚”）是否“睡了个好觉”是确定的，即只存在现实或违实两种情况，没有可能性，因此它不满足“难及性”语义约束，当然就不是祝福句。

也就是说，“希望、祝、愿”这些动词其实都是在说话人（即 NP1）和听话人（即 NP2）进行言语活动的那个世界（直陈世界）之外可以打开一个新的可能世界的意向动词，而且就这些动词本身来说，它们都是“非叙实”的，例如“我希望……”，“希望”的事情可能为真，也可能为假，而祝福句的要求是这个新打开的可能世界通达直陈世界的概率必须比较小，而这一要求通常来说最典型的是由“祝、愿”完成的。

顺便说一句，从可能世界通达性视角出发，我们就可以很容易解释为什么“看见、假装”这两类动词投射的宾语小句不可能是祝福句，因为它们要么一定是现实，要么一定不是现实，因此都不满足“祝福句”“难及性”的语义要求。

由于“难及性”对祝福句的语义约束，某些三价动词能否看作祝福句标记词就有了歧义。例如：

37. 祝你取得好成绩。

38. 希望你取得好成绩。

在两个例句中，祝辞都是“取得好成绩”，而例 37 的标记词为“祝”，例 38 的标记词为“希望”。从听话者的角度来分析，前者所表达的情感只有祝福、祝愿，而后者所表达的情感可以是祝福也可以是要求乃至命令。这是因为“希望”这个标记词后跟随的宾语成分内容实现的可能性较为宽泛模糊，可以跟随可能性为零的内容，例如：

39. 希望你天天开心，永远年轻靓丽。

也可以跟随实现可能性很大的内容，例如：

40. 希望你今年比去年取得更大的进步。

由此可见，“希望”后跟随的具体内容实现的可能性较为宽泛，往往受主观情感影响，当具体内容不具备“难及性”时，整个句子表达出来的语义偏向于请求、请愿，所以在离开谈话背景时，我们难以对说话内容实现的可能性进行定量判断。因此，“希望句”虽然在某些情况下可以表达祝福句的功能，但我们不能简单地将其归纳进入祝福句的范畴之内，更不能将“希望”作为祝福句典型的标记词进行定性分析。

综上，从语义角度分析，祝福句的判断不能仅仅依靠形式与结构，并不是所有符合祝福句结构的句子都在祝福句的语义范畴内。判断一个句子是否是祝福句、标记词是否表达祝福情感，需要全面地分析句子要素之间的关系，只有句子在形式和语义上同时符合祝福句的特征，我们才能保证这个句子能完成表达祝福情感的功能。因此在分析句子时不仅仅要依靠结构形式，更要从语义层面约束句子，这样才能更准确、精细地为句子进行功能的划分。

五、祝福句的语用

一个合法的祝福句并不是在所有场合都是“合适”的祝福句，这是因为祝福句属于施为句，该类句

式并没有绝对的真假之分，但有合适与否的差别，因此祝辞的选择受语用环境的限制。基于调查和逻辑，合适的祝福句应该满足以下三个条件：

第一，合适的祝福句要求施祝者默认受祝者目前尚未满足祝辞描写的状态，因此选择祝辞予以祝福。这个语用条件的意思是，施祝者在说出祝福时必须事先对受祝者的当前状态有所了解，不能用对方已经具备的能力、已经拥有的资源作为“祝福”的内容。以形容词性祝辞为例，不同的祝辞往往会产生不同的意义，例如“祝你成功”和“祝你越来越成功”对各自的适用语境就有不同要求，一般而言，前者适用于对方尚未成功之时，后者适用于对方已经取得初步成功之时。请看具体例子：

41．中国之孙夫人宋庆龄曾在上海致电卡尔逊，预祝大会成功，吁请该会支持中国人民争取中国团结人身自由民主的运动。

42．2015 年，祝福你事业都越来越成功了，家庭都越来越幸福了，身体也越来越健康了，做什么都顺利...

例 41 的“成功”修饰的是具体事物“大会”，有具体的评判标准，即大会的顺利开展，可通过具体指标的分析可视化，如会议时长是否在预期范围内、现场秩序是否维持良好、出席人数是否对应等等；而例 42 的“成功”范围模糊，修饰的是一个高度概括的抽象概念名词“事业”，评价标准因人而异，具有较高的主观性，我们没法评价 NP2 现在的状态是否符合“成功”的标准，那么为了满足上述“默认受祝者目前尚未满足祝辞描写的状态”这一语用适宜性条件，就必须要用一个程度副词“越来越”修饰，表示这个抽象概念“事业”已经有一定“成功”的基础，而又是在往“成功”的方向发展着的。若该例句去除程度副词“越来越”，即“祝你的事业都成功了”，这句话便暗示着说话人认为听话者目前事业并没有成功的潜意识。由此可见，用程度副词修饰后的祝福句更符合受祝者的心理预期。

第二，祝辞应该与 NP2 具有一定心理距离。如前文所述，祝福句的语义约束条件之一是“难及性”，即祝辞所描述内容实现的可能性不能太大，不能是 NP2 轻而易举就可以得到的。体现在语用上，就是说话人不能选择那些 NP2 在心理上认为轻易可以做到的事情作为祝辞。以看望病人时常说的祝辞内容为例：

43. 郭超人说：“这次你在索马里任务完成得很出色，表现很英勇。祝你早日康复。”（语境背景：41 岁的刘江是新华社设在肯尼亚首都内罗毕的非洲总分社负责人，1992 年 12 月受命赴索马里采访，今年月 1 月 20 日晚遭当地一伙身份不明的持枪者袭击，左腿膝关节以上一段粉碎性骨折。）

44．医院诊断为髓母细胞瘤———脑瘤中最严重的一种.....王治郅和队友们还把签名的队旗送给小欣月，上面写着：“欣月，祝你康复”。

这两处祝福句的祝辞分别是“早日康复”与“康复”，以可能性的角度分析，例 43 中的病人病情为粉碎性骨折，只要配合治疗，康复的概率较大，是不需要说话者的祝愿都能实现的事情，但是在“早日康复”中，“早日”作为时间状语，修饰“康复”这个动作，祝辞表达的意思是“希望某人能够尽快恢复健康”。加上时间的限制，该祝辞实现的难度变大，在该语境下，更符合祝愿句传达良好祝愿和抒发美好情感的功能。在例 44 中，女孩身患绝症，“康复”对于她来说是一件难度较大的事情，所以在此处，祝辞选择“康复”较为合适。同样的道理，“长命百岁”这个祝辞我们对一位 70 岁的老者使用是很合适的，但对

一位年龄已经超过90的老人使用该祝福就显得不恰当；“祝你顺利毕业”这个祝福对博士生可以使用，但对于本科生来说就显得不太合适了。

第三，祝辞必然是尚未发生的事情，但不是所有尚未发生的事情都能被当成祝辞使用。祝辞不能选择那些虽然尚未发生、但是在未来一定会发生的事情，即祝辞实现的可能性不能为百分之一百。例如：

45．希望你的宝宝快高长大。

46．*希望你的宝宝成长。

47．*希望你的宝宝长大。

在正常情况下，长大和成长是一个必然性事件，必然性的事件只是对客观事实的复述，无法表达说话者对听话者的爱、尊重、关心等美好的情感，所以这类句子无法用祝福句的形式表达。

六、结语

通过对祝福句结构、语义、语用等角度的描写和分析，目前我们基本廓清了现代汉语祝福句这一主观性情态句式的语表形式、语里意义和语值功能。概而言之，祝福句的语表形式由施祝者、受祝者、祝福标记词、祝辞等部分组成，其中前两者的选择限制主要体现在人称上，例如它们不能是同一人称、所指不能完全重合等；祝福句的语里意义是通过选择“利他、难及”的祝辞，由施祝者向受祝者传达针对特定事项的祝愿，“利他”要求祝辞具有针对性，“难及”要求祝辞必须指向将来且实现的可能性较小；祝福句的语值功能是作为施为句，构建施祝者和受祝者之间的和谐关系。 在语值功能（即语用）方面，本研究的调查分析还有待进一步推进，这是本研究的不足之处。

通过梳理相关文献、整合现有材料以及语料调查和分类，本研究从语义入手，试图把握祝福句形式表象下的限制因素，总结归纳出祝福句的判断标准，找出影响句子表情达意的根本原因。通过对祝福句相关语料的系统研究，本研究发现了祝福句的生成受到句子结构和语境两个影响因素的限制。两个因素相互影响相互限制，最终形成了祝福句特有的形式和表达。本研究明确了祝福句的范畴，为祝福句的判断提供了标准。这些发现不仅证实了语言学研究需要重视语义的分析，而且对情态句式应用的研究提供了新的视角。

汉英约量词“about”与“左右”“上下”“大约”的偏误现象探究

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摘要： 本文探讨了英语母语者在汉语学习过程中，特别是在约量词使用方面常出现的偏误类型及其原因，并提出了相关的二语教学建议。通过文献研究法和案例分析法，发现英语母语者在约量词的使用上主要发生的偏误会源于语言迁移（包括母语负迁移和相似词区分不清等）、文化差异、忽视语境因素的影响以及约量词语序不当。针对这些问题，本文从教材的编写、教师的教学以及学生的习得策略等三个方面提出了详细的教学建议。教材编写应注重系统性、文化融入、例句丰富及对比讲解；教师教学需强化练习、语境教学、及时纠正错误并导入文化知识；而学生则应采取主动积累、注重语境、对比分析及积极实践等学习策略。通过这些措施，旨在帮助英语母语者有效减少约量词使用的偏误，提升汉语学习的整体效果。

关键词：约量词；汉英对比；偏误分析；汉语教学

一. 引言

在全球化日益凸显的浪潮中，语言作为文化交流的媒介变得越来越重要。汉语，作为拥有悠久历史与深厚文化底蕴的语言，正以前所未有的速度走向世界舞台，吸引着越来越多的国际学习者。随着汉语国际教育的不断发展，如何有效教授汉语，帮助学习者克服语言障碍，成为了一个亟待解决的问题。

在汉语中，“约量词”如“左右”、“上下”、“大约”等，是表达数量、时间、程度等不精确性的重要词汇手段。这些词汇在日常交际、学术写作、新闻报道等多种语境中频繁出现，对于准确理解和运用汉语具有重要意义。然而，对于非母语学习者而言，由于汉语约量词的复杂性和多样性，往往会成为习得中的其中一个难点。另一方面，作为国际通用语言的英语，其表达数量不精确性的方式，如使用“about”、“around”等词汇，与汉语约量词在语法层面、语义层面和语用层面存在显著差异。这种差异不仅体现在词汇本身的使用规则上，还涉及到文化背景、语言习惯等多个方面。因此，在对外汉语教学中，如何引导学生准确理解和运用汉语约量词，避免与母语表达方式的混淆，是一个值得深入探讨的问题。

本文综合运用了文献研究法和案例分析法，文献研究法用于梳理已有关于汉英约量词的研究成果，了解研究现状；案例分析法收集英语母语者使用汉语约量词的实例，分析其中的偏误类型，从而为研究提供丰富的数据支持。旨在通过对比分析英语中的“about”与汉语中常见的“约量词”，揭示两者在语法层面、语义层面和语用层面的相同点和不同点，愿为对外汉语教学提供参考资料。通过本文的研究，我们

希望能够帮助汉语教师更好地把握汉语约量词的教学难点，设计更加科学合理的教学方案；同时，也能够帮助学习者更加准确地掌握汉语约量词的用法，提高汉语表达的准确性和地道性。

二．英语“about”和汉语“左右”“上下”“大约”的对比研究

本研究采用对比分析的话语分析框架，从语法、语义和语用三个层面入手，对比英语“about”和汉语“左右”“上下”“大约”。在语法层面，分析它们在句子中的句法功能以及与其他词类的组合功能；语义层面，探讨基本含义、语义精确性、词义构成与发展以及模糊义理解；语用层面，研究语用倾向和语体色彩。这种多层面的对比分析框架有助于全面、系统地揭示汉英约量词的差异，为后续研究奠定基础。

1 语法功能对比分析

在英语和汉语中，“about”与“左右”、“上下”、“大约”等词汇都用于表达数量、时间、程度等的不精确性，但在语法功能上存在一定的差异。本篇文章主要从其句法的功能和组合的功能这两方面进行分析和对比。

1.1 句法功能

英语“about”主要有以下几个句法功能：①作为介词：主要用于引进与某事物相关或涉及的内容，如“a book about history”（一本关于历史的书）。此时，“about”后通常跟名词或名词短语。也可表示位置或方向的接近性，但此用法相对较少见，且更多依赖于上下文理解。②作为副词：用于修饰动词，表示动作或状态的不精确性，如“I’ll be there in about an hour.”（我大约一个小时后到那里）。此时，“about”直接修饰动词短语，强调时间、程度等的不确定性。③还可用于构成固定短语，如“be about to do sth.”（即将做某事），表示即将发生的动作。

汉语“左右”、“上下”、“大约”的句法功能主要有：①作为副词或形容词性短语：通常位于表示数词、量词或数量的短语之前，表示数量的不精确性，如“大约五个人”、“十岁左右的孩子”。此时，它们直接修饰数量表达，使表达更加灵活和委婉。也可位于动词短语之前，表示时间或程度的不精确性，如“大约走了半个小时”、“大约能完成一半的工作”。②作为独立成分：在某些情况下，“左右”、“上下”等词汇可独立成句或作为句中的独立成分，表达模糊的概念或范围，如“他的年龄在三十岁左右。”

1.2 组合功能

英语“about”的组合功能：①与名词结合：形成介词短语，表示与某事物相关或涉及的内容，如“a talk about love”（关于爱情的谈话）。②与数词或数量短语结合：表示数量的不精确性，如“about ten books”（大约十本书）。此时，“about”与数词或数量短语紧密结合，共同构成数量表达的一部分。③与动词结合：形成副词短语，修饰动词的不精确性，如“I’m about to leave.”（我即将离开）。④此外，“about”还可与其他副词或介词短语结合使用，表达更复杂的语义关系。

汉语中“左右”、“上下”和“大约”功能的组合：①与数字或量词组合，形成表示数量不准确的定量短语，如“约 5 人”或“约 10 岁”。这是它们最常见的组合方式。②与动词短语结合：表示时间或程度的不精确性，如“大约走了半个小时”、“大约能完成一半的工作”。此时，“左右”、“上下”、“大约”等词汇与动词短语紧密结合，共同构成时间或程度表达的一部分。③与其他词语结合：形成固定搭配或习惯用语，如“左右为难”（表示处于两难境地）、“上下一心”（表示团结一致）。这些固定的搭配和成语具有多样

化的内涵和表现。

可以得知，英文单词“about”和汉语词组“左右”、“上下”、“大约”在句法上都可用于表达数量、时间、程度等的不精确性；但在具体用法上，“about”具有介词和副词的双重词性而汉语中的约量词则主要作为副词或形容词性短语出现；在组合功能上，“about”与名词、数词、动词等多种词类结合使用而汉语中的约量词则主要与数词、量词或动词短语结合使用并常形成固定搭配或习惯用语。

1. 语义对比分析

从基本含义来看，在英语中，“about”作为副词，常用于表示数量、时间、距离等的大约值，具有广泛的适用性，例如“There are about 20 people in the room.”（房间里大约有 20 人。）。而在汉语中，这三个词都用于表示不确定的数量或时间，但各有侧重。“左右”通常使用在近似时间或数量的表达式中，而“上下”通常使用在表示数量的浮动范围。“大约”则更为通用，可用于时间、数量、程度等多个方面。

从语义精确性方面，“about”的语义较为宽泛，用于表示大致的范围或数量，不强调精确性；在中文中，“左右”、“上下”和“大约”也用于表达不确定的数量和时间，但“左右”和“上下”在表达时间时通常表示“接近某个时间点”。而“大约”则更侧重于数量的模糊性。

2.1 词义构成与发展

中文中的“左右”、“上下”、“大约”和英语中的“about”等量词用于描述一系列的一般数量、时间或程度，反映了人类的语言在表达歧义概念方面的共性。然而，正是这种共通性背后隐藏的差异，成为了语言学习者需要跨越的障碍。汉语约量词不仅承载着数量上的模糊性，还往往蕴含着特定的文化、语境和情感色彩，其使用需遵循一定的搭配规则和习惯用法。而英语中的“about”则相对简洁直接，更多地侧重于数量或时间上的大致估算，较少涉及复杂的语境和文化因素。

2.1.1 汉语约量词的词义构成与发展

汉语中的约量词如“左右”、“上下”、“大约”等，主要用于表达数量、时间、程度等的不精确性。它们通常与数词、量词或数量短语结合使用，形成数量表达的一部分。这些约量词在词义上往往包含了一种模糊、不确定的意味，使得所表达的数量、时间或程度等概念具有一定的伸缩性和灵活性。

汉语约量词的使用历史悠久，随着语言的发展和演变，其种类和用法也逐渐丰富和完善。在古代汉语中，约量词的使用就已经相当普遍，如《诗经》、《楚辞》等古代文献中就有大量使用约量词的例子。在现代汉语中，约量词的使用更加广泛和灵活，不仅用于口语表达，也常出现在书面语中。与此同时，伴随着社会的 变化和语言环境的更新，新的约量词层出不穷。

2.1.2 英语约量词的词义构成与发展

英语中的约量词主要以“about”为代表，它既可以作为介词也可以作为副词使用。作为介词时，“about”主要用于与某事物相关内容的引进；作为副词时，则用于修饰动词或数量表达的不精确性。“about”在词义上同样包含了一种模糊、不确定的意味，使得所表达的数量、时间或程度等概念具有一定的伸缩性和灵活性。

英语约量词的使用也经过了一段较长的发展历程。“about”在现代英语中作为最常用的约量词之一，其用法已经相当固定和成熟。同时，随着英语语言的不断发展和变化，新的约量词或表达方式也可能出

现。

2.2 模糊义理解

汉语约量词的模糊义主要来源于说话者对客观世界和自己主观认知的不确定。客观世界中，许多现象和事物本身就表现出一定的模糊性，如数量的多少、时间的长短、程度的高低等往往难以精确界定。同时，主观认知上的局限性和差异性也会导致对同一事物或现象产生不同的模糊理解。

汉语约量词主要通过其模糊性的表达方式，使得语言在表达上更加灵活和生动，同时也能够更好地适应不同语境和交际需求。在理解汉语约量词的模糊义时，需要结合具体的语境和交际背景进行分析。例如，“大约五个人”中的“大约”表示对数量的不精确估计；“十岁左右的孩子”中的“左右”则表示对年龄范围的模糊界定。同时，还需要注意不同约量词在表达模糊义时的细微差别和语体色彩。例如，“大约”更加偏向于表达数量的不精确的估量值；“左右”则更侧重于对时间、年龄等概念的模糊界定；而“上下”则偏向于表示空间的位置或数量的范围。

英语约量词的模糊性同样来源于客观世界和主观认知的不确定性。与汉语约量词相似，“about”也通过其模糊性的表达方式使得语言在表达上更加灵活和生动。英语中的其他表量结构（如“a few”、“several”等）也具有一定的模糊性，用于表达数量、程度等概念的不精确性。

在理解英语约量词的模糊义时，同样需要结合具体的语境和交际背景进行分析。例如，“I’ll be there in about an hour.”中的“about”表示对时间的不精确估计；“There are about ten books on the desk.”中的“about”则表示对数量的不精确估计。需要注意的是，英语约量词的模糊义在理解和表达上可能受到文化、语境等因素的影响。因此，在跨文化交际中需要特别注意对约量词模糊义的理解和把握。

2. 语用对比分析

3.1 汉英约量词的语用倾向

语言作为社会中一种普遍存在的文化现象，存在于特定的背景之下，当不同文化的人们共享同一种语言时，就会发生跨文化交际。

而其产生的语用差异（通常由文化差异引起）是无法避免的。英语民族和汉语民族由于所处地理环境与社会环境的不同，由此所形成的民族心理、价值观念以及语言习惯等的差异很大。(陈曦蓉,2005，第 88-89 页）

汉语约量词的语用倾向主要有： ①表达灵活性和委婉性：汉语约量词在语用中常用来表达数量的不精确性，使语言更加灵活和委婉。例如，“大约五个人”比“五个人”在表达上更为灵活，能够适应不同语境和交际需求。在一些需要避免过于绝对或确定的场合，如预测、估计等情境中，约量词的使用能够减少语言的生硬感，使表达更加得体。②强调模糊性和不确定性：汉语约量词通过其模糊性的表达方式，强调了对数量、时间、程度等概念的不确定性。这种不确定性有时是为了避免承担过重的责任或风险，有时则是为了表达一种谦虚或谨慎的态度。在一些需要保持低调或避免引起争议的场合，约量词的使用能够有效地降低语言的锋芒，使表达更加平和。③文化语境的适应性：汉语约量词的使用还受到文化语境的影响。对歧义的接受和表达程度可能因文化背景而异。因此，我们有必要在跨文化交际中根据具体的语境选择合适的量词进行表达。

英语约量词的语用倾向主要有:①强调精确性与模糊性的平衡：英语约量词如“about”在语用中既强调精确性又兼顾模糊性。它能够在表达数量、时间等概念时提供一定的精确度，同时又保留了足够的模糊性以适应不同的语境和交际需求。例如，“I’ll be there in about an hour.”中的“about”既给出了一个大致的时间范围，又没有过于绝对地限定具体时间，使得表达既准确又灵活。②交际功能的多样性：英语约量词在语用中还具有多样化的交际功能。它们不仅可以用于表达数量的不精确性，还可以用于表达程度、频率、方式等多种概念。这种多样性使得英语约量词在交际中更加灵活多变，能够满足不同的交际需求。③文化普遍性与差异性：尽管英语约量词在全球范围内广泛使用，但它们的语用倾向仍然受到文化普遍性和差异性的影响。不同文化背景下的英语使用者可能对约量词的使用频率、语境选择等方面存在差异。因此，学习者需要注意上文所述的差异，并在跨文化交际中做出适当的调整。

3.2 汉英约量词的语体色彩对比

汉语在各种语言语境中的独特趣味和文体风格被称为“文体色彩”。语言环境对文体色彩有重大影响，包括语言体式、风格等因素。在汉语中，量词作为重要的词类，其语体色彩丰富多样，主要体现在以下几个方面:

（1）口语倾向：口语中经常使用中文量词，约量词口语化倾向较强。它们常出现在日常对话、口头报告等场合中，使表达更加自然流畅。在书面语中，虽然也会使用约量词但相对较为谨慎和正式。在学术论文、官方文件等正式场合中，通常会使用更为精确和严谨的表达方式。

（2）非正式与正式的平衡：汉语约量词能够在非正式和正式场合之间找到一定的平衡。它们在非正式场合中可以增加亲和力；在正式场合中则可以通过适当的控制使用频率和语境来保持语言的严谨性和权威性。在汉语中,“可能、大概”用于口语,而“近、大约、左右、接近于”用于书面语。

英语约量词的文体色彩不如汉语丰富，但也有其相应的特殊变化。在英语中，约量词如“about”、“around”、“approximately”等，主要用于表示数量、时间、距离等的不确定或近似值。在英语中，只有 approximately 用于书面语中，英语的“about 9 o’clock”，在汉语里可以表达为“大约九点或九点左右”,但后者的表达与英语在词序上不同。(陈秋娜，2007，第 112-113 页)这些约量词在不同语境和文体中可能会展现出不同的语体色彩，但相较于汉语，其变化相对较为有限，主要有以下两个方面:

（1）普遍适用性：英语约量词如“about”在语体上具有较强的普遍适用性。它们既可以用于口头语言，也可以用于书面语言，并且都可以在非正式和正式场合中看到。由于这种普遍的适用性，英语中的量词已成为交流中必要的一部分。无论是在日常对话还是学术报告中都可以看到它们的身影。

（2）语境依赖性：尽管英语约量词具有普遍适用性但它们的使用仍然受到语境的制约。在不同的语境下约量词的使用频率、语气强度等方面都可能存在差异。因此在我们使用时需要结合具体语境进行抉择和调整。例如，副词“大约”包含两种解释的义项，根据《现代汉语中的 800 个单词》和《现代汉语中的虚构词的插图》来看，其具有近似的数量和猜想。其共同之处是表示测量值。此外，“大约”的估测值也可以用“近似”表示：圆周率大约是 3.14。（刘宁生，1985，第 36-39 页）

总而言之，汉英约量词在语用倾向和语体色彩方面存在的差异反映了不同语言在表达数量、时间等概念时的独特方式和文化背景。在跨文化交际中需要充分了解这些差异并做出适当的调整以确保沟通的

顺畅和有效。

三. 英语母语者约量词使用的偏误类型

英语母语者在约量词使用上的偏误类型，主要可以从语言迁移、文化负迁移以及学习策略等方面进行分析。

1. 母语负迁移：英语母语者在习得汉语量词时，容易将母语中的语言习惯迁移到汉语中，导致偏误。尤其是学生还没完全掌握汉语规则的情况下，在使用汉语的过程中会不自觉地按照自己母语的语言特点造句和交际，从而导致母语知识负迁移。母语负迁移主要存在于学生初级阶段，当然在中级阶段的学生学语法的过程中也会使用母语的帮助。在英语中，时间副词通常放在句子的末尾，而在汉语中，副词习惯于放在句子的开头或中间，通常不会出现在句子的末尾。以“大约”、“关于”、“关于”为例，如:我来中国大概三个月以前。

2. 相似词区分不清：在汉语这样的语言中，约量词种类繁多，且各自有其特定的用法和语境。当学习者对约量词相似词之间的细微差别理解不足时，就容易发生混淆和误用。例如，“大约”和“大概”在某些情况下可以互换使用，但在具体语境中可能存在细微差别，英语母语者可能难以准确区分。

3. 约量词与数量词的位置错误：在汉语中，约量词通常用于修饰数量词，表示数量的不确定或大致范围。然而，英语母语者可能由于语言习惯的不同，而在使用约量词时将其置于错误的位置，导致表达不准确或不符合汉语语法规范。张正峰在《“X+前后/左右/上下”分析》中指出，“X+前后/左右/上下”是汉语表估算的一般结构，再加上留学生的偏向用法，作者对“X+前后/左右/上下”进行描述分析，指出了留学生偏见的原因，从认知上解释了“前后左右、上下”。 X+前进/后退/右/上/下。（张豫峰，2004，第 30-36 页）

4. 忽略上下文对量词使用的影响：量词的使用通常受上下文的制约。不同的上下文可能要使用不同的量词来传达相似的含义。然而，英语母语者可能由于缺乏对语境的敏感性和理解力，而在使用约量词时忽视语境的影响，导致表达不准确或产生歧义。

四. 偏误出现的原因分析

英语母语者在汉语约量词使用过程中出现偏误的原因可以归结为多个方面，主要包括语言迁移、文化差异、学习策略以及汉语本身的复杂性等。

1. 母语负迁移

母语的负迁移是发生偏误的原因之一。这种现象通常发生在学习者不熟悉目标语言的规则时，导致偏误，因为当面对一门新语言时，他们只能通过母语知识来理解和使用它。在中文“about”的词序中，有两种常见的表达方式：“about+数量词”或“数量词+数量词”，而英语一般是“about+数量词”。因此，许多留学生在学习之初就将英语词序规则融入中文。

2. 汉语知识过度泛化

学习者可能将某个约量词的用法错误地推广到所有类似的语境中，而忽视了不同约量词之间的细微差别和适用条件。在汉语上约量词适用数量和时间方面。然而，学习者可能对这种数量关系理解不够深入，导致在使用约量词时出现偏误。例如，他们可能错误地将“大约”或“左右”放在数量词之前或之后，

违反了汉语的语法规则。

3. 学习策略问题

刘珣指出，学习策略与效果是紧密相连的，留学生学习汉语过程中，在面临难题时，“回避”的心理便会出现。例如大约和大概这两者很相似，学生在造句过程中，常常选择自己熟悉的“大约”语句，以确保句子的连贯性和正确性，因此产生了误用型的偏误。类似“我们家里的搬家的经历也不少，七八次吧”这种话中，大部分留学生就会回避掉了“大概”一词语，应该改为:“我们家里的搬家的经历也不少，大概七八次吧”。学习者们的一个学习策略是简化，留学生们一般将目的语中比较难的语言规则进行简化，以达到自己的目的。（张道旺和潘玉华，2023，第 70-73 页）

4. 语义偏误

语义偏误是指英语母语者在使用约量词时，没有准确理解该量词所蕴含的语义色彩和语境适应性。汉语中的量词不仅仅是数量的标记，还常常带有特定的语义信息和情感色彩。例如，“一杯水”和“一把米”中的量词“杯”和“把”不仅表示数量，还隐含了水和米这两种物品的特性和性质。英语母语者可能会忽视这种语义特点，导致表达不准确。

其他母语者在学汉语约量词使用过程中会展现各种偏误的，老师需要在教学和学习过程中采取针对性的措施和方法有效减少这些偏误的发生。

五. 教学建议

针对英语母语者在汉语约量词使用过程中出现的偏误，本文提出教学建议主要涵盖教材编写、教师教学以及学生学习策略这三个方面，让汉语教学更好的融入学习生活。

1. 教材编写方面

来自不同的国家的留学生，来中国学习汉语时，在设定教留学生的教材过程中我们要针对不同的国家和不同水平，设计出当前版本的教材来适用。

（1）系统性编排：教材应系统地介绍汉语量词的种类、用法及搭配规则，特别是针对英语母语者的学习难点进行重点讲解。通过编排方式上的循序渐进，让学生更快地熟悉用法。

（2）文化融入：在介绍量词时，一方面要增强了学生学习量词兴趣，另一方面也提高他们跨文化交际综合能力。找到文化背景和内涵，尽可能的学生理解量词背后的文化含义。

（3）例句丰富：提供大量的例句和练习，特别是与日常生活紧密相关的例句。这些例句应涵盖不同语境下的量词使用，以便学生能够在实践中逐步掌握其用法。在使用“上下”这个词，大部分人用在年龄上，这是这个词语基本用法和最常用的做法，但是我们要注意需要注意应用年龄时“上下”，常常用在成年人身上，然而“左右”则是可在各个年龄应用。（时雯雯，2008）教材可以通过提供大量例句让学生体会“上下”、“左右”在表示年龄过程中的各种区别。

（4）对比讲解：通过对比分析汉英两种语言中约量词的异同点，帮助学习者建立清晰的概念框架，明确各自的使用规则和搭配习惯。对比讲解汉语量词与英语量词相关表达，帮助学生明确两者之间的差异和联系。

2. 教师教学方面

张望说过采用设计多元化手段应用于对外汉语课堂，在教学中提升学生学习语言兴趣，让学生自主学习。（张望，2022，第 70-72 页）针对留学生出现的简化等学习策略以及回避等困难，在教学过程中，教师要清晰地认识到这种现象带来的负面影响，当同学面临困难时尽快解决。

（1）强化练习：通过大量的阅读和听力练习增加语言输入，提高学习者对约量词的感知和理解能力；同时，鼓励学习者多进行口语和写作练习，增加语言输出，巩固所学知识。在教学课堂上，老师应注重学生对于量词的练习。应用多种方式方法让学生了解量词正确用法，保证学习成果。

（2）语境教学：将约量词的学习置于真实的语境之中，通过模拟对话、情景演练等方式，让学习者在语境中感受约量词的使用和变化，提高其语境适应性。老师在讲解量词时候要结合具体实例，通过模拟实际生活中的对话场景，让学生在语境中感知和理解量词的使用规则和搭配方式。利用语境培养约量词使用顺序的语感，教师可以选择一些与学生日常生活息息相关的话题，如“日程安排”，设计相关的例句。这些例句可以由学生日常生活中所输出的偏误句子进行改编。通过对真实、富有情境的例句进行创编利用，可以帮助学生在自己的认知范围内对约量词的语序规则进行重塑。（敬进涛，2024）

（3）错误纠正：教师在看到学生在使用量词时出现的多种错误，要及时的纠正，并让他们找出问题错误原因，防止再出现类似错误。同时，教师鼓励学生在课堂上深入讨论和思考。对于语言教学中的偏误纠正问题,对外汉语教学专家刘珣指出,作为一名汉语国际教育的教师，就需要考虑这个偏误给学生带来的影响是否已经大到了需要外部进行纠正,且应注意纠正方式。例如,口头的偏误更看重流利度,不恰当的纠正会破坏交流流畅度,挫败学生想要交流的意愿,因此在口语教学过程中,尽量等学生说完完整的一句话或一段话后再纠正,避免其思路被打断。（刘珣，2000）

（4）文化导入：在讲述各种量词时，熟悉引入相关的文化知识和了解相关背景，了解量词的文化内涵和多种用法。这可以提升学生的学习兴趣，以便尽快掌握知识。

3. 学生学习策略方面

（1）主动积累：学生在学习过程中应主动积累量词及其搭配规则，建立自己的量词词汇库。通过不断积累和实践，逐步提高自己的量词使用能力。

（2）注重语境：在学习量词时，注重结合语境进行理解和记忆。通过模拟实际生活中的对话场景，加深对量词用法和搭配规则的理解和掌握。

（3）对比分析：将汉语与英语中的相关量词表达进行对比与分析，找出双方的差异和不同。这既可以提高学习效率也会减少母语负迁移。

（4）积极实践：在学习过程中积极参与各种语言实践活动，如口语练习、写作练习等。通过实践不断巩固和提高自己的量词使用能力。同时，也可以寻求教师或同学的帮助和反馈，以便及时发现和纠正自己的错误。

六. 结语

在汉语学习的过程中，约量词的正确使用是提升语言表达准确性和地道性的关键之一。对于一个从小学习英语作为母语的学生来说，由于汉语量词本身的复杂程度，在英语量词在使用上的各种显著差异，在掌握汉语约量词是一项很具有挑战性的任务。通过分析，本文发现英语母语者在约量词使用上的偏误

主要源于语言迁移（包括母语负迁移和相似词区分不清等）、文化差异、忽视语境因素的影响以及约量词语序不当。面对这些问题，本文提出了详细的汉语国际教学建议，将从教材的编写、教师的教学以及学生的学习策略这三个方面进行展开。教材编写应注重系统性、文化融入、例句丰富及对比讲解；教师教学需强化练习、语境教学、及时纠正错误并导入文化知识；而学生则应采取主动积累、注重语境、对比分析及积极实践等学习策略。通过这些措施的提出，希望能帮助英语母语者有效减少约量词使用的偏误，提升汉语学习的整体效果。

学习汉语约量词是一个日积月累的过程，需要在编写教材、教师教学和学生自身努力的多方共同作用下不断进步。我们相信，在正确的指导和积极的学习态度下，英语母语者一定能够克服约量词使用的偏误，掌握汉语量词的精髓，从而在汉语学习中取得更加显著的成果。

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现代汉语兼语结构的生成语法研究

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摘要：本文从汉语兼语句式的特征入手，采用控制理论、语段理论、特征核查理论和侧向移位对其句法机制进行重新探讨，以期为该句式提供一个合理解释。

本文在前人研究的基础上，从生成语法的角度对不同类型的兼语句式进行句法生成与推导。按照VP2的句法结构范畴，将兼语结构分为两种，即附加语类兼语结构和补足语类兼语结构。

研究发现，PRO+VP2是缺陷类TP。附加语类兼语句式的结构为NP1+V1+NP2+PRO一起+VP2，其中PRO前存在集合性副词“一起”。在这类附加语结构中，PRO+VP2复制后合并在V1’的Spec位置，使得NP1和NP2都成分统制PRO，PRO可在NP1和NP2处得到语义解读。例如，在句子“张三请李四[PRO一起吃饭]”中，句子“张三请李四”与“PRO一起吃饭”分别生成，然后[PRO一起吃饭]通过侧向移位合并到[Spec, V1’]的位置，使得张三和李四都成分统制PRO，这样PRO可在张三和李四处得到语义解读。

补语类兼语句式的结构为NP1+V1+NP2+PRO+VP2，PRO+VP2基础生成于V1的补足语位置。推导之后PRO进入语义层获得解读。只有NP2能够成分统制PRO，所以此时PRO的控制语为NP2。在句子“她劝我[PRO写作业]”中，[PRO写作业]基础生成在V1的补足语位置，形成缺陷类小句TP。紧接着[她劝我]生成在主句的主谓宾位置。此时PRO指代“我”。

该研究成果有助于对兼语结构的特征以及句法生成有了更深入的认识，为不断发展的句法学理论的解释力提供实证支持。

关键词：汉语兼语结构；生成过程；特征核查；侧向移位；语段理论

1.引言

第一章主要是对本文的一个详细介绍。本章第一部分主要介绍本文的研究背景。第二部分讨论本文的研究目的和意义。第三部分介绍理论框架。

1.1 研究背景

兼语结构是现代汉语中的一个特殊句式。它可以被表述为“NP1+VP1+NP2+VP2”。从形式上来看，NP2既可以作为主句的宾语，也可以作为小句的主语。这种双重角色使其在语法分析中具有特殊性，故

称“兼语”。1952 年中国科学院语言研究小组首次明确提出“兼语式”的概念。兼语结构中V1 多具致使性，即V1 动作引发V2 的发生，这是区别于其他句式的重要特征。

随着研究的深入，传统语法学者对该结构的存废形成了分歧。持否定态度的学者（如张静 1977）主张将其归入双宾语结构或宾语从句结构。而多数学者（陈慧英 1978；刘荣生 1996）从形式语义的差异论证其独立性。

传统语法研究多聚焦兼语结构的分类（胡裕树 1979；吕叔湘 1980），虽均以V1 语义为分类依据，但标准各异。生成语法视角下，学者（杨大然 2006；温宾利&袁芳 2009）关注VP1 与VP2 的句法关系及VP2 结构，普遍认为其结构为“NP1+VP1+NP2+*e*+VP2”。其中‘*e*’可能为PRO或NP语迹。当*e*为PRO时，NP2 指称PRO。然而，在兼语结构中还有一种特殊的有关PRO的语义指向的句式。当集合副词“一起”出现在VP2 前时，PRO指向NP1 和NP2。

(1) 他劝我写作业。

(2) 张三请李四吃饭。

(3) 张三请李四一起吃饭。

1.2 研究目的和意义

本文主要对现代汉语兼语结构的生成做出一个阐述性的解释，并提出三个研究问题：

(1) 现代汉语兼语结构中各个成分的语义特征是什么？

(2) 现代汉语兼语结构的句法结构是什么？

(3) 现代汉语兼语结构是如何生成的？

这些问题与兼语结构息息相关。为回答这些问题，本文使用存活式句法推导对现代汉语兼语结构的生成过程进行解释，同时对现代汉语兼语结构的语义特征和句法结构特征进行描述。

1.3 本文结构

本文主要包括六章内容。第一章是引言。主要介绍本文的研究背景、研究目的、研究意义和行文结构。第二章主要从生成语法的角度对现代汉语兼语结构的以往研究进行综述，从而能够发现本文的研究焦点。第三章主要分析兼语结构的语义特征、句法结构以及推导过程。第四章是总结。

2. 文献综述

一些生成语言学家认为该结构中 NP2 后存在一个空语类，可能是 PRO 或 NP 语迹。还有一些学者认为 NP2 后不存在空语类。不同的学者运用不同理论对兼语结构的内部结构进行了解释。

2.1 空语类分析

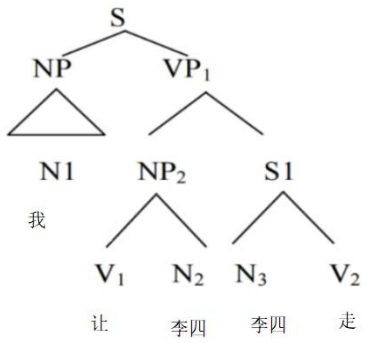
许多学者认为 NP2 和 VP2 之间存在一个空语类。一些学者认为该空语类为 PRO，还有一些学者认为是 NP 语迹。这些学者运用不同的句法理论分析该句式。因此，这一部分将对兼语结构的空语类分析进行综述。

2.1.1 邢欣 (1984, 2004)

邢欣从生成语法的角度对兼语结构进行分析。她提出句子不仅有表层结构，还有深层结构。句子的

深层结构和表层结构并不相同。例如，（4）的深层结构如图（5）所示。

（4）我让李四走。



（5）其底层结构中存在一个内嵌小句。该内嵌小句的主语“李四”与主句宾语“李四”在底层结构中指向同一名词。内嵌小句“李四去”是依存于主句 V1 动作的结构。因此，若某底层结构句子同时具备主句与内嵌小句，且内嵌小句主语与主句宾语同指，则该句即为兼语结构（邢欣 1984）。

例（4）的底层结构为“我让李四（李四走）”经过删除重复的“李四”并将内嵌小句并入主句后，形成表层结构“我让李四走”。这一过程同时证明 V1 属于粘着动词。因为在从底层结构向表层结构转换时，内嵌小句的主语必须删除。根据题元准则规定：每个论元必须且只能承担一个题元角色，而谓词所关联的每个题元角色也必须且只能指派给一个论元（Radford 2009: 363）。邢欣（2004）进一步发现 NP2 后存在空语类 e，该空成分与 NP2 同指，在底层结构中承担施事角色。

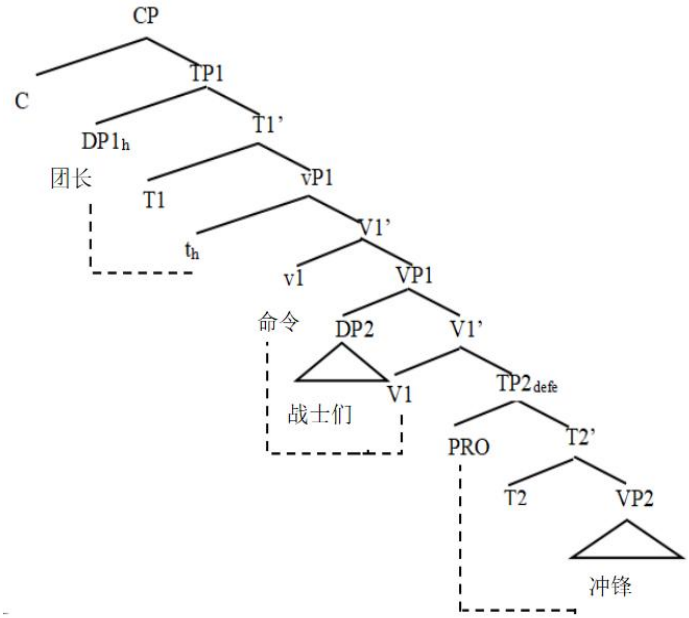
邢欣的分析方法虽然能够解释汉语语法中部分兼语结构的衍生过程，但仍存在若干亟待解决的局限性。首先，其研究对兼语结构的例证分析相对匮乏。其次，邢氏虽提出兼语结构中 NP2 后存在空语类 e 的假设，却未对这一空语类的存在理据及句法功能给予充分且令人信服的理论阐释。由于缺乏清晰而系统的理论论证，这种空语类设定反而削弱了其分析框架的内在一致性与解释力。

2.1.2 杨大然 (2004, 2006)

杨大然（2004，2006）依据 Martin（2001）的时态假说，将汉语兼语结构划分为控制结构和例外授格结构。他运用最简方案中超越解释充分性框架下的题元理论和格位理论，对兼语结构进行了衍生推导。

在控制结构中，空语类为 PRO。In control constructions, the empty category is a PRO. For example, the syntactic generation of (3) can be illustrated as (4).

（6）他命令战士们冲锋。



（7）

杨大然（2006）指出，DP2 与 VP2 之间存在一个 PRO 空语类。为核查 T2 的扩展投射原则（EPP）特征，PRO 需移位至 TP2 的标志语（Spec-TP2）位置。该 TP2 属于缺陷性语类，无法构成完整语段。轻动词 v1 具有强特征，可吸引 V1 移位至 v1 位置以完成特征核查。其中“战士们”这一成分是在 V1 的宾语位置基础生成的。

在 ECM 结构中，NP2 后有一个 NP 语迹。

（8）她们叫林黛玉作潇湘妃子。

（9）[$_{TP}$ 她们 叫$_{i}$ [$_{vP}$ 林黛玉$_{k}$ t_i[$_{TP}$ $e_{k\,作}$ 潇湘妃子]]].

杨大然的分析方法在解释含使役动词 V1 的兼语结构时展现出强大的解释力。然而，根据 Wurmbrand（2007）的研究，Martin（2001）提出的时态特征方法在区分控制结构和 ECM 结构方面并不可靠。此外，杨大然对兼语结构中控制结构与 ECM 结构的分析未能体现该结构的统一性特征。这些分析上的不足表明，我们需要进一步完善和探索相关理论，才能全面理解和阐释各类兼语结构的内在机制。

2.1.3 李京廉 (2009)

李京廉（2009）在 PRO 整合理论（ITIP）框架下对兼语结构进行了分析。该理论认为，PRO 优先选择距离最近的兼容 NP 作为控制语；若无最近兼容 NP，则选择次近兼容 NP；若均不存在，PRO 则采用隐性或任意控制。

基于 PRO 整合理论，下列例句中 PRO 的解读可得到解释：

（10）老师$_{i}$答应学生$_{j}$ [PRO_{j} 明天交论文]。

（11）学生$_{i}$答应老师$_{j}$ [PRO_{i} 明天交论文]。

在例（10）中，PRO 受“学生”控制，形成宾语控制结构。而在例（11）中，PRO 受主句主语控制，构成动词补足语结构，其中“答应”表达承诺行为。

李京廉的分析虽结合了句法、语义和语用因素，但描述性大于解释性：

首先，该理论未明确区分 PRO 的隐性控制与任意控制，二者的区分主要取决于具体语境。其次，该理论难以合理解释如下例句中 PRO 的解读：

（12）她 $_i$ 陪我 $_j$ [PRO$_{i+j}$ 逛街]。

此例中 PRO 理应由“她”和“我”共同控制，但根据李京廉（2009）的理论，PRO 的控制语仅为“我”，这与 PRO 整合理论相矛盾。

2.2 非空语类分析

近年来，部分学者开始采用非空语类来分析兼语结构。本节将重点评述两种分析方式。拷贝复制分析法（温宾利&袁芳 2009），语音删略分析法。

2.2.1 温宾利&袁芳 (2009)

温宾利与袁芳（2009）指出，采用 PRO 分析法处理汉语兼语结构有违最简方案的经济性原则。为此，他们转而运用语段理论与移位复制理论来解析该结构。其研究假设 NP2 的复制副本同样具备获得题元角色的能力.这一设定看似既解决了 NP2 的题元分配问题，又未违反题元准则。然而，该研究始终未能阐明 NP2 必须进行复制的内在动因。

为全面解释句中各论元的题元角色分配问题，他们提出了扩展版题元准则：每个论元及其名词复制副本均可被赋予题元角色。兼语结构的基本形式为“NP1+VP1+NP2+VP2”，其内嵌小句的句法结构被认定为缺陷性 TP。根据语段理论，缺陷性 TP 不构成完整语段。在移位复制理论框架下，NP2 基础生成于内嵌小句的主语位置；为核查 V1 的不可解读特征，该 NP2 的复制副本需移位至主句宾语位置。

（13）妈妈逼我看那本书。

在此结构中，“我”基础生成于缺陷性 TP 的标志语位置（spec-TP），并从 T 节点获得空格。为核查 V1 的宾格特征，“我”的复制副本需移位至 VP1 的标志语位置。根据移位复制理论，仅最高层级的复制副本能被拼读，其余副本则须删除。

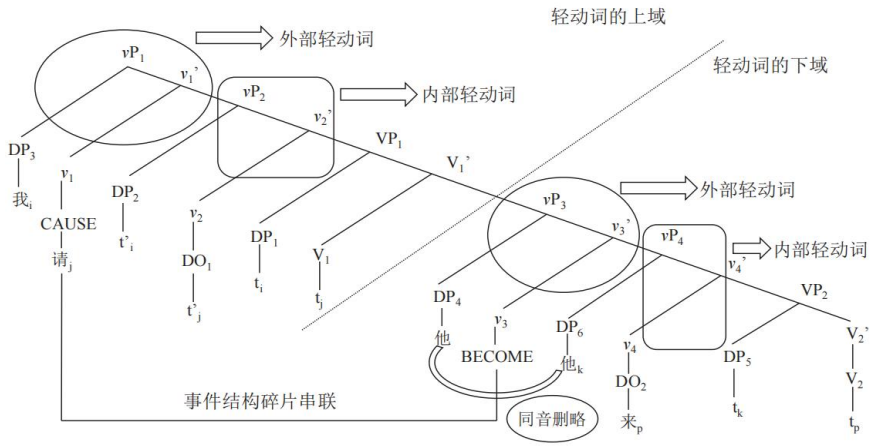
该理论通过摒弃 PRO 分析，拓展了题元准则的适用范围，在一定程度上较好地解释了题元角色的实现机制。但仍存在格位核查与移位过程中的题元角色分配等问题。例如：当“我”从缺陷性 TP 的标志语位置复制至 VP1 的标志语位置时,虽在初始位置获得施事角色,却无法解释其为何被受事角色所替代。此外，触发此类移位的动因亦未得到充分阐释。

2.2.2 胡皓月&何宏华 (2024)

在轻动词制图理论的框架下，胡皓月与何宏华（2024）分析了两种兼语句式的生成方式，包括致使类和原因类两种。

（14）我请他来

在这个句子中，每个轻动词域都有它的内部域和外部域。动词“请”有两个论元，包括主语“我”和宾语“他”。动词“来”作为不及物动词赋予小句主语“他”论元。在深层结构中，每个动词对赋予其论元题元角色。在表层结构中，为了合语法，小句中的主语因为与主句中的宾语同音被删除了。



（胡皓月&何宏华 2024）

制图理论是近年来分析现代汉语结构的一个欣的理论框架，但是引用于兼语结构太过复杂。

2.3 总结

综上所述，以上学者对于兼语结构的生成方式提出了多种多样的解释。他们对于兼语结构的句法语义以及生成方式都没有形成统一的解释。并且，还未有学者运用存活式句法推导和侧向移位等手段对兼语结构的生成进行分析。因此，本文试运用如上手段对兼语结构进行句法推导。

3 理论框架

本章主要是对存活式句法推导进行详细的介绍。

3.1.1 存活式句法推导的介绍

美国语言学家 Thomas Stroik (1999)与 Michael Putnam (2007)在修订乔姆斯基的最简方案基础上提出存活原则，强调句法推导的动态性。

存活原则主张动态存活机制句法成分不会在单次操作中被完全释放，而是持续“存活“，直至所有相关特征得到满足。移位动因源于被移位成分与相关成分合并时的特征不匹配，使得该成分能在计算库中存活，并通过再合并参与下一步推导，最终形成句法移位。

3.1.2 题元理论

在题元理论中，动词与主目语之间的语义关系称为题元关系。主目语承担的角色称为题元角色或 theta 角色。常见的题元角色包括七种：施事、述题、感受着、受益者、目标、来源、方位（温宾利 2002: 49）。题元准则是生成语法中的核心原则之一，由乔姆斯基提出，用于规范动词与其论元之间的语义角色分配。题元准则要求每个论元必须被分配一个且仅一个题元角色。每个题元角色必须被分配给一个且仅一个论元。

在句子“小明吃苹果”中，动词“吃”指派两个题元角色。动词“吃”的施事为主语“小明”，受事为宾语“苹果”。

题元角色可以避免不合适的句子的生成，能够确保动词的语义要求在句法结构中得到满足。

3.1.3 侧向移位

侧向移位是生成语法中的一种句法操作理论，由 Nune (2001&2004 系统提出，用于解释传统移位理论无法处理的复杂结构。其核心思想是成分在句法派生过程中可以横向移位至另一个独立的句法结构，而非严格遵循层级性的向上移位。在侧向移位中，一个句子中的两个独立结构可以进行合并形成一个结构。

3. 句法语义分析

本章介绍该结构各个成分的语义和句法特征，并对兼语结构的生成进行推导。

4.1 兼语结构的语义特征

4.1.1 NP1 的语义特征

NP1 具有[+有生性]（[+Animate]）特征。若 NP1 不具备[+人类]特征，则结构属于使役结构，而非典型兼语结构。如下是使役结构和兼语结构的区别。在兼语结构中，NP1 具有[+人类]特征，NP2“他”可自主执行动作。在使役结构中，动词“令”为纯使役动词，NP2“我”无动作自主性。

（15）我劝他好好写作业。

（16）这件事令我十分震惊。

4.1.2 VP1 的句法属性

VP1 具有[+使役性, +控制性, +及物性]特征，可分为两类：第一类是强制致使动词，第二类是允准类致使动词。

（17）他逼我写作业.

（18）妈妈允许孩子吃糖.

4.1.3 NP2 的双重角色

NP2 的语义特征为[+有生性, +意向性]。NP2 同时担任主句宾语与内嵌小句主语，承载双重题元角色.通常为受 NP1 控制的“有生名词”。NP2“李四”为人类，受 NP1 控制，且具有“写书”的意向。

（19）王五让李四写一本书。

4.1.4 VP2 的动态性限制

VP2 动作必须发生于 VP1 之后。VP2 需为“动态动作”，而非静态动作。

4.2 兼语结构的句法结构特征

4.2.1 兼语结构的限定性非限定性问题

本文采用 CP 分裂假设，对现代汉语兼语结构的限定性非限定性问题进行分析，认为兼语结构为非限定性结构。CP 分裂假设是由 Rizzi (1997)提出的，用于解释句法结构中的标句词短语的复杂分层现象。该假设认为 CP 是由 ForceP、TopP、FocP、FinP 等组成的结构，以容纳不同的话语功能。

CP 中的 FinP 结构代表着句子的限定性非限定性。以下将通过句子“张三让李四[写一本书]”为例进行分析。本文同意张宁（2016）的观点，认为 FinP 中可以存在的成分有情态动词。她认为情态动词基础生成在 MoodP 位置，但在句法推导中需与 FinP 的中心语特征进行匹配。情态动词包括能、会、应该等词语。

（20）A:张三让李四写一本书。

B:*张三让李四能写一本书。

C:*张三让李四应该写一本书。

当情态动词出现在句子的 FinP 位置时，句子不合语法规则。首先，“让”时一个使役动词，表示允许或致使某人做某事。“应该”是一个情态动词，表示建议某人做某事，没有强制或命令的语义。因此，“让”和“应该”在语义上是冲突的，所以“应该”这类情态动词不能出现在兼语结构中，所以兼语结构应该是非限定性的。

4.2.2 小句的 CP、TP 问题

根据上文所述，兼语结构中的 FinP 位置不能出现情态动词等和限定性有关的成分，所以此 CP 结构为缺少限定性特征的 CP 结构。但是在特征传递过程中，CP 的特征会传递给 TP，在经济原则条件下，本文认为最终兼语结构的内嵌小句为缺陷类 TP。

4.3 兼语结构的句法分类

本文认为只有 V1 具有致使意义的句子才可称为兼语结构，并从句法上将其分为两类。

A. NP1+VP1+NP2+PRO+VP2

B. NP1+VP1+NP2+PRO+一起+VP2

4.3 兼语结构的句法生成推导

4.3.1 NP1+VP1+NP2+PRO+VP2

基于上述理论假设，我们以例句（21）为例，逐步解析兼语结构的生成过程：

（21）我劝她做作业。

首先，动词“做”选择两个论元，分别为施事“她”和受事“作业“。投射为 VP 后，施事“她”移至 vP 标志语位置，以核查扩展投射原则（EPP）特征。

“她”在 vP 中获得题元角色，但因主格缺失，仍可留存于计算库。当 TP 生成时，“她”从计算库提取，合并至 TP 标志语位置。由于 T 节点具有[-T, -Agr]特征，无法为其赋格，故“她”继续存活于计算库。接着“她”合并至主句 VP 的标志语位置，其宾格特征由动词“劝”核查，同时从动词“劝”处获得题元角色。

同样，主句主语“我”首先生成于主句 vP 的标志语位置，但因格特征未核查，暂存于计算库。接着移至 TP 标志语位置后，由 T 节点核查其主格。最后通过逐层合并与特征核查，最终生成完整 CP 结构，完成句子推导。

（22）[CP [C] [TP 我 [T] [vP [VP 劝 [VP 她 [v 做 作业]]]

4.3.2 NP1+VP1+NP2+PRO+*yiqi*+VP2 的句法生成推导

（23）张三请李四[PRO 一起吃饭]。

以句子“张三请李四[PRO 一起吃饭]”为例。

当内嵌小句出现集合副词“一起”时，逻辑主语必须为复数形式，通过侧向移位和线性化原则解释该结构的生成机制。

在小句“一起吃饭”中，因为“一起”为集合名词，所以限制该小句的主语必须为复数形式，即“张三和

李四”。首先，隐性并列主语 PRO 基础生成于[Spec, VP]位置。为核查 v 节点的 EPP 特征，需整体移位至[Spec, vP]位置。因为 PRO 不需要格位，小句 TP 也未能赋主格，所以隐性主语 PRO 可以留在[Spec, TP]位置。在主句中，“张三请李四”按照主谓宾的形式生成。接着，结构“PRO 一起吃饭”通过侧向移位合并到“张三请李四”中“请”的标志语位置。因为“张三”和“李四”均可以成分统制 PRO，所以 PRO 指称“张三”和“李四”。

5.总结

本文运用生成语法中的侧向移位、存活式句法推导对现代汉语兼语结构的生成做出了解释。同时，本文限定了兼语结构的范围，研究了兼语结构的句法以及语义特征。该研究成果有助于对兼语结构的特征以及句法生成有了更深入的认识，为不断发展的句法学理论的解释力提供实证支持。

This paper is based on my dissertation.

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格和语序的区别与联系——以汉语、英语、日语和韩语为例

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摘要：格标记指的是对依存名词进行标记的系统，体现依存名词其与中心词之间的关系。语序指的是句子成分在句中以特定线性顺序排列的方式。现有研究指出，格与语序之间存在一定关联，如语序属于格范畴、格与语序存在互补关系等，但也有部分学者认为两者之间并无明显关系。本文以汉语、英语、日语和韩语为例，从现有格和语序的功能范畴研究出发，对两者的功能范畴进行总结，以此揭示格与语序之间的关系。研究发现，格具有标识、分类、索引和关系性功能（如韩语的主格助词 *ga* 可区分出句中具有主语语义功能的成分，日语的主格助词 *ga* 标记施事主语）；语序的功能为对句子成分的可别度等级进行区分，以及表示动词与名词论元之间的关系（如汉语及英语的语序均可对句中成分的施受关系进行区分）。两者同属于广义形态，在关系性功能和话题化功能上存在一定的互补性。通过对较研究可以看出，格与语序并不属于同一概念。

关键词：格标记；语序，功能范畴，广义形态，互补

1. 引言

格是对依存名词进行标记的系统，体现依存名词其与中心词之间的关系（Blake, 2004, p. 22）。语序是词在句子中以特定线性顺序排列的方式（宋在晶, 2012, p. 1）。Greenberg（1963）在其研究中最早指出格标记与语序之间可能存在关联。

现有研究指出，格与语序之间存在一定关联，如 Mallinson & Blake (1981)、Dryer (2002) 和 Siewierska & Bakker（2008）认为两者存在相关性；宋在晶（2008）认为两者存在互补关系，而李翊燮等（2008）则认为两者存在包含关系，即语序为格的一种表现形式。但也有部分学者认为两者之间无显著关系（Nichols, 1992）。格和语序之间的关系依旧没有较为明确的结论，因此，本文从格和语序的功能范畴出发，进一步探究格与语序之间的关系。

2. 文献综述

2.1 格与语序的关系

Greenberg（1963）在其提出的共性 41 中写道："如果一种语言里动词后置于名词性主语和宾语是优势语序，那么这种语言几乎都具有格的系统"，发现了格标记与 SOV 语序之间可能存在相关性。

部分学者通过统计分析，揭示了语序与格标记之间存在一定关联。Mallinson & Blake (1981) 以 100 种语言为样本进行统计调查，发现 SOV 语言倾向于使用格标记，而 SVO 语言倾向于不使用格标记，但由于 VSO 语言太少，因此无法总结出 VSO 语言和格标记之间的联系。Siewierska（1998）以 171 种语

言（SOV 语言 69 种，其中的格标记语言 49 种）为样本进行统计调查，发现虽然语序高度灵活的欧洲语言形态丰富，但形态丰富的欧洲语言语序并不一定高度自由。Dryer（2002）对 502 种语言进行调查及数据统计，发现动词居首的语言都比 SVO 语言更有可能在主宾语上使用格标记。Siewierska & Bakker（2008）对 Dryer（2002）的 502 种语言样本和另外 417 种语言样本的格标记、语序和一致性标记进行统计分析，发现格标记与基本语序类型之间的统计学相关性非常显著，语序比一致性标记更能体现格标记的区分功能；与语序相比，格标记和一致性标记在语言内部的分布模式微弱；动名词末位语言倾向于使用格标记，动名词中间位语言不倾向于使用格标记。

与此同时，也有学者对格和语序的相关性持有不同的看法，甚至认为语序是格的一种。宋在晶（2008）认为语序与格标记之间存在替代关系，均可表示“谁对谁做什么”（who is doing X to whom）的施受关系。Nichols（1992）则认为语序与格标记之间无明显的相关性，但动词居首语言的语序和非主宾格标记之间可能存在的相关性。虽然这个结论最终被否定，但也发现动词居首的语言和非主宾格标记语言主要分布在北美洲、中美洲和南美洲（Nichols, 1992, p. 113）。李翊燮等（2008）则指出，韩语的格一般通过助词来表示，但有时也可以在没有任何词法标志的情况下，单单依靠语序来表示。

2.2 广义形态

方光焘（1997）认为词与词的互相关系和词与词的结合都是广义形态，并且研究单语形态的形态学（morphology）与研究语词和语词的联接关系的句法学（syntax）可合并称为形态论。形态的外延从词的黏附形式扩展到了“词与词的相互关系，词与词的结合”（包括语序）（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 10）。朱德熙（1982）认为词的语法功能指的是词在句法结构里所能占据的语法位置，且形态反映功能，是功能的标志。这种语法功能也是广义形态的一部分（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 10）。

广义形态的内部成员除了以词和词形变化为中心的古典欧洲传统语言学中的 形态学之外，还包括词在结构中的组合特征、基础句法位置以及功能性语素（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 13）。金立鑫和杨炎华（2024）从外延上对广义形态进行总结，主要包括功能性黏着语素和句法分布上的区别性特征（简称“分布特征”，即方光焘的“词与词的互相关系，词与词的结合”）。广义形态的提出为作为孤立语的汉语形态研究提供了新思路。金立鑫和杨炎华（2024）借助广义形态的概念对汉语的词类重新进行划分；金立鑫（2022）借助广义分布形态区分汉语中名词与动词的界限。

3. 格的功能范畴

格具有标识、分类、索引及表示句中名词成分关系性的功能。

3.1 标识功能

格标记的直接功能是标识名词性成分的语义地位（陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 175）。

(1) a. Hanako-ga daidokoro-de suika-o hocho-de kit-ta.
Hanako-NOM kitchen-LOC watermelon-ACC knife-INST cut-PAST
Hanako cut the watermelon with a knife in the kitchen. （柴谷方良等, 1982, p. 232）

*b. Hanako daidokoro suika hocho kit-ta.
Hanako kitchen watermelon knife cut-PAST

如（1）中的日语例句所示，（1a）通过主格助词-*ga*，方位格助词-*de*，宾格助词-*o* 和工具格助词-*de*，与其对应的名词成分 *Hanako*（花子）、*daidokoro*（厨房）、*suika*（西瓜）和 *hocho*（刀）在句中的语义地位进行标识。若删去所有的格助词如（1b），只剩四个独立名词成分 *Hanako*（花子）、*daidokoro*（厨房）、*suika*（西瓜）和 *hocho*（刀），仅靠名词成分的线性排列（即语序），无法确认这些名词在句中的语义地位，从而使名词性部分的语法功能丧失，句子不合法。

3.2 分类功能

格具有分类（classification）功能（Comrie, 1978, p. 191），可将语义角色进行区别（discriminatory）或区分（differentiating）（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 291）。语义或语法的表达与格的使用关系密切，这种意义或功能与形式关系的确立使格具有区分功能（陆丙甫、金立鑫, 2015, p. 175）。例如主格表示主语，与施事相关；宾格表示直接宾语，与受事相关；工具格表示使用的材料、工具和手段等。

(2) a. Moksu-ga adeul-gwa namu-ro chaeksang-eul mandeu-nda.
carpenter-NOM son-COM wood-INST desk-ACC make-PRS.DECL
The carpenter makes a desk out of wood with his son. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）

*b. Moksu adeul namu chaeksang mandeunda.
carpenter son wood desk make-PRS.DECL

如（2）中的韩语例句所示，（2a）中通过主格助词-*ga*，共同格助词-*gwa*，宾格助词-*eul* 和工具格助词-*ro*，与其对应的名词成分 *Moksu*（木匠）、*adeul*（儿子）、*namu*（木头）和 *chaeksang*（书桌）在句中的语义功能进行区别。若删去格助词如（2b），只剩四个独立名词 *Moksu*（木匠）、*adeul*（儿子）、*namu*（木头）和 *chaeksang*（书桌），仅靠名词之间的语序无法对这些名词成分的语义角色进行区分，句意不合法。

句中论元数量较少时，只需对核心论元进行最低限度的格标记即可进行区别，论元之间并没有明显的格标记优先权（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 291-292），但标记论元的选择会对语义焦点产生些许影响（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128-129）。

(3) a. Na Seoul ga-yo.
I[-NOM] Seoul[-LOC] go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 129）

b. Nae-ga Seoul ga-yo.
I-NOM Seoul[-LOC] go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 129）

c. Na Seoul-e ga-yo.
I[-NOM] Seoul-LOC go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 129）

如例（3）的韩语例句所示，即便（3a）、（3b）（3c）的概念意义相同，均表示“我去首尔”，语义上还是有细微差别。（3a）中的名词成分 *Seoul*（首尔）与 *na*（我）均未带格标记，分别为方位格和主格，与动词 *ga*（去）之间语义关系明确，语义中立。（3b）中主格 *na* 上带有主格标记-*ga*，方位格上无标记，强调去首尔的对象。（3c）中方位格 *Seoul*（首尔）上带有方位格标记-*e*，主格上无标记，强调目的地。由此可知，在无格助词且句意明确的情况下，如果使用格助词，语义焦点[1]会落在使用格助词的名词成

[1] 因此处的语义焦点作用仅针对韩语中的格标记，因此未作为格功能单独列出。

分上[2]。

不使用格标记的情况仅限于格关系明确的时候，若名词成分数量较多，仅凭语序无法反映出各名词成分之间的关系时，如例（1）和例（2）所示，必须依靠格标记来实现名词的语法功能（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）。

3.3 索引功能

格标记存在对论元属性的索引（index）作用（Siewierska & Bakker 2008: 292），包括对其固有特征如生命度，或偶然特征（contingent characteristics）如定指性（definiteness）、指称性（referentiality）、焦点的索引（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 292）。与区分功能不同的是，索引功能下的格标记不受经济性影响，即句中论元均可带上格标记（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008: 292）。

(4) a. Yeonghui hakgyo-e ga-nda.
Yeonghui[-NOM] school-LOC go-PRS.DECL
Yeonghui goes to school. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）
b. Yeonghui-ga hakgyo-e ga-nda.
Yeonghui-NOM school-LOC go-PRS.DECL
Yeonghui goes to school. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）

例如，（4a）和（4b）语义均合法，但（4a）的主格部分只有独立名词 *Yeonghui*（英姬），未出现主格标记-*ga*，而（4b）的主格部分和具有指向点意义的方位格部分同时带有与其功能相对应的主格标记-*ga* 和处格标记-*e*，起到对主格和方位格的索引作用。

3.4 关系性功能

无论是通过词缀还是通过附置词（adposition），格标记的主要功能是一种关系性功能，依存关系的语义性质越难以预测，就越有可能用格来明确标记（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 291）。这种关系性功能包括动词与名词论元的关系性功能，以及名词成分之间的关系。

3.4.1 表示动词与名词论元的关系

格标记最重要的作用是识别名词性论元与动词的语义依存关系，鉴别施事和受事，表达“谁对谁做什么”（who is doing X to whom）（Comrie, 1989, p. 127；宋在晶, 2008, p. 140；陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 175-176）。比如 SOV 语言的施事和受事都在动词之前，若不加格标记予以区分，常常难以辨别其中的关系，如果主、宾语的生命度相当或主语生命度低于宾语就尤为如此（陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 176）。

(5) Boku-ga tomodati-ni hana-o age-ta
I-NOM friend-DAT flower-ACC give-PAST
I gave flowers to my friends. （宋在晶, 2008, p. 139）

例（5）的日语例句中，-*ga*、-*ni* 和-*o* 分别为主格助词、与格助词和宾格助词，承载动词与名词短语（NP）之间关系的信息：-*ga* 标记施事主语，即 *Boku*（我）；*ni* 标记接受者，即 *tomodati*（朋友）；-*o* 标记受事宾语，即 *hana*（花）。

[2] 韩语中的这种现象也可以解释为格助词的省略现象，通常出现在句子长度较短的口语当中，是句子的语法结构、语义结构和语用学要素共同作用的结果（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）。

又比如，英语采用的是主受格（nominative-accusative）模式，即 A、S 同格（主格），区别于 P（受格）[3]，其中主格无标记，受格有标记（宋在晶, 2008, p. 142；陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 177）。

(6) The boy kicked her. (宋在晶, 2008, p. 142)

如例（6）中 *The boy*（男孩）为动作 *kick*（踢）的施事，“she”（她）为动作的受事。“she”在 A 和 S 功能中形式相同，有别与 P 功能中的另一种形式“her”（宋在晶, 2008, p. 142）。因此为表示名词论元“she”（她）与动词 *kick*（踢）之间的受事关系，（6）中的 *her* 用受格，*The boy*（男孩）则是零形式主格。

3.4.2 表示名词成分（NP）之间的语法关系

格标记主要是一种关系编码策略，表示实体间的语义角色地位或语法关系（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 293；宋在晶, 2008, p. 139；陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 175）。

(7) Hanako-ga daidokoro-de suika-o hocho-de kit-ta.
Hanako-NOM kitchen-LOC watermelon-ACC knife-INST cut-PAST
Hanako cut the watermelon with a knife in the kitchen. （柴谷方良等, 1982, p. 232）

如（7）中方位格助词-*de* 表明施事 *Hanako*（花子）的所在场所 *daidokoro*（厨房），工具格助词-*de* 表示施事者所使用的工具 *hocho*（刀），宾格助词-*o* 表示受事为 *suika*（西瓜），是 *hocho*（刀）作用的对象。

4 语序的功能范畴

语序的基本功能是以最能反映说话者交际意图的方式排列信息，同时确保这些意图能被听话者成功快速处理（Siewierska & Bakker, 2008, p. 294）。语序可表示句中成分的可别度等级（Identifiability Hierarchy），以及动词与名词论元的关系。

4.1 表示可别度等级

“可别度”(identifiability)指的是说话者对不同信息在话语中的传递差异（Lambrecht, 1994, p. 77）。这个概念把某些在语序分布上跟指称性表现相似的因素进行了概括整合，与“定指性”或“指称性”很接近，可以说是广义的“指称性”（陆丙甫, 2005, p. 4）。陆丙甫（2005）提出可别度领前原理，包括“如果其他一切条件相同，可别度高的成分前置于低的成分”。大多数语序优势都与“可别度”密切相关（陆丙甫, 2005, p. 1）。本文将对话题与评论、旧信息与新信息、定指与不定指、全部与部分这几个可别度等级展开讨论。

4.1.1 话题（Topic） > 评论（Comment）

话题化现象指句子中的某个实体成分从句子中移动到句子最前面作为句子的始发成分，或作为句子谈论的起点（金立鑫, 2011, p. 165）。当句子的主语并不能表现句子所谈论内容的起点，或者句子的主语并不是讨论的主位，说话人就会对句子结构进行转换，重新构成信息结构，以表达他想要说明的对象和陈述内容（金立鑫, 2011, p. 165）。

韩语的基本语序主要是由各名词词组的句法作用来决定的，但也受到功能、语义等因素的影响（李

[3] A 代表施事（agent），是及物小句的逻辑主语；P 代表受事（patient），是及物小句的逻辑宾语；S 是唯一的名词短语（NP），即不及物小句的逻辑主语（宋在晶, 2008, p. 140）。

翊燮等, 2008, p. 177)。对于韩语来说，话题置于句首是一种十分常见的现象，主语演化为话题语时存在语法标记。例如，(8a)、(8b) 与 (8c) 的名词论元相同，但排列顺序（即语序）有所区别。(8a) 中施事 *Yeonghui*（英姬）位于句首并带有话题化标记-*neun*，此时施事作为语义焦点，强调 *Yeonghui*（英姬）给了玩具。(8b) 中接受者 *Sumi*（秀美）位于句首并带有话题化标记-*neun*，此时接受者作为语义焦点，强调 *Sumi*（秀美）收到了玩具。(8c) 中受事 *Inhyong*（玩具）位于句首并带有话题化标记-*neun*，此时受事作为语义焦点，强调给的物品是 *Inhyong*（玩具）。

(8) a. Yeonghui-neun Sumi-ege inhyong-eul ju-eot-da.
Yeonghui-TOP Sumi-DAT doll-ACC give-PAST-DECL
Yeonghui gave a doll to Sumi. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）

b. Sumi-(ege)-neun Yeonghui-ga inhyong-eul ju-eot-da.
Sumi-(DAT)-TOP Yeonghui-NOM doll-ACC give-PAST-DECL
For Sumi, Yeonghui gave her a doll. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）

c. Inhyong-neun Yeonghui-ga Sumi-ege ju-eot-da.
doll-TOP Yeonghui-NOM Sumi-DAT give-PAST-DECL
Yeonghui gave the doll to Sumi. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）

日语中也有类似的话题化现象。以 (9) 中的存现句[4]为例，(9a) 与 (9b) 名词性成分后的格标记均相同，谓语部分 *suwat-te-iru*（坐着）相同，区别仅在于方位格 *Kodo-no-naka-ni*（礼堂里）与主格 *gakusei-ga*（学生）的语序不同。(9a) 中方位格 *Kodo-no-naka-ni*（礼堂里）位于句首，此时的语义焦点是地点，突出学生所在场所。(9b) 中主格 *gakusei-ga*（学生）位于句首，此时的语义焦点为人物，突出坐在礼堂里的具体对象。

(9) a. Kodo-no-naka-ni gakusei-ga suwat-te-iru.
auditorium-GEN-inside-LOC student-NOM sit-TE-form-IPFV
In the auditorium is sitting a student. （赵蓉, 2010, p. 38）

b. Gakusei-ga kodo-no-naka-ni suwat-te-iru.
student-NOM auditorium-GEN-inside-LOC sit-TE-form-IPFV
A student is sitting in an auditorium.

4.1.2 旧信息（Given） > 新信息（New）

Haiman（1985）提出了三条象似性动因来解释语序，其中包括“旧信息前置于新信息”。旧信息表示已知的信息，新信息表示未知的信息。因旧信息的可别度较高，新信息的可别度较低，因此信息结构遵循陆丙甫（2005）的可别度领先原则“如果其他一切条件相同，可别度高的成分前置于低的成分”，即旧信息前置于新信息。信息的新旧对立在分布上与指称性的高低对立表现相似（陆丙甫, 2005, p. 4）。

以韩语存现句（10）为例，方位格 *Chaeksang-wi-e(-neun)*（在桌上）在指称上是已知信息，具有定指性，放在句首，主格 *kkotbyeong-i*（花瓶）在指称上指未知信息，具有不定指性，因此语序上置于具有定指性的方位格之后。

(10) Chaeksang-wi-e(-neun) kkotbyeong-i nohy-eo it-da.
Desk-top-LOC(-TOP) vase-NOM place-CONN exist-DECL
On the table is placing a vast. （金明艳, 2013, p. 92）

[4] 存现句是表示“某处所存在某事物”的一种句子，一般情况下分为 3 段：表处所的名词性词语、表存在的动词性词语以及表事物的名词性词语（金明艳, 2013, p. 19）。

又以日语中的双重主语句[5]（11）为例。*Zo*（大象）为定指成分，是具有高可别度的已知信息，作为大主语放在句首并使用了话题标记[6]*-wa*；相较于大主语，*hana*（鼻子）在指称上是未知信息，具有不定指性，因此作为小主语在语序上置于具有定指性的大主语之后。此处的 *hana*（鼻子）实际上为属格，日语中直接通过语序表达“领有者+被领有者”的不可让渡属格关系。

(11) Zo-wa hana-ga naga-i desu.
elephant-TOP nose-NOM long-ADJ COP.POL
Elephants' noses are long. （陈赟, 2022, p. 172）

4.1.3 定指（Definite） > 不定指（Indefinite）

Dryer（1992）通过跨语言统计发现，不管是 VO 语言（如汉语、英语）还是 OV 语言（如日语、韩语），均遵循“高可别度成分前置”的语序倾向；且定指领有者具有高可别度，可自由前置。

以汉语为例。广义形态手段“移位”（即语序）是汉语语法的主要形式手段之一，通过“移位”（如定指和不定指的区分）可标示“实现关系”，包括名词用作指称语的现象（杨炎华, 2018, p. 127）。如例（12）所示，名词“飞机”用作指称语时，可通过“移位”至句首来实现其定指性。

(12) a. 他想开这一架飞机。
b. 飞机他开走了。（杨炎华, 2018, p. 127）

又以韩语的双重主语句（13）为例，句中 *Yeonghui*（英姬）和 *eolgur*（脸）分别为大主语和小主语，后面均带有主格助词 *i/ga*。大主语 *Yeonghui*（英姬）为定指成分，具有高可别度，放在句首支配句子整体；小主语 *eolgur*（脸）为不定指成分，可别度不及定指成分（即此处的大主语），因此在语序上置于具有定指性的大主语之后[7]。

(13) Yeonghui-ga eolgur-i cham yeppeu-guna.
Yeonghui-NOM face-NOM very pretty-EXCL
Yeonghui's face is very pretty. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 130）

4.1.4 全部 > 部分

“全部”与“部分”也属于可别度等级范畴。“全部”的可别度高于“部分”，根据可别度领先原则，表“全部”的成分前置于表“部分”的成分（陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 127）。也就是说，当两个名词成分在意义上具有包含关系时，一般的语序是将范围大的置于前端（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）。此时的语序也能反映“全部”与“部分”的可别度关系。

以（14）为例，（14a）中的 *Hyanggi*（香味）表示包括 *Jangmi*（玫瑰）香味在内的所有香味，*Hyanggi*（香味）为“全部”，*Jangmi*（玫瑰）为“部分”，按照“全部 > 部分”的可别度等级，*Hyanggi*（香味）前置于 *Jangmi*（玫瑰）。但（14b）中的 *Hyanggi*（香味）则是 *Jangmi*（玫瑰）属性的一部分，只表示玫瑰的香味，此时 *Jangmi*（玫瑰）为“全部”，*Hyanggi*（香味）为“部分”，按照“全部 > 部分”的可别度等级，*Jangmi*（玫瑰）前置于 *Hyanggi*（香味）。

(14) a. Hyanggi-neun jangmi-ga jo-ta.
scent-TOP rose-NOM good-DECL

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[5] 双重主语句指一个句子存在两个主语的特殊句型，一般将两个主语区分为大主语和小主语（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 130）。大主语一般为已知信息，小主语为未知信息。
[6] 日语的话题语具有语法标记（金立鑫, 2011, p. 165）。
[7] 也有说法称：尽管两个名词性成分均与主格助词相连，但 *eolgur*（脸）不是真正的主语，只是在表层形式上采取了主格助词的形态（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 130）。

The scent of roses is good. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）

b. Jangmi-neun hyanggi-ga jo-ta.
rose-TOP scent-NOM good-DECL
Roses smell good. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 177）

4.2 表示动词与名词论元的关系

在没有格标记来表示名词论元与动词的关系时，通常由语序来表示“谁对谁做什么”（who is doing X to whom）（宋在晶, 2008, p. 139-142）。

(15) a. The girl kicked the boy. （宋在晶, 2008, p. 138）

b. The boy kicked the girl. （宋在晶, 2008, p. 138）

c. The girl ran. (宋在晶 2008: 140)

如（15）所示，英语中并未使用格标记来表示（15a）、（15b）或（15c）中的名词短语（NP）与动词之间的关系，而是由语序来区分施事和受事。位于谓语动词前的论元为施事，动词后的为受事。当句中只出现一个名词论元时，如（15c）所示，通过“girl”（女孩）与“ran”（跑）的线性排列可知名词成分为谓语中动作的执行者。

格标记的中性模式指的是 A、S 和 P 之间没有格标记的区别（陆丙甫，金立鑫, 2015, p. 177），这种类型的语言可能需要依靠语序这一语法手段来表示“谁对谁做什么”（who is doing X to whom）（宋在晶, 2008, p. 146）。如（16）中的汉语例句所示，（16a）的“张三”为施事，“李四”为受事，而（16b）的“张三”为受事，“李四”为施事。“张三”和“李四”通过与谓语“打了”的线性排列，也就是语序，来表示名词论元与动词“打”之间的施受关系。

(16) a. 张三打了李四。（金立鑫, 2019, p. 35）

b. 李四打了张三。（金立鑫, 2019, p. 35）

5. 格和语序的关系

5.1 广义形态下的格和语序

朱德熙（1985）曾指出“形态反映功能，是功能的标志”，此处所说的语法功能也是广义形态的一部分（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 10）。孤立语（如汉语）构词的成分大多是单音节语素，通过语序等手段来表达词与词之间的语法关系（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 2），符合方光焘（1997）指出的：“语序不过是一种形态”。

广义形态还包括功能性语素（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 13）。功能性语素总是黏着且高度虚化的，具有词法或句法功能（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 13）。这类功能性语素属于汉语广义形态中的重要部分，是汉语最主要的形态手段，用于表达语法意义，如（17）中标示动作对象的前置词“把”（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 10+13）。

(17) 张三把衣服洗了。（金立鑫, 2023, p. 10）

语缀[8]属于功能性语素，汉语、英语、以及许多 SOV 语序语言中的语缀主要表达语法意义而不是构词意义（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 15）。如日语及韩语（均为 SOV 语言）中的格助词就属于功能性语缀，

[8] 语缀是世界语言中普遍存在的一种现象（金立鑫，杨炎华, 2024, p. 15），黏着性比词缀小（陆丙甫，完权, 2020, p. 46）。

附属在名词性论元后，起到区别语义的作用。

5.2 格与语序的互补性

格与语序在关系性功能和话题化功能上存在一定的互补性。

5.2.1 关系性功能互补

在关系性功能上，格与语序存在一定的互补性。

在没有格标记来表示动词与论元的关系时，通常由语序来表示此类关系（宋在晶, 2008, p. 142）。例如，A、S 和 P 之间没有格标记的区别的语言可能需要依靠语序来表示施事与受事关系，即“谁对谁做什么”（who is doing X to whom）（宋在晶, 2008, p. 146）。

除此之外，部分 SOV 语言中（如日语和韩语），因为名词论元均位于动词一侧，因此名词短语的数量较多，光靠语序无法反映出各名词短语之间的关系，这时必须依靠助词来实现格的关系（李翊燮等, 2008, p. 128）。

5.2.2 话题化功能互补

在话题化功能上，格与语序存在一定的互补性。

以（18）为例，（18a）中虽省去格助词，但名词成分与动词之间的关系明确，因此仅靠名词间的线性排列顺序（及语序）即可判断语义。在这种情况下，如果使用单个格助词，即（18b），语义的焦点就会落在使用格助词的名词性成分上。在通过格助词来强调语义焦点的前提下，信息焦点无法通过改变语序来实现。此时若再改变语序，如（18c）所示，只会使句子显得不够自然，甚至不合法。

(18) a. Na Seoul ga-yo.
I[-NOM] Seoul[-LOC] go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 129）

b. Na Seoul-e ga-yo.
I[-NOM] Seoul-LOC go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul. （李翊燮等, 2008, p. 129）

? c. Seoul-e na ga-yo.
Seoul-LOC I[-NOM] go-POL.DECL
I go to Seoul.

名词论元后均带有格助词的时候，格助词失去强调主题及语义焦点的功能，此时可通过改变语序来实现焦点转变，如韩语和日语中的存现句。

6. 结语

格与语序间的联系如表 1 所示：

表 1 格与语序在功能范畴上的关系

	功能范畴	标识	分类	索引	关系性功能	可别度

广义形态					各名词论元	动词与名词论元	话题	信息	定指	全部
格		+	+	+	+	一定关系上互补				
语序								+	+	+

格与语序均属于广义形态。格具有标识、分类、索引和关系性功能，其中关系性功能又可分为表示动词与名词论元的关系和表示名词成分之间的关系。语序的功能主要体现在区分可别度上，包括话题化，以及区分旧信息与新信息、定指与不定指、全部与部分。除此之外，语序还可表示动词与名词论元的关系。格与语序在关系性功能和话题化功能上存在一定的互补性。由此可见，两者的功能有所区别，语序并不属于格范畴。

然而，本文的研究还存在一定的局限性。一、本文所研究的语言涉及汉语、韩语、日语及英语，虽SOV与SVO语言比例为1;1，但语言数量较少，未涉及施通格语言，普适性不足。二、对于格与语序在表示名词论元关系和动词与名词论元之间关系互补性的讨论不足，格与语序在话题化上的互补是否均涉及可别度等级还有待考证。

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行、知、言三域视角下汉语“V 起来”的分化及其连接功能生成机制

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摘要：本文基于 Sweetser（1990）行、知、言三域理论框架，系统的考察了现代汉语“V 起来”在三域连续统中的句法语义表征及其连接功能的生成机制。通过语料分析与理论阐释，发现三域“V 起来”在句法、语义特征及连接功能层面呈现渐进式虚化轨迹：行域“V 起来”保留动态过程性特征及趋向语义，通过时间序列实现句法层级的动作联接；知域“V 起来”经历语义泛化，以“V 起来 AP”构式构建视角化评价框架，实现超句法范畴的认知推理关联；言域“V 起来”进一步虚化为元语用标记，通过立场协商机制完成篇章层级的互动性话语组织。研究表明，三域“V 起来”在句法层级（句法层→超句法层→篇章层）、主观性维度（客观动作→主观评价→交互主观性）及功能定位（命题表达→认知推理→话语组织）三个参数系统内形成连续统，其连接功能的生成机制本质上是认知域互动、主观化驱动与句法调控协同作用的结果。这一发现不仅完善了汉语认知域理论模型，更揭示了语言形式与认知机制在语法化过程中的深层互动关系。

关键词：“V 起来”；行域；知域；言域；连接功能；三域互动

The Differentiation and Connective Function Generation Mechanism of Chinese “Vqilai（V 起来）” from the Tri-Domain Perspective of Action, Cognition, and Speech

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Abstract: This study examines the connective functions of “Vqilai（V 起来）” within Sweetser’s (1990) three-domain framework, which comprises the “content domain,” the “epistemic domain,” and the “speech-act domain.” Through a corpus-based empirical analysis and theoretical interpretation, the research systematically investigates the multidimensional representation and functional mechanisms of “Vqilai（V 起来）” across the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic continua. The findings demonstrate that “Vqilai（V 起来）” undergoes a gradual process of grammaticalization along three systemic parameters: syntactic levels, subjectivity dimensions, and functional orientation. Specifically, in the “content domain,” “Vqilai（V 起来）” retains its dynamic processuality and directional semantics, achieving action connections at the syntactic level through temporal sequencing. In the “epistemic domain,” “Vqilai（V 起来）”generalizes semantically by constructing a

perspectivized evaluative framework via the “V 起来 AP” format, facilitating cognitive and inferential connections at the supra-syntactic level. Finally, in the “speech-act domain,” “Vqilai（V 起来）” further bleach into a metapragmatic marker, enabling interactive discourse organization at the discourse level through stance negotiation mechanisms. The study reveals that “V 起来” forms a continuum characterized by syntactic progression (from syntactic level to discourse level), subjectivity enhancement (from objective action to interactive subjectivity), and functional expansion (from propositional expression to discourse organization). The mechanism underlying its connective functions is fundamentally driven by the interplay of domain interaction, subjectivization processes, and syntactic regulation. This research not only refines the cognitive-domain theory model for Chinese but also contributes to advancing our understanding of the deep interplay between linguistic form and cognitive mechanisms during grammaticalization.
Keywords: “Vqilai（V 起来）”; content domain; epistemic domain; speech-act domain; connective function; tri-domain interaction

引言

现代汉语普通话中的“V 起来”结构因其多维度的句法表现和丰富的语用功能，长期受到学界关注。现有研究（曹宏 2005a,b；唐正大 2005；殷树林 2006；张谊生 2006；刘楚群 2006；黄冬丽、马贝加 2008；齐沪扬，2009；吴为善，2012；王晓凌 2012；蔡淑美 2014、2015；江洪波，2018；董秀芳 2022）基于句法位置将该结构划分为三大功能类型：①作谓语的动补结构（如例 1）；②作构式前件的视角标记（如例 2）；③主位化的话语标记（如例 3）。三类“V 起来”在连接功能上呈现显著差异：动补式侧重时间序列关系的联接（如例 1“站起来→走进卧室”）；构式前件倾向于建立评价视角-评价结果的关联（如例 2“读→耐人寻味”），话语标记则实现篇章的语用连接（如例 3“我看出父亲的心思→不能怪父亲”）。

（1）**站起来**走进了卧室。（余华/现实一种牋牋）

（2）这篇文章**读起来**很耐人寻味。(人民日报/1981)

（3）父亲从来没有说过这些话，但我早已看出了他的心思。**说起来**，又怎能怪可怜的父亲呢？（路遥/在困难的日子里）

既有研究虽已系统描摹“V 起来”的语义特征、句法分布及语用功能，但在以下层面仍存深化空间：

（一）分类标准的系统性

现有划分框架（张谊生 2006；齐沪扬 2009；吴为善 2012；王晓凌 2012）是基于线性句法位置建立的，将单独处在谓语位置上的“V 起来”看作是动补结构，将主语前的“V 起来”定性为话语标记，而谓语前“V 起来”划归为构式前件。这种处理方式面临双重困境：其一，忽视句法位置的动态可变性，如例（4）（5）显示“说起来”在句首与谓前位置均可保持话语标记属性；其二，对功能标记的界定标准失之偏颇，仅关注句法分布而忽略语义程序性（procedural meaning）和元语用特征（metapragmatic feature）等本质属性。

（4）**说起来**，他的来头实在不小。（向恺然/留东外史）

（5）他的来头**说起来**实在不小。（改写）（由于话语标记具有灵活性，因此举此例子可能不太合适，需要用构式前件和话语标记的结合体进行研究）

（二）功能移植与语境干扰

现有研究对“V 起来”结构的功能认知存在系统性偏差，其根源在于类型划分标准与功能界定原则的深层矛盾。通过整合既有研究成果（曹宏 2005；唐正大 2005；殷树林 2006；张谊生 2006；宋红梅 2008；冯军伟 2009；王晓凌 2012；朱永莉 2016；吴为善 2012；柴闫、刘玉屏 2019；江洪波 2020）发现功能认知的错位主要由功能移植和语境干扰两个因素造成：

其一，跨次类功能移植导致的范畴越界。

既有分析未能充分厘清“V 起来”结构内部次类分化，存在将特定次类的专属功能泛化至整体范畴的现象。具体表现为动补结构与构式前件的功能错位，具体表现为以下两个方面：

动补结构与构式前件的功能错位，如房玉清（2001:527）对“说起来容易，做起来难”的解析中，将构式前件“说起来”的假设条件功能等同于动补结构“V+起来”的功能。实则该句的假设意义属于构式框架（“V1 起来 AP,V2 起来 AP”）与语境的协同意义，而作为动补结构“V 起来”中的“起来”仍以表现动作进程、趋向为基本功能，两者存在本质差异却未作有效区分。

其二，语境效应与结构功能的认知错位。

框架结构的条件义错位归因。齐沪扬（2009）将“一抱起来就头晕”中的“抱起来”判定为构式前件并赋予假设义。但该结构中的“起来”实际仍承担“动作达成”的体标记功能，其条件义源于“一…就…”框架的规约作用，不应将其归为“V 起来”结构的固有属性。

对举框架功能的单结构误植。如“说起来容易做起来难”的对比转折效应，需以“说—做”的语义对立与双项对举框架为必要前提。现有研究将这种框架依赖性特征归因于单项“V 起来”结构，实则是将语境层面的互动效应定位至短语层面。

语篇功能与结构属性的界限模糊。如江洪波（2020）指出“说起来，这还是 30 年前的事，但却至今难以忘怀”中的“说起来”具有转折义，实际上该句的转折意义为后续连词“但却”与语篇连贯机制共同作用的产物。现有分析将其归因于“V 起来”结构本身，忽视了语用条件与结构本体的互动边界。

（三）类型互动与演化机制的阐释缺失

现有成果多采用离散分类范式，孤立考察动补结构、构式前件与话语标记的个性化功能，忽视了三类结构在主观性梯度、论元结构嬗变及认知域迁移等方面的系统性研究。实际上三类结构存在功能互动：

动补结构与构式前件“V 起来”都可以在语境中定位动作 V 的核心论元，例如（6）（7）分别是表示进程和趋向的动补结构和构式前件“V 起来”，其中（6）的论元可以定位为“他”，（7）的论元可以定位为“我”。

（6）我们就把他放到红漆桶里泡起来　！（莫言/生死疲劳）

（7）我觉得有些男同性恋对子中的关系倒是听起来巧妙一些。（王小波/东宫·西宫）

构式前件（吴为善，2012；齐沪扬 曾传禄，2009；王晓凌，2012）与话语标记（张谊生 2006，江洪波 2020）共享[+主观性][+视角性]语义特征，两类结构在句法层面均呈现主语悬空、时体弱化等非论元化倾向（董秀芳，2022）。这种深层共性实为“体功能→评价功能→话语功能”演化连续统的认知基础。此外，对三类“V 起来”的离散性研究也导致交叉域现象（如“看/听起来”等兼有感官评价与话语标记功能）的运作机制尚未得到充分解释。

针对上述理论盲点，本研究基于 BCC、CCL 语料库实证数据，拟实现四重突破：

I 建构三域分析框架：通过句法分析与语义分解，确立行域、知域、言域“V 起来”的鉴别标准与分布规律；

II 厘清功能层级系统：基于“句法实现-主观性梯度-三域互动”三维模型，揭示三域连接功能的本质差异及互动条件；

III 论证连续统属性：通过交叉域语料（如“看/听起来”的跨域使用）验证三域功能的渐变特征及界面渗透机制；

IV 阐释认知动因：结合语法化理论与主观化理论，解释功能差异的生成机制及跨域互动的认知理据，最终构建“V 起来”连接功能的整合解释模型。

本研究突破传统分类范式，在方法论层面实现三大转向：从离散分类到连续统认知，从单一层面分析到界面互动考察，从共时描写到历时演化解释。理论建构上，提出汉语多功能语法形式的“三域互动”模型，为汉语语法化研究提供新的分析框架。实践层面，研究结论对对外汉语教学中的多义结构辨析、计算语言学的语义标注等应用领域具有重要参考价值。

一、三域视角下“V 起来”的句法、语义特征

基于 Sweetser（1990）的认知域理论框架，结合沈家煊（2003）的本土化阐释，本文将“V 起来”结构置于行域（行为序列）、知域（认知评估）、言域（话语互动）的三维连续统中考察。该结构在汉语中的多功能性正映射出三域系统的层次性演化：行域表征客观行为序列，知域体现主观认知推理，言域实现交互话语组织，三者构成“动作实施→认知评价→言语互动”功能连续统。通过系统分析三域“V 起来”的句法语义特征，揭示其功能分化的认知理据及界面互动规律。

1.1 行域

1.1.1 句法分布特征

行域层面的“V 起来”可以分析为动补结构，常处在句子谓语位置上（例 8），也可以做定语（例 9）、

补语（例 10）、状语（例 11）等。例如：

（8）母亲便慢慢**站起来**走到桌旁坐下。（余华/一九八六年）

（9）五十四个工人立即动手挖出事先**藏起来**的零件，装配机器（人民日报/1948）

（10）席间有的学生难过得**哭起来**了。（余秋雨/山居笔记）

（11）栏杆**摇晃起来**发出“吱吱”的声响。（余华/河边的错误）

1.1.2 语义特征

行域“V 起来”中的 V 保留具体动作义（如“站、绑、唱”），“起来”可以表示动作趋向或表示动作出现、达成的体意义。“V 起来”与具体动作的趋向和动作发展进程有关，具有动态性。（8）“站起来”表示动作“站”趋向；（9）“藏起来”表示“藏”的动作达成；（10）“哭起来”表示动作“哭”出现。（11）“摇晃起来”表示“摇晃”动态状态出现。

1.2 知域

1.2.1 句法分布特征

知域“V 起来”呈现典型构式化特征，必须与形容词谓语（AP）共现形成“V 起来+AP”评价构式。构式“V 起来 AP”可充当谓语（例 12）、定语（例 13）或独立小句（例 14）。主语 NP 与 V 的论元关系呈现非对称性，在无语境提示的情况下，主语 NP 既可解释为感知主体也可视为被感知的客体（例 15）。例如：

（12）这首诗**念起来**顺口，又容易背诵（冰心《冰心全集》）

（13）那是**吃起来**安全省事的东西（严歌苓《陆犯焉识》）

（14）小岳经理提出的这个“两条龙”，**听起来**确实灵妙。（刘玉民《骚动之秋》）

（15）他**看起来**不慌不乱（自拟）。

1.2.2 语义特征

（一）语义去范畴化

“起来”的趋向义与体意义弱化，V 从具体动作转化为感知通道标记，说话者提及 V 获取对 NP 相关的感知，无法通过“起来”判定动作的进程、趋向。例如（12）—（15）中的“念起来”“吃起来”“听起来”“看起来”中的“念”“吃”“听”“看”提及动作概念，但是无法根据“起来”确定动作的进程、趋向，这种去范畴化过程符合 Heine（1993）的语义漂移理论。

（二）视角转指意义

“V 起来 AP”与“V 着 AP”“V 了 AP”等评价构式表义上具有相似性，赵元任（1979：129）指出“V 着

AP”“V 了 AP”都表示“以 V 而论”，提示评价视角的意义。赵先生的观点也侧面说明 V 具有提示深层话题的功能，例如“这篇文章看了/着/起来兴奋”，都是从“看”的视角出发确定深层话题，进而产生对深层话题的评价。“V 起来”通过提示评价视角激活特定的概念框架，AP 的语义作用于该框架内的转指目标，那么“这篇文章看起来兴奋”实际上“兴奋”评价的不是主语“这篇文章”，而是“看这篇文章”的事件。因此，V 是转指深层话题的视角，NP 作为表层话题，通过 V 和 NP 的互动才能定位真正的话题。

（三）感知活动义

“V 起来”通过转指定位深层话题，V 所定位的深层话题必然受到言者知识体系的影响，因此“V 起来”引入了言者视角，形成了“定位主体=言者”的默认关系，其后 AP 自然默认为言者对话题的感知性认识，因此“V 起来 AP”实际上隐含感知活动意义，可以理解为“V 转指的话题使人觉得 AP”意义。例如：

（16）臭豆腐**闻起来**臭，**吃起来**香。（臭豆腐摊位广告语）

（17）他的脸显得非常敏睿，眼深沉明亮，**笑起来**好看，坐的姿势有风度。（王火/战争和人）

（16）“吃起来”“闻起来”引入言者视角，转指深层话题“臭豆的香味”和“臭豆腐的口味”，“臭”“香”表示言者在该视角下产生的感受，此句可以解释为“臭豆腐的香味使人觉得臭，臭豆腐的口味使人觉得香”；（17）“笑起来”引入言者视角，转指话题“他的笑容”，“好看”是言者在该视角下产生的感受，此句可以解释为“他的笑使人感觉很好看”。

（四）语义整体性

“V 起来 AP”中的 V 虽然与主语共同转指真正的话题，但是主语和“V 起来”句法上的紧密度不如“V 起来”和 AP，理由有二：

第一，句法自足性差异。“V 起来 AP”可以在无主语的情况下单独使用，如“吃起来安全”“听起来悦耳”“唱起来好听”等。“NP+V 起来+AP”结构若隐去“V 起来”则句子有可能不成立，例如“他唱起来好听”，不能说成“他好听”。

第二，完型认识效应。“V 起来”与 AP 结合形成“感知方式—感知结果”的完形结构（Goldberg 1995），如“闻起来臭”不可分解为“闻的动作+臭的属性”，而应视为整体评价表达。

实际上，知域“V 起来”本质上是双层转喻操作器，通过 V 建立感知通道初级转喻，将 NP 所指实体重构为评价对象；再通过 AP 的语义指向突破表层句法约束，锚定于 V 激活的认知框架。V 既是深层话题内部论元，又作为整体评价的一部分，“V 起来+AP”整体表示对深层话题的评价。例如

（18）这位老先生**唱起来**好听（郭德纲、于谦/相声集）

（18）“唱起来”转指评价对象“这位老先生的歌声”，同时转指对象作为整体评价的一部分，整体评价为“这位老先生的歌声很好听”。

1.3 言域：评价性言语行为

1.3.1 句法特征

言域“V 起来”作为话语标记，呈现高度语法化特征：位置上具有灵活性，可居句首（例 19、20）、主谓之间（例 22）或独立话轮；韵律上具有独立性，常伴随停顿标记（逗号、语气词）形成语调单位；组合上具有开放性，可与多种语篇标记（如“不过、但是”）共现。例如：

（19）这个地方，**说起来**也是张维赤给他们安排的。（刘斯奋/白门柳）

（20）同时因这轻便不过的事业，还得到了不知多少的朋友，**算起来**我是太幸福了的。（沈从文/我的人生哲学）

（21）一个雷鸣般的声音直透脑际：地球膨胀！**听起来**，这像一个神话故事。（报刊精选/1994 年）

（22）我们七爷，居然会和白小姐不通电话了。七爷这样**看起来**究竟不是一个好惹的，说翻脸就会翻脸的。（张恨水/金粉世家）

1.3.2 语义特征

（一）语义虚化

“V 起来$_{言}$”中的 V 限于“看、说、想、算、听”等动词，话语标记中的 V 语义虚化，不表示具体的概念义对应的动作，而是抽象为言者对信息具有一定的认识、分析，预设言者了解背景信息的存在。例如（19）中的“说”不表示“述说”的动作，而是指出言者对背景信息“张维赤给他们安排的”的认识，预设言者知道背景信息的存在。

（二）认可立场义

引入言者立场，语义表层上表达言者对事实的认可，通常伴随“难怪”“确实”“的确”等表示认可立场的副词共现。例如：

（23）发动机的噪声和底盘噪声仍然都很小，**说起来也难怪**，毕竟是一款豪华轿车嘛。（网络语料/社区问答）

（24）我们看个春晚发表个差评都没地方显示，**说起来确实**挺没面子的。（网络语料/微信公众号）

（25）他这个人**说起来的确**很可爱，我也不反对你喜欢他。不过你以前可也喜欢过很多蠢货啊。（翻译作品/傲慢与偏见）

（23）“说起来”和“难怪”共现，表示言者对事实“发动机的噪声和底盘噪声仍然都很小”的认可。（24）“说起来”和“确实”共现，表示言者对作为背景信息的事实“我们看个春晚发表个差评都没地方显示”的认可。（25）“说起来”和“的确”共现，表示言者对做为背景信息的事实“他很可爱”的认可。

（三）元话语意义

言者借用话语标记“V 起来”指出认识到的事实或观点，并对其进行了一定的分析，表达自身认可立场，进而引出自身观点，这种“信息处理→态度形成→言语表达”的过程实际上映射评价性言语行为过程，

因此“V 起来”可以视为评价性言语行为的标记，表达“我认可背景信息，我的评价是……”。例如：

（26）一些好心的官员能干预企业也在于他们有产权。**说起来**国企的产权是全民的，但实际上采取了国有的形式，由政府作为产权代表。（梁小民/黑板上的经济学）

（27）**算起来**，这本书于我是旧爱，于小朋友算新欢，亲子共读，却都乐在其中，各有所获。（人民日报/2020）

（28）炊事员**听起来**不高雅，可工资还不少，连补贴下来，一月七十多块钱哩……（路遥/风雪腊梅）

（26）“说起来”表达言者对事实有一定的分析，确立了言者对背景信息的认可态度，进而引出了言者观点“采取了国有的形式……”，“说起来”为评价性言语行为标记。（27）“算起来”确立并回应事实信息“这本书于我是……”，表达言者对事实有一定的认可，进而引出了言者观点“亲子共读乐在其中”。（28）“听起来”确立并回应事实信息“炊事员不高雅”，对事实进行一定认可，进而发表评价“工资还不少”。

二、三域“V 起来”的连接功能

基于认知域互动理论，三域“V 起来”在连接功能维度形成“时间序列编码→认知推理关联→元话语调控”的连续统。本节系统分析三域分化视角下的“V 起来”的连接功能。

2.1 行域“V 起来”：联接

“V 起来$_{行}$”表示动作趋向、发展进程，与动作本身有关，占据一定的时间域，作为其他成分的参照时间，起到联接其他谓词性成分的功能，“V 起来”和其他谓词性成分可以构成状中或者连动结构。例如：

（29）**笑起来**眼睛眯成了一条缝。

（30）把他**绑起来**打。

（29）“笑起来”表示动作“笑”出现，占据一定的时间域，为后面的动作“眯成了一条缝”提供了参照时间，“笑起来”和“眯成了一条缝”可以分析为状中、连动结构。（30）“绑起来打”表示动作“绑”达成，形成了“绑”的状态，该状态占据一定的时间域，为后面的动作“打”提供了参照时间，可以分析为状中或者连动结构。

2.2 知域“V 起来”：衔接、关联

2.2.1 衔接

知域“V 起来”通过话题锚定，实现篇章衔接，具体体现在当 NP 和“V 起来”若不在一个小句中时，V 作为表层话题论元，会自动追溯表层话题，从而形成对空缺成分的语义的理解（王晓凌，2012）。例如：

（31）《陈景润叔叔的来信》（第五期）我也很喜欢。**看起来**合理，**读起来**顺口，结尾也很有力。（冰心/冰心全集第七卷）

（32）这类朋友，多半是很渊博，很隽永，**纵谈起来乐**而忘倦。（冰心/冰心全集第三卷）

（31）“看”“读”作为表层话题“《陈景润叔叔的来信》”的动作论元，用以衔接表层话题；（32）“纵谈”作为表层话题“这类朋友”的动作论元，用以衔接表层话题。

2.2.2 关联

AP 是言者以 V 视角评价话题而产生的感受，形成“感知通道→评价结果”的推理链。“V 起来”作为引出感知结果的充分条件，言者只有选择特定感知视角才能形成 AP 感知。因此“V 起来”作为感知条件和感知结果 AP 具有条件关系，“V 起来”起到关联 AP 的作用。例如：

（33）这狗**叫起来**像饿狼一样。（微博）

（34）这游戏**玩起来**上瘾。（微博）

（35）这种刀**切起来**顺手。（微博）

（33）言者选择从“叫”的视角转指深层话题并对其进行评价，“叫”的视角选择是引发评价“像饿狼一样”产生的充分条件；（34）言者选择“玩”的视角转指深层话题并对其进行评价，“玩”的视角是引发评价“上瘾”的充分条件；（35）言者选择“切（用法）”的视角转指话题并对其进行评价，“切”的视角是引发评价“顺手”的充分条件。

值得注意的是，“V 起来 AP”和“只要……就”或“一……就”存在可以替换的情况，但是与条件关联标记替换存在语义制约，若“V 起来”后的 AP 可以转指感受活动，则此类“V 起来”可以与“只要……就”“一……就”替换（例 36），若 AP 仅表示感受结果，则此类“V 起来”不能和“只要……就”或“一……就”替换（例 37）。例如：

（36）这事我**想起来**难过。（莫应丰/将军吟）

（37）仙人掌**摸起来**光滑平顺。（海伦·凯勒/我的一生）

因为“只要……就”“一……就”仅仅表达逻辑意义，而不显示感受活动义，只要在“V 起来”和 AP 之间添加表示感受活动义的“觉得”“感觉”“认为”，则“V 起来 AP”都可以和“只要……就”“一……就”替换。例如（37）可以改写为：

（37）a.一摸仙人掌就会觉得它光滑平顺。

（37）b.只要摸了仙人掌就会觉得它很光滑平顺。

此外，有的“V 起来 AP”可以出现在转折环境中，但是并非说明转折意义由“V 起来”所引发。通过分析语料可以发现，“V 起来”可以处在对比环境中，受到平行结构的框架压制，但是不表示“V 起来”具有转折功能。例如：

（38）**说起来**容易，**做起来**难。

（39）**闻起来**臭，**吃起来**香。

综上所述，“V 起来$_{知}$”具有衔接功能和关联功能，V 作为表层话题的动作论元，“V 起来”起到衔接话

题的功能。此外 V 作为观察话题 NP 的视角，可以视为引发感受 AP 的条件，与 AP 关联形成“V 起来 AP”评价。

2.3 言域“V 起来”：连接功能

2.3.1 连接背景信息

构成话语标记“V 起来”的动词“看、想、算、听、说”语义虚化，不作为话题的动词论元，概括为言者分析、处理信息的方式，预设存在一定背景信息。这种预设功能提示受话人从上下文寻找相关的背景信息，“V 起来”起到连接背景信息的作用。“V 起来”可以处在背景信息句前、背景信息句中或者背景信息句后。例如：

（40）一些好心的官员能干预企业也在于他们有产权。**说起来**国企的产权是全民的，但实际上采取了国有的形式，由政府作为产权代表。（梁小民/黑板上的经济学）

（41）何阳曾多次在各种场合畅谈自己未来的理想是创建中国的兰德公司，**听起来，**何阳所从事的点子行业与兰德公司的事业相距甚至远，似乎是在夸夸其谈。（报刊精选/1994）

（42）有的党委会议**看起来**比以前经常了，但是由于没有充分发扬民主或其他原因（刘斯奋/白门柳）

（40）“说起来”预设言者对背景信息“国企的产权是全民的”具有一定认识，提示受话人从上下文寻找背景信息，“说起来”具有连接背景信息的功能。（41）“听起来”预设背景信息“何阳的理想”存在，“听起来”引导受话者寻找背景信息，有连接背景信息的功能；（42）“看起来”指出言者对事实“党委会议比以前经常了”有一定的了解，预设背景信息存在，起连接背景信息的作用。

2.3.2 连接评价内容

“V 起来$_{言}$”连接作为事实的背景信息，通过预设触发（presupposition trigger）建立认知共识基础，继而实施立场定位（stance positioning），最终都是为了引发评价言语行为。“V 起来$_{言}$”实际上是标记评价性言语行为的元话语标记，自然起到连接言者评价作用。例如：

（43）可我们放心不下凤霞，她和别人不一样，她老了谁会管她？凤霞**说起来**又聋又哑，她也是女人，不会不知道男婚女嫁的事。（余华/活着）

（44）酪干、奶酪、奶卷、奶豆腐，在“京都乳品总汇”可以随时享用，只要食客来到这里，每天都可以买到。**听起来，**酪干的制作程序并不复杂，但真做起来实在不易，再做得味美、好吃就难上加难了。（ccl）

（43）“说起来”激活了背景信息“凤霞又聋又哑”，表达对事实的认可立场，并指出言者评价“她也是女人……”；（44）“听起来”激活了背景信息“酪干的制作程序并不复杂”，表达对事实的认可立场，接着引出评价“但真做起来实在不易”。

2.3.3 连接功能类型

“V 起来言”预设存在背景信息，指明言者立场，引出言者评价，形成了“背景共识→立场显影→评价输出”的三阶运作机制。根据言域“V 起来”所处的语境，可以将“V 起来”的连接功能分为以下两个类型：

（一）确认解说

若“V 起来言”前文背景信息仅为言者认识，且一般情况下言者认为他人未知，则此时“V 起来”在激活背景信息的情况下，引出的对背景信息的确认解说，通过对前述事实和情况的肯定和确认从不同的角度对前文做出更进一步的引申和解说。此类“V 起来言”可以和表示确认解说的副词“真的”“的确”“确实”等替换。例如：

（45）陈贞慧明白，这是由于心灵深受刺激，极为痛苦的缘故。**说起来**，京师也是在三月十九日陷落的。（刘斯奋/白门柳）

（46）叫阿妮头好了！**算起来**也是你的表妹，以后就更亲了！（严歌苓/陆犯焉识）

（45）“说起来”连接前文背景信息“陈贞慧明白是心灵受刺激的缘故”，该信息是“陈贞慧”自己的见解，其后引出事实“京师是在三月十九日陷落的”对前文观点进行确认解说，此句的“说起来”可以替换为副词“确实”出现在“是”前。（46）“算起来”激活的背景信息是言者的建议“叫阿妮头好了”，其后引出自身观点“是你的表妹”，此类“算起来”对前文建议进行确认解说，“算起来”可以替换为“确实”“的确”。

（二）补注修正

“V 起来言”所激活的信息为言者和他人都不可否认的事实、见解，接着“V 起来言”提出言者的观点，该观点指出与实际情况相左或不一致的见解，对前文的背景信息进行补注、修正，表现出转折意义。“V 起来”可以和表示补注转折的副词“当然”“诚然”等替换。例如：

（47）一乐，你今天这样说你爹，你让我伤心，你爹对你是最好的，**说起来**他还不是你的亲爹，可他对你是最好的（余华/许三观卖血记）

（48）林正杰就属于这一类，我可以骂他，但他不还嘴，**看起来**，他好像比你李敖大度，但事实上他是政客式的。（ccl）

（47）“说起来”激活的背景信息是言说双方不可否认的事实“他还不是你亲爹”，接着引出言者观点“可他对你是最好的”对背景信息进行修正。（48）“看起来”激活前文信息“我骂他，他不还嘴”是已然的事实，言者使用“看起来”承认前文事实，接着再提出自身观点“事实上……”，此句中的“看起来”可以和“当然”“诚然”替换。

三、三域连续统与交叉域

从“行域”到“知域”再到“言域”是一个句法语义功能连续统，“行域”和“知域”之间有交叉，“知域”和“言

域”之间也有交叉，交叉域现象本质是原型范畴（prototype category）的边界模糊性体现（Rosch 1975）。

3.1 “V 起来”行-知交叉域

处于行、知交叉域的“V 起来”满足以下两个关键条件：

第一，施事性主语的认知双解性。主语 NP 兼具动作执行者与感知主体双重身份，形成“动作链（action chain）”与“感知框架（perceptual frame）”的认知竞合（Langacker 1987）。

第二，兼类形容词的语义双指向。AP 需同时具备过程描述与属性判定的语义潜势（如“难过”“舒服”“开心”“刺耳”等），允准双重解读。例如：

（49）他**想起来**难过。（莫应丰/将军吟）

（50）国君**听起来**舒服（哈谢克/好兵帅克）

(49)“他”既可突显为“想”的施事（行域），亦可识解为“想”的感知主体（知域），“难过”既可以是动作（行域）也可以是感受结果（知域）。此句若归为行域，则和“想”和“难过”具有时间序列关系；若归为知域，则“想”和“难过”具有条件关系。（50）“国君”可以视为施事或感知主体，“舒服”也具有动作和感受结果两解，此句若归为行域，则表示两者之间的时间序列关系，若归为知域，则表示条件关系。

3.2“V 起来”知言交叉域

知-言交叉域的“V 起来”需满足以下三个条件：

第一，NP 的受事角色。知-言交叉域的“V 起来”在无前后语境提示的情况下，“V 起来”前的主语可以视为受事，且主语具有一定的概括性，例如主语为“这事”“这话”“这情况”等；

第二，形容词的语义双重锚定。知-言交叉域的“V 起来”后的 AP 形容词短语需具备[+感受活动][+性状特征]双重语义特征，如“刺耳”“难听”“困难”“恶心”等。

第三，形式灵活性。知-言交叉域的“V 起来”可以处在主语前、后，或者被删除。

例如：

（51）这事**听起来**有趣

（51）无语境提示的情况下，“这事”可以视为“听”的受事，具有一定概括性；“有趣”既可以视为言者的感受，又可以视为“这事”的属性；“听起来”处在“这事”前或者“这事”后，或者被删除。

四、三域“V 起来”连接功能差异性及其生成机制

语言形式的历时存续与共时运作遵循多维适配原则，其生成机制可形式化为：允准条件（基础）×驱动动因（需要）×调控策略（方式）→功能实现（结果）（马清华，2017）。本研究基于此框架，系统阐释三域“V 起来”连接功能差异化的生成机制：

4.1 基础条件：概念域统辖差异

语言系统的概念域（conceptual domain）具有层级化的统辖机制，这决定“V 起来”结构的连接功能属性。行、知、言三域作为独立的统辖范畴，其互动能力受制于各自的语义辖域边界，由此形成差异化的连接功能。

4.1.1 行域：单域封闭性互动机制

行域以物理时间轴为统辖基础，其范畴限定于现实行为、动态事件及客观事态。根据概念域层级原则（Domain Hierarchy Principle），行域成分仅能与同域要素构成线性互动关系。例如“收起来书本”中，“V 起来”通过占据具体时间域（如动作起始点或持续段），与同属行域的受事形成时空关联（例如“收起来书本”）。若突破单域限制与知域或言域成分互动（如*“收起来聪明”），则因超出行域的语义统辖能力而引发句法异常。这种封闭性互动机制本质上是行域客观性本质的句法投射。

4.1.2 知域：双域渗透性互动机制

知域以认知图式为统辖核心，其范畴涵盖主观知觉与命题评价双重维度。基于概念域渗透理论（Domain Permeability Theory），知域“V 起来”通过构式化操作形成双向互动通道：

下行关联：通过动词概念保持与行域话题的衔接；

上行统摄：通过逻辑推理实现对知域评价的关联。

这种双域渗透机制使知域“V 起来”兼具命题锚定与评价植入功能，构成行域向言域转化的认知枢纽。

4.1.3 言域：全域支配性互动机制

言域以前景化言者意图为统辖特征，其范畴覆盖言语行为、立场表达及交际互动三重功能（肖治野、沈家煊，2009）。作为最高层级的统辖范畴，言域“V 起来”突破单域限制，形成全域支配能力：

下行统摄：通过背景信息的提取对行域事件进行信息聚焦；

平行关联：通过认知立场激活知域中的共享知识框架；

上行建构：通过标记言语行为直接投射言者观点。

三域系统的连接功能差异本质上是统辖范畴层级的直接映射：行域的物理时间统辖决定其封闭性连接，知域的认知图式统辖支撑其双域渗透性，而言域的言者意图统辖则催生全域支配能力。这种层级化统辖机制表明，语言形式的连接功能并非自主生成，而是受制于其所处概念域的范畴属性与互动权限。

4.2 动因阐释：主观性表达的梯度化演进

语言主观性（subjectivity）作为话语主体性的表征机制，其本质在于言语主体通过语言形式建构自我立场坐标。沈家煊（2001）提出的“主观化”（subjectivisation）理论框架揭示，语言系统通过结构重组和语义虚化，逐步发展出表征说话者认知立场、情感态度和交际意图的表达范式。这种演化过程在“V 起来”的三域分化中呈现显著的梯度性特征。

4.2.1 行域：客观性表征的零度模式

行域“V 起来”的语义辖域严格限定于命题内容层，其句法表现体现为典型的动作趋向义和进程义表征。语义透明度保持最高值域，动作施事与言者主体呈分离状态。这种结构特性导致两个显著特征：其一，言者视角完全隐没于动作进程之外，主观性指数趋近于零值；其二，语义识解严格遵循客观时间序列关系，不涉及任何评价性参数。这种零度主观性特征构成三域系统的基底模式。

4.2.2 知域：主观化的初级形态

知域“V 起来”通过构式化操作形成“V 起来 AP”范式，标志着主观化进程的正式启动。这一阶段的核心机制体现为双重识解模式的并置：V 语义实现从单纯视觉动作向认知视角的滑动，形成“感知主体=言者”的默认关联。这种语义迁移符合 Verhagen（2005）的视觉化（visualization）理论，即物理感知动词通过隐喻投射获得认知评价功能。此时的主观性呈现为识解方式的选择性操控，其强度值域处于中间过渡带。

4.2.3 言域：交互主观性的终极实现

言域“V 起来”完成主观化的终极跃迁，其功能本质已从命题表征转向元语用标记。这体现为三个质的转变：首先，动词论元结构彻底虚化，V 不再承担具体动作义，转而标记言者的认知操作过程；其次，话语功能聚焦于立场标记和信息传达；最后，语义机制实现交互主观性（intersubjectivity）升级，在表征言者立场的同时预设听者认知图式的激活。这种双重指向性使言域结构获得最强主观性值域。

三域系统的形成本质上是主观性表达需求驱动的结构化响应。从行域的客观基底到知域的认知迁移，最终达致言域的交互主观性实现，这一连续统完整展现了语言系统如何通过结构重组回应主体性表达需求。各域间的连接功能差异正是主观性梯度特征在句法层面的投射。

4.3 分化策略：句法语义调节

三域“V 起来”的范畴化本质上是句法层级与语义特征协同作用的产物。其分化策略体现为：语义虚化程度与句法层级提升形成正相关，二者共同驱动“V 起来”向更概念域迁移，获得更高的主观性特征。

4.3.1 行域：核心句法层的客观性锚定

行域“V 起来”的句法语义特征呈现强约束性。句法上行域“V 起来”嵌入核心谓词层，与状语、连动结构构成线性组合（如“跑起来追赶”）；动词 V 保留原型动作义，“起来”编码趋向义或体意义。“V 起来”通过时间参数与同域成分建立时空关联（如“叠起来存放”中“叠”与“存放”的时间序列性）。

此类结构的句法自足性使其严格限定于行域层，其连接功能仅能实现行域内部的事件逻辑编码，无法触发跨域互动。

4.3.2 知域：超句法层的逻辑化重构

知域“V 起来”通过句法变动与语义抽象化完成范畴跃迁。句法上“V 起来”作为评价构式“V 起来 AP”的前件；语义上动词“V 起来”提示言者视角，“起来”趋向和体意义弱化，构建了“视角条件-评价结果”条

件框架，完成了行域向知域的转变。这种构式化操作使知域“V 起来”获得跨域连接能力。

4.3.3 言域：全域覆盖的话语调控功能

言域“V 起来”经历终极句法解构与语义剥离，脱离了句法组合关系，虚化为话语标记。语义上，动词 V 抽象化，“V 起来”凝固为话语标记。“V 起来”通过突破句法层级限制，实现向言域的转化，形成全域覆盖的话语调控功能。

五、结论

行域“V 起来”通过时间序列关系编码实现句法层面的逻辑联接；知域“V 起来”以“V 起来 AP”紧缩构式为核心，通过隐含的“感知视角-感知结果”条件关联实现超句法层的深层主观命题评价；言域“V 起来”则虚化为元语用话语标记，通过背景信息锚定与言者评价显影，达成篇章层的语篇补证与修正功能。三域在主观性连续统上呈现梯度分布特征：行域定位于句法层，表征客观动作序列；知域拓展至超句法层，凸显主体评价功能；言域升华至篇章层，聚焦交互立场表达。主观性强度沿“客观行为→主体感知→交互立场”路径逐级递增，印证了语言形式从物理空间到认知空间再到交际空间的演化轨迹。三域系统的形成遵循“句法层级攀升-语义抽象化-主观性强化”的协同演化规律，在概念域互动基础，主观化动因，句法语义调节策略的共同作用下，分化出三域“V 起来”不同的连接功能。这一“客观编码→主观评价→话语调控”的演化路径，不仅验证了语言形式与认知范畴的动态象似性，也为汉语多功能语法标记的范畴分化研究提供了参照，深化了对语法形式连续统特征及其认知理据的理论阐释。

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"Why Choose to 'Burn' Myself?": English Teacher Caring in Rural Junior High School in Coastal China[1]

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Abstract. Caring, rooted in traditional Chinese culture, has positioned teachers as paragons of "selfless dedication and burning oneself to light others". However, contemporary educational reforms, including the deconstruction of the "respecting teachers and valuing education" culture, the deepening of teacher ethics construction, the implementation of the "Double Reduction Policy" and the new *English Curriculum Standards for Compulsory Education (2022 Edition)*, have introduced multiple challenges for English teachers in professional competence and teacher ethics (especially in humanistic caring), as well as a significant emotional burden associated with caring. Additionally, the structural imbalance of educational resources between coastal and inland areas, as well as urban and rural regions, further complicates teachers' caring practices and highlights regional disparities in educational equity. This study, grounded in Nodding' three-dimensional framework of teacher caring theory (2015) from an ecological perspective, investigates teachers' caring practices, discourse conflicts, and negotiation mechanisms in instructional, interactive, and institutional dimensions. Three rural junior high school English teachers from Zhejiang's "Common Prosperity Demonstration Zone" were selected, with data collected through in-depth interviews, institutional documents, and on-site photographs, analyzed using grounded theory and NVivo (2020, R1) for open coding, axial coding, and selective coding analyses. The study found that: (1) Teachers' multi-level caring practices are specifically manifested as follows: due to the lag in teachers' technical literacy behind the continuously improving rural infrastructure, coupled with weak foundations, upright character, and other physical and mental attributes among local junior high school students, teachers need to invest more caring emotions to coordinate various educational forces and negotiate institutional caring policies. (2) Teachers face multiple discursive conflicts of caring: the decline of the traditional culture of "respecting teachers" and the dilemma of identity construction, the dual pressure of institutional caring rules and tense interpersonal relationships, the conflict between modern English education concepts and decontextualized teaching design, and the contradiction between standardized examination evaluation systems and diverse English teaching methods. (3) To cope with caring dilemmas, teachers enhance emotional resilience through innovative local teaching, self-care, and reliance on school communities. Mid-career teachers rebuild cultural traditions through continuous passion and caring practice, while new-generation teachers reshape professional values through multi-dimensional self-actualization. This study on emotional conflicts and negotiations in coastal rural areas offers new insights into local teachers' emotional practices and provides references for tackling similar challenges in central and western rural regions. This study on caring discourse negotiation in coastal rural areas provides novel insights into junior high school

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English teachers' emotional practices, offering valuable references for their mental health and professional development, with broader implications for language education in rural central and western China.

Keywords: coastal rural English education, teacher caring, discursive conflicts and negotiations, grounded theory, dedication and self-actualization

1 Introduction

Rural English education faces both international common challenges (e.g., teacher turnover and curriculum issues) (Romanowski et al., 2023; Acheson et al., 2016) and unique dilemmas in China (e.g., the impact of traditional culture and the pressure of emotional support under the weakening of authority) (Sun, 2013). Domestic policies, especially the "Double Reduction Policy" and the humanistic caring requirements of the new *English Curriculum Standards for Compulsory Education* (2022), have increased teachers' emotional load. The current rural teacher population exhibits generational differences, including former private teachers, mid-career teachers assigned by direction, and new-generation teachers who choose their careers independently (Wang, 2023). The "emotional turn" in applied linguistics (Pavlenko, 2013) has propelled research on the emotion labor and caring of secondary school English teachers (Benesch, 2012). As the core of emotions, caring demands that teachers follow emotion rules and negotiate emotion labor through agency and critical awareness to promote professional identity (Miller & Gkonou, 2023). The traditional Chinese teacher caring paradigm is undergoing modern transformation, with the tension between the Confucian "candle" image and Western individualistic theories (Noddings, 2015) posing emotional management challenges for teachers (Gkonou & Miller, 2017). With the decline of the traditional culture of respecting teachers (Sun, 2013), the caring practice of English teachers in junior high schools, which account for 77.1% of junior high schools and 65.6% of junior high school students nationwide, directly affects the effectiveness of national foreign language talent cultivation and rural revitalization (Lu, 2020). Zhejiang Province, in its process of common prosperity, has optimized resource allocation to effectively narrow the urban-rural gap, with rural English teachers emerging as key figures in educational equity (Ministry of Education et al., 2022a).

2 Relevant Studies

Current international and domestic research has primarily focused on emotion labor, but the interactive relationship between caring and emotion labor is gradually gaining attention, especially in the context of educational equity in rural education and special groups. Perry et al. (2022), based on critical caring pedagogy, found that during the pandemic, African American rural high school teachers in the United States innovatively developed a caring curriculum system integrating student, family, and community participation while coping with structural challenges such as employment discrimination and difficulties in accessing medical insurance. Similarly, Warner and Diao (2022) revealed that during the pandemic, university language teachers in the United States followed emotion rules and institutional conflicts through establishing teacher-student relationships and a sense of community. In the Asian context, Pereira (2018) revealed the conflict between national utilitarian education orientation and humanistic caring goals faced by secondary school English teachers in Singapore, who had to invest additional emotion labor. Morris (2022) found that university English teachers in Japan balanced caring teacher identity and emotional adjustment through cognitive restructuring in an exam-oriented educational environment. Liu (2024) found that technical issues in online teaching caused

negative emotions among Chinese secondary school English teachers, while the home environment provided reflective space, offering a new dimension for understanding the complexity of teachers' emotion labor.

Language teachers in different cultural backgrounds exhibit differences in implementing caring practices. Gkonou and Miller (2017) pointed out that private language teachers in Greece, while alleviating students' language anxiety through emotion labor, also bore emotional burdens themselves. Areen and Norton (2024) found that volunteer language teachers in Canadian elementary schools, despite increased emotion labor in resource-limited environments, effectively alleviated emotion labor and strengthened professional identity by focusing on individual student growth. Nazari (2022) revealed that private language teachers in Iranian secondary schools regulated emotions and resisted unreasonable caring rules to cope with caring identity conflicts. Miller and Gkonou (2023) showed that high school language teachers in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Norway could transform negative caring experiences into positive ones by helping students achieve academic success, ultimately enhancing job satisfaction. In comparison, there is a significant gap in domestic research on English teacher caring, with existing studies focusing on the theoretical aspects of humanistic caring among university English teachers (Yang, 2017), while research on rural English teachers only touches on external institutional difficulties (Wu, 2024). Therefore, systematically examining the caring practices and emotional regulation strategies of Chinese rural English teachers in specific socio-cultural contexts holds important theoretical and practical significance.

This study, based on the language education ecological orientation (Douglas Fir Group, 2016) (see Figure 1), integrates Noddings' (2015) three-dimensional framework of teacher caring (institutional, interactive, and teaching caring) with the domestic "teacher ethics standards" (2020) to construct an ecological system analysis framework for English teacher caring. This framework covers the macro-level impact of socio-cultural policies (e.g., the Double Reduction Policy, new curriculum standards), the meso-level home-school interaction environment, and the micro-level teacher-student discursive practice. Targeting the generational differences among rural teachers (Wang, 2023), the study employs the procedural grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (1990) and uses NVivo software for three-level coding analysis (open coding → axial coding → selective coding) to systematically investigate the caring practices and emotional negotiation mechanisms of junior high school English teachers in Zhejiang Province. The aim is to provide references for improving teacher occupational health and rural English education quality and to offer a paradigm for teacher development in central and western regions.

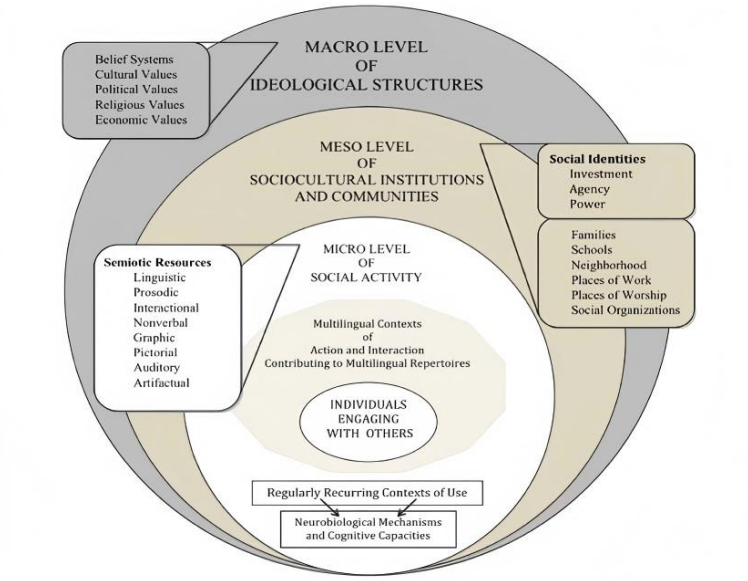


Fig. 1. Douglas Fir Group' Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching

Table 1. Noddings' Three-Dimensional Framework of Teacher Caring

Concept	Target	Connotation
Caring-about (Institutional Caring)	Institutions and Individuals	Institutions (e.g., schools) formulate policies to care for student groups and maintain educational equity; however, due to power and ideological differences between caregivers and recipients, the needs of recipients are sometimes overlooked.
Caring-for (Pedagogical Caring)	Individuals	Teachers directly caring for individual students through practices such as attentive listening and other caring methods.
Transition (Interactive Caring)	Individuals with Individuals	Teachers engage with other teachers to care for students.

3 Method

Zhejiang Province, known as the "Common Prosperity Demonstration Zone", has optimized urban-rural compulsory education resource allocation through measures such as ensuring 304,000 migrant children's enrollment in public schools in Ningbo, promoting high-quality and balanced development among urban, rural, and inter-school areas, with its basic education equity level ranking among the top in China (Ningbo Education Bureau, 2024).

This study employs a mixed-methods approach to systematically collect and analyze data. First, three representative junior high school English teachers from the coastal areas of Zhejiang were purposely selected as research subjects (see Table 2) and coded according to the rule of "city-gender-interview sequence"[2].

Tab. 2 Basic Information Table for Three Coastal Rural English Teachers

School	City	Teacher	Gender	Teach-ing Age	Education	Position
A	Ninghai	N-F-1	Female	37	Associate Degree	Class Teacher (Substitute Teacher)
B	Xiangshan	X-F-2	Female	7*	Master's Degree	Class Teacher (Full-Time Teacher)
C	Ningbo	NB-F-3	Female	6	Bachelor's Degree	Head of Moral Education (Full-Time Teacher)

7*: Newly Hired in Urban Middle School This Year

During the data collection phase, 60-90-minute semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted, supplemented by multi-source data such as school documents, official public accounts, and teaching site observations. The interview recordings were then transcribed verbatim, and NVivo (2020, R1) software was

[2] city-gender-interview sequence: Cities are named based on the first letters of their pinyin: N (Ninghai), X (Xiangshan), and NB (Ningbo). Gender is denoted by F (Female) and M (Male).

used to conduct three-level coding: open coding extracted 101 concepts and 32 categories. Through axial coding, 14 main categories and 6 core categories were identified. Finally, selective coding determined three main themes (see Table 3). The study employed dual independent coding to ensure reliability. The coding consistency coefficient, verified by NVivo's "coding comparison" function, averaged 0.89, with no new categories or concepts emerging, indicating theoretical saturation (Xu & Zhang, 2005). This effectively ensured the study's reliability and validity.

Tab. 3 The Coding Summary of "English Teacher Caring in Coastal Rural Junior High Schools"

Selective Coding (Third Coding)	Axial Coding (Second Coding)	To-tal Co-unt	Open Coding (First Coding)	Refe renc e Poin t-s	Original Data
Teaching Caring	Teaching Caring	122	Teaching Philosophy	42	Treat students as if they were your own children, like brothers and sisters
			Teaching Design	17	Include a moral education theme in PPTs
			Teaching Implementation	46	Conduct dialogue activities in small groups
			Teaching Evaluation	17	Reward students with a lollipop for good homework
	Manage-ment Caring	73	Class Collective Building	19	Implement democratic management, allowing students to self-govern and make major class decisions through voting
			Class Activity Organization	13	Accompany them to spring and autumn study tours, and I join them in performances
			Student Development Guidance	39	Students enjoy chatting with me and share personal matters
			Communication and Cooperation	1	Social practice is meaningful, allowing observation of students' out-of-school performance
			Comprehensive Quality Evaluation	1	School leaders are supportive and proactive in assisting new teachers
Interactive Caring	School Human Interaction	57	Leadership Interaction	25	Other subject teachers and I collaborate happily
			Colleague Interaction	32	Parents need communication, and I am reachable 24/7
	Home-School Caring Interactio	33	Home-School Co-Education	33	Basic professional ethics are essential, caring for students is fundamental

	n				
Institutio n-al caring	Tradition al Caring Culture	21	Social Caring Culture	21	Treat students as if they were your own children, like brothers and sisters
	Caring Policy	35	Caring Policies	35	Include a moral education theme in PPTs

4 Results and Discussion

In the context of rural revitalization in coastal China, the traditional culture of "respect for teachers and value for education" is gradually weakening, directly leading to four typical discursive conflicts faced by junior high school English teachers:

4.1 The Tension Between the Decline of Traditional Respect for Teachers and the Reconstruction of Modern Professional Identity

With the weakening of the traditional "respect for teachers" culture, the traditional paternalistic teacher role is dissolving. The increasing heterogeneity of student families in coastal rural areas, coupled with high parental expectations but low involvement (e.g., absenteeism in migrant families), places additional caring responsibilities on teachers (Chen & Cao, 2023). This leads to conflicts between traditional role expectations and individual value realization under the context of diminishing authority. There is a significant generational difference in the caring value orientation among rural teachers: mid-career teachers, who were trained in normal schools, continue the traditional ethic of "selfless dedication" and provide parental-style caring to help students achieve their dreams and maintain rural traditions (Wang, 2023). In contrast, new-generation teachers emphasize personal professional development and exhibit a more individualistic professional identity, reflecting the opposition between traditional collectivism and modern individualism.

Mid-career teachers, adhering to the traditional caring ethics, respond unconditionally to students' and parents' demands, focusing not only on academic performance but also on students' daily lives, emotions, and health. They also strictly discipline themselves to set an example, as described by N-F-1:

Excerpt 1

I always pay attention to students' physical exercise at the school gate... Some students are so sleepy at noon that they can't wake up even during meals. I'm afraid they might go hungry, so I call their parents... Sometimes on weekends, when parents can't find their children, I contact their classmates... I don't mind the high phone bills. Teachers should be role models in every aspect. The little things you do are all seen by the students. (N-F-1)

In contrast, new-generation teachers, such as X-F-2 and NB-F-3, exhibit a stronger individualistic tendency. They reject the traditional moral expectation that teachers should selflessly dedicate themselves to their students, often at the expense of their own well-being, advocating for a balance between work and life. Despite this stance, even teachers who hold such individualistic positions still maintain basic professional ethics, indicating that the caring practices of new-generation teachers are seeking a new equilibrium between tradition and modernity, as stated by them:

Excerpt 2

I think teachers should have their own lives too... It's too exhausting. Many teachers just go through the motions, living day by day. (X-F-2)

Excerpt 3

I can't understand why we have to sacrifice ourselves and burn ourselves. I'll just do what I'm supposed to do. I can't give everything. I belong to myself. This is just my job. You can't expect me to be all in 24/7. (NB-F-3)

4.2 Negotiation Between Institutional caring Discourse and Teacher Emotional Resilience

Chinese collectivist culture has shaped a unique system of teacher emotion rules, requiring teachers to obey leadership, maintain harmonious relationships with colleagues, caring for students, and use emotional management for discipline (Gu & Xu, 2021; Yin, 2016). Under the contemporary educational reform context, teachers are also expected to adapt to new caring discourses such as the "new mentor system" and online teaching (Benesch, 2012). With the weakening of traditional teacher values, rural English teachers face deep tensions between institutional demands and personal emotional resilience, necessitating enhanced emotional regulation skills to cope with the increasingly complex educational environment.

In response to the contradiction between institutional rules and professional autonomy, different generations of teachers exhibit differentiated coping strategies. Mid-career teacher shows stronger policy adaptability, with N-F-1 adopting a compliant attitude towards institutional arrangements. In contrast, new-generation teachers display greater professional agency and strategic wisdom when dealing with institutional caring discourses. For example, X-F-2 insists on autonomous caring practices and exposes formalism, while NB-F-3 collaborates with the teacher community to adjust implementation plans.

Supportive institutional policies, such as relaxed assessment systems, training resources, and leadership concern, can enhance teachers' job satisfaction and emotional resilience (Long & Zhang, 2023). However, the absence of caring policies can lead to teachers losing their voice and facing burnout crises (Benesch, 2012). Coastal rural junior high school English teachers negotiate caring discourses by managing emotions, maintaining a positive attitude, and seeking external support to enhance emotional resilience and sustain teaching enthusiasm. For example, N-F-1 transfers her focus from low salary to students' academic achievements through her passion for education:

Excerpt 4

As a contract teacher, I've been teaching for over 40 years without ever considering the salary. I've never let low pay affect my emotions. To be honest, the salary gap between contract and full-time teachers is really significant, but I've never caringd about the money. I have a very positive mindset. (N-F-1)

In contrast, although somewhat dissatisfied with the salary, NB-F-3 can comfort herself and negotiate negative emotions. However, low pay further exacerbates X-F-2's burnout:

Excerpt 5

The salary here is already much better compared to the city... (NB-F-3)

Excerpt 6

The salary for teachers is low. We can't even afford the performance bonuses, which have been cut to half of last years amount. This profession is becoming less and less viable... (X-F-2)

Despite policy efforts to improve teachers' conditions through rural subsidies and title assessments (Loh & Liew, 2016; Ministry of Education, 2024), there is still a gap between actual outcomes and teachers' expectations, especially for contract teachers. This prompts teachers to employ diverse strategies such as emotional regulation and mindset adjustment to enhance emotional resilience.

4.3 Negotiation Between Modern English Education Concepts and Decontextualized Teaching Design

The introduction of the new junior high school English curriculum standards has placed high demands on rural English teachers to provide humanistic caring to students and cultivate their core English literacy (Ministry of Education, 2022). Guided by modern English education concepts, coastal rural junior high school English teachers are trained in urban-standard English teaching designs. These designs, based on the real-life scenarios of Western countries and urban civilization, deviate from the rural living environment, resulting in decontextualized teaching designs that make English courses overly difficult and formalistic for rural students (Li, 2015).

To address issues such as students' weak foundation and lack of motivation, rural English teachers innovatively adopt contextualized caring teaching strategies (Walker & Gleaves, 2019), exhibiting distinct generational characteristics. Mid-career teacher N-F-1 adhere to a "textbook-centered" approach, while new-generation teachers demonstrate richer teaching innovations. For example, X-F-2 integrates local fishing village culture into teaching during the "fishing season" and NB-F-3 adopts project-based learning, such as organizing an "English Culture Festival" to create a school-specific promotional booklet. These practices combine modern teaching resources with local culture, creating authentic life scenarios that achieve dual goals of language ability cultivation and cultural heritage (Walker & Gleaves, 2019), showcasing the creative integration of rural English education between tradition and modernity.

There is a clear generational divide in the application of educational technology among coastal rural junior high school English teachers. Although modern teaching devices such as Smart Whiteboards and DingTalk are well-equipped in coastal rural schools (Ministry of Education, 2022b; Liu et al., 2022), teachers' relatively low digital literacy results in low device utilization efficiency. Issues such as students' weak self-discipline and unstable internet connections (Nazari et al., 2024) continue to consume teachers' emotional capital (Perry et al., 2022). N-F-1, a mid-career teacher, holds a critical view of modern educational technology, considering "PPT teaching as a formalistic performance" and prefers traditional grammar explanation methods. She also points out that while new-generation rural teachers have better technical skills, they tend to focus more on form than content.

This stance is rooted in both technical limitations and differing understandings of the essence of teaching (Wang, 2023):

> **Excerpt 7**
>
> Young teachers nowadays rely heavily on PPTs. I stick to traditional methods of explaining grammar points. I can't really use PPTs well... New teaching methods are definitely better, and I need to learn from younger teachers. However, students today are already quite distracted. They've been exposed to PPTs since elementary school. When information just flashes by on the screen, they can't really take good notes. (N-F-1)

In summary, in the negotiation between modern English teaching concepts and localized teaching designs, coastal rural junior high school English teachers focus on cultivating students' core literacy in English, using language ability as the foundation for moral education, and strive to develop localized English teaching designs that reduce urban complexity and integrate rural scenarios. While advanced equipment in coastal rural areas (such as micro-teaching classrooms and Smart Whiteboards) remains underutilized due to teachers' generally low digital literacy, which fails to meet students' personalized learning needs. Therefore, improving rural teachers' digital literacy requires not only the perfection of hardware facilities but also the establishment of long-term training mechanisms adapted to generational characteristics.

4.4 The Contradiction Between Standardized Examination Evaluation Systems and Diversified English Teaching Methods

In the context of the gradual decline of the traditional culture of respecting teachers, the results-oriented education evaluation system has become the primary standard for measuring the teaching effectiveness of English teachers. Rural English teachers face intense discursive conflicts between the standardized examination evaluation system and the humanistic value of the English curriculum (Loh & Liew, 2016).

Under the new curriculum standards, coastal rural junior high school English teachers do not confine themselves to cultivating students' reading and writing abilities but continuously attempt diversified teaching methods. Some teachers adopt experiential teaching methods based on personal experiences, while others conduct project-based learning guided by the Activity-based approach. They also enhance the interactivity and fun of English classes through group cooperative learning, team games, and dialogues, thereby complementing the strengths of group members and better cultivating students' language communication skills, hands-on abilities, and social cooperation skills.

However, constrained by the exam-oriented evaluation system, rural English teaching falls into the quagmire of exam-oriented education. First, teaching methods become singular, with teachers reverting to the repeated practice of grammar-translation methods and paper-and-pencil exercises, sidelining localized curriculum development such as "abandoning school-based curriculum". Second, teacher division of labor becomes exam-oriented, forming a grade-based responsibility system where "senior teachers focus on intensive training for the third year of junior high, while new teachers manage the lower grades", placing different demands on teachers of different ages (Loh & Liew, 2016). This institutional contradiction plunges teachers into caring conflicts, as they must cope with the real pressure of exam rankings while struggling to implement humanistic caring concepts. Ultimately, teaching design becomes detached from rural realities, increasing teachers' emotional burdens:

Excerpt 8

To improve exam scores and grades, we need more practice and drills... In the end, traditional teaching methods are still the most effective for ensuring students pay attention. We just keep repeating the key points, and students copy them down. (N-F-1)

Excerpt 9

Rural students have weak foundations, with very limited vocabulary and poor reading skills. You need to be aware of the exam trends and how questions are set for the middle school exams... (X-F-2)

Excerpt 10

I only tried project-based learning once before, but I haven't taught eighth grade for a long time... The classroom still focuses more on writing and reading. The new curriculum standards do emphasize ability cultivation, but the final assessment is still based on written exams. (NB-F-3)

Under the dual pressure of exams and the implementation of new teaching methods, coastal rural junior high school English teachers continuously negotiate teaching caring, striving to ensure diverse teaching forms while maintaining teaching content. English teachers simplify new teaching methods to adapt to the learning conditions of rural students, reducing the difficulty of classroom content by starting with basic vocabulary and providing language scaffolding. This approach maintains the diversity and flexibility of English teaching methods, enhancing rural students' motivation and classroom participation.

5. Conclusion

This study deeply analyzes the caring practices of junior high school English teachers in coastal rural China amid multiple structural contradictions. The findings reveal significant generational differences in how teachers cope with caring dilemmas, reflecting the value conflicts and adaptation processes during the rural education transition period. At the institutional level of caring, teachers need to follow policy requirements and explore personalized implementation paths suitable for rural education realities. In terms of interactive caring, teachers enhance home-school communication and integrate community resources to provide support for rural students. In teaching caring practice, teachers creatively adopt bilingual teaching, implement tiered homework and personalized feedback, and attempt to integrate local culture into curriculum design while improving their digital tool application skills (Loh & Liew, 2016).

Moreover, teachers face four structural contradictions: the tension between the decline of traditional teacher culture and identity crises, the regulatory tension between institutional caring discourse and teacher emotional resilience, the practice gap between modern educational concepts and rural educational ecology, and the value squeeze of humanistic caring by the tool-rationality-oriented exam evaluation system (Perry et al., 2022; Long & Zhang, 2023). Faced with these challenges, teachers' emotional negotiations present generational differences: Mid-career teachers exhibit traditional characteristics, compensating for resource shortages with high-intensity caring, focusing on students' academic achievements as the core of their professional value, and maintaining traditional teacher ethics amidst modern shocks (Wang, 2023). This "burnout-style dedication" combines ecological adaptability with cultural continuity. In contrast, new-generation teachers adopt diversified caring negotiation strategies, innovatively integrating local elements with digital teaching (Loh & Liew, 2016), establishing systematic self-care mechanisms (Benesch, 2012), and seeking support through school communities (Watson et al., 2016). This approach enables them to achieve professional value and personal growth, reflecting the professional rationality of new-generation teachers.

This study provides insights into teacher development during the rural education transition period in China. Future research could focus on the following directions: First, attention should be given to improving the digital literacy of mid-career teachers (Loh & Liew, 2016) and cultivating the local cultural identity of new-generation teachers to promote intergenerational complementarity. Second, further research on the gender aspects of teacher emotion labor is needed to develop "balanced caring abilities" (Benesch, 2012). Third, efforts should be made to move rural teacher development towards a "sustainable caring" paradigm, maintaining the sustainability of "burnout-style" teacher caring while seeking a dynamic balance between professional autonomy and ethical responsibility (Wang, 2023).

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“啘”字考

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[摘 要] 本文围绕中医古籍中的“啘”字展开探讨。在义项方面，通过梳理《一切经音义》《黄帝八十一难经》等众多文献，发现“啘”义与“呕”“哕”“吐”相关，常表“有声有物”之“呕”义，也作“有声无物”之“哕”义及“呕”“哕”“吐”混用的通义。在字音上，《汉语大字典》与《汉语大词典》中“啘”有 yè、wā两读，但对其中“干呕”义的记音反切进行推导，应读为 yuē，此处或为《汉语大字典》与《汉语大词典》存在的注音问题。至于其它中医医学辞典中将“啘”记音为 wā，则可能源于吴语方言。本文对“啘”字的考求有助于准确理解古代医籍内容，同时，也能为中医文化传承与研究提供训诂学上的支持。

[关键词] 中医古籍　训诂　吴语　啘

《重修政和经史证类备用本草》卷十三“竹叶”条下载：“皮茹。微寒。主呕啘，温气，寒热，吐血，崩中，溢筋。”卷二十三“枇杷叶”条载：“枇杷叶。味苦，平，无毒。主卒啘不止，下气。”两味药材主治症状中皆有“啘”字，卒读医书，“啘”作何义，读何音，不免有所顿滞，故由此考求。

一、“啘”义考求

查访《一切经音义》第二十三卷得：“哕噎。又作啘同，於越反，下一结反。《通俗文》：‘气逆曰哕，塞喉曰噎。’炘曰：啘字见《黄帝八十一难经》，字书无解。啘哕音近，当相通也。《说文》：‘哕，气牾也。’”

“哕”，《说文解字》解为气逆，从口，岁声。《康熙字典》在该义下引《正字通》训释：“方书，有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰哕，有物有声曰呕。“吐”“哕”“呕”义近，《重修政和经史证类备用本草》中“呕啘”一词“呕”与“啘”前后相接，又《一切经音义》中“哕噎”作“啘”同，虽不能马上对“啘”字字义做出判定，但可推知“啘”义应同属“吐”“哕”“呕”相互联系的同源词族中。

但按《正字通》之说，有物无声、有声无物、有声有物皆有所占，“啘”字似是难寻间隙。于是从庄炘所说的“啘”最早出现之处《黄帝八十一难经》处入手，详查“啘”使用之初的含义。

《难经·十六难》有“啘”一处：“心痛，掌中热而啘，有是者心也，無是者非也。”，滑寿本义解“啘”为“干呕也，心病则火盛，故啘。经曰：诸逆冲上皆属于火，诸呕吐酸皆属于热。”亦有“呕”，滑寿本义解为“有声无物为呕，有声有物为吐，脾受病，故腹胀泄注食即呕吐而上逆也”。又滑寿本义引东垣李氏解“吐”为“下部无脉，此木郁也。饮食过饱，填塞于胸中太阴之分，而春阳之令不得上行故也，是为木郁。木郁则达之谓吐之是也。”

详审其中，有两处怪异。

《难经》有“啘”无“哕”，《说文》有“哕”无“啘”，此为一怪。《难经》成书时间有战国说、秦汉之际说、东汉以前说与非一时一人之作说，当前学界普遍认为该书成书时间应当不晚于东汉。若推说“啘”出现时间早于“哕”，但按《说文》，“哕”在许慎成书之时已然出现，前后时间顺序相异。且《诗经·小雅》

已有“君子至止，鸾聲哕哕”与“噲噲其正，哕哕其寘”，此二“哕”虽非“气牾”义，但也证明“啘”早于“哕”的推说存在问题。另外，自《说文》后，“气牾”义的“哕”也没有消失，《素問·陰陽應象大論》与靈樞·脹論》中仍可得见，由此，《说文》以“哕”兼记“啘”的可能性也较小。那么《难经》的有“啘”无“哕”现象或为一家语言习惯，“啘”当晚出于“哕”。

《正字通》中“有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰哕，有物有声曰呕”，而《难经本义》则记为“有声无物为呕，有声有物为吐”，前者“哕”“呕”与后者“呕”“吐”对换，此为第二怪。参考其他文献记载，整理表格如下：

成书时间	书名	有物无声	有声无物	有声有物	原文
宋（1156）	《伤寒明理论》	吐	干呕	呕/啘	“呕者，有声者也，俗谓之啘。吐者，吐出其物也。故有干呕而无干吐，是以呕则曰食谷欲呕，及吐则曰饮食入口即吐，则呕吐之有轻重可知矣。”
元（1361）	《难经本义》		呕	吐	“有声无物为呕，有声有物为吐。”
元（1481）	《丹溪心法》		哕	呕吐	“凡有声有物谓之呕吐，有声无物谓之哕。”
明（1624）	《名物类考》	吐	哕	呕	“有物无声曰吐，气病，有声无物曰哕，血气俱病，有声有物曰呕。”
明	《明医指掌》	吐	干呕	呕	“有声有物曰呕，有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰干呕，皆主于脾胃。”
明	《万氏家传幼科指南心法》	吐	呕	呕吐	“有声无物曰呕，有物无声曰吐，有声有物曰呕吐。”
清（1670）	《素问集注》		呕		“且有声无物曰呕，故不当作呕出变异之物解。”
清（1706）	《脉因证治》	吐	呕	呕吐	“呕以声响名，吐以吐物言。有声无物曰呕，有物无声曰吐，有声有物曰呕吐，皆阳明胃家所主。”
清（康熙）	《正字通》	吐	哕	呕	“有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰哕，有物有声曰呕。”
清（1726）	《古今图书集成》	吐	呕	呕吐	“有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰呕，有声有物曰呕吐。”
清（1739）	《医宗金鉴》	吐	哕/干呕	呕	“有物有声谓之呕，有物无声吐之征，无物有声哕干呕。”

清（1750）	《内经知要》		呕		“气急曰喘病，有声无物曰呕。”
清（1750）	《幼幼集成》		干呕		“咳噎喘者，水寒射肺也，有声无物曰干呕。”
清（1804）	《医学三字经》	吐	呕	呕吐	“呕字从沤、沤者水也，口中出水而无食也。吐字从土，土者食也，口中吐食而无水也。呕吐者，水与食并出也。”
清（1832-1840）	《本经疏证》	吐	干呕	呕	“盖有声有物曰呕，有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰干呕”
清（道光）	《松峰说疫》	吐	哕	呕	“有声有物曰呕，气方无及以吐，有声无物曰哕，呃逆者即。”
清（1888）	《按摩要术》	吐	哕	呕	“方书，有物无声曰吐，有声无物曰哕，有物有声曰呕。”

表一 可见医籍文献中“有物无声”“有声无物”“有声有物”对应词

在这一表格中，我们可以发现，相对可以统一的是“有物无声”对应“吐”，那么滑寿本义所解的“吐”应当有误。

再看“有声有物”下，对应“呕”字者八，“呕吐”者五，惟有《难经本义》谓之“吐”，另有《伤寒明理论》指出“呕”俗称“哕”。细察其中区别，将“有声有物”对应为“呕吐”者，除《丹溪心法》外，皆将“呕”与“有声无物”进行对应，再加上“吐”时有物是可以明确的信息，那么他们所举的“呕吐”应当作并列解，取两者合义。而将“有声有物”对应为“呕”者，他们所认为的“有声无物”则出现了“哕”“干呕”这两种情况，前者五处，后者四处，还有一处“哕干呕”为二者连用。“哕”义即“干呕”，但在著书使用中，“哕”并未占有替代“干呕”的压倒性优势。

那么究竟是以并列解“呕吐”释“呕”为有声无物，还是将“呕”解为“吐”的综合，即有物兼有声呢？

近世医籍在训释“呕吐”时，将自古医家对“呕”的训释总结为两说，与表格所示现象相符，但在这两说简述之后，书中多言呕与吐常同时发生，很难截然分开，所以一般并称呕吐。《秘传证治要诀》亦说近世呕吐二字皆通用，然却无甚利害，理亦自不妨。“呕”与“吐”在“有声有物”的义上已然混杂难辨，两者之间的区别在近代语言环境里面已经不是那么明显了。但考虑到释义的参考与留存性，对“呕”进行训释时，或许可将二义同存，在各自前注明使用时相对的范畴：有“呕吐”为“有声有物”，则“呕”为“有声无物”，有“哕”或“干呕”为“有声无物”，则“呕”为“有声有物”。

回到“哕”上，《一切经音义》中写明“哕噎”又作“哕噎”，“哕”与“哕”同，而《伤寒明理论》中又说“呕”俗谓“哕”，“呕”也与“哕”同。“哕”一般对应“有声无物”义，出现“哕”时，其对应范畴的“呕”与《伤寒明理论》中“呕”义均为“有声有物”义。作此具体义比较，则两处明显相悖。那么，“哕”究竟取何义？

查阅现存文献材料，“哕”有几类用法如下：

1.“唍”独用

《肘后备急方》卷二：若唍者，灸手腕第一约理中，七壮，名心主当中指。

《外台秘要方》卷四：右二味，以水四升，煮取二升，稍温饮之，唍止则停。

《黄帝八十一难经》：假令得心脉，其外证面赤，口干，善笑，其内证脐上有动气，按之牢若痛，其病烦心，心痛，掌中热而唍。

以上三则材料中，《外台秘要方》虽有“唍”独用，但亦有“呕”“吐”“哕”独用与“呕唍”“呕哕”“干呕”等词的使用，因而此书中，“唍”字用的当是与“呕”“吐”“哕”相混的通义。

《肘后备急方》中“唍”症，前有“吐”症，后有“干呕”症，由此可知“唍”义不同后二者，若依“吐”“干呕”所占“有物无声”“有声无物”相对，此处“唍”当与“呕”同，对应“有声有物”义。

《难经·十六难》的“心痛，掌中热而唍”在《针灸聚英》《妇人良方》《脉因证治》等后世书中常表述为“心痛，掌中热而哕”，故知此处“唍”同“哕”，对应“有声无物”义。

2.“呕唍”

《伤寒论》：伤寒，大吐大下之，极虚，复极汗者，其人外气怫郁，复与之水，以发其汗，因得哕。所以然者，胃中寒冷故也。伤寒，哕而腹满，视其前后，知何部不利，利之即愈。呕唍，手足厥者，茱萸汤主之。

《备急千金要方》卷七十四：太乙追命圆。治百病，若中恶气，心腹胀满，不得喘息，心痛积聚胪胀疝瘕，宿食不消，吐逆呕唍，寒热瘰症蛊毒，妇人产后余疾方。

《奇效良方》卷十六：五噎散 治五噎，食不下，呕唍痰多，咽喉噎塞，胸膈病痛。

“呕唍”连用多见于医籍，且在以上三则材料中与“哕”“吐”并存，可知“呕唍”所对当为“有声有物”义。然此义所对之词用“呕”更多，那么“呕唍”中“唍”义或许不论是弱化还是本就同“呕”义，此刻已然作强调用，将“呕”义更加放大突出了。

3.“干唍”

《小儿病源方论》卷三：（五）小儿时时扎眼，粪便青白沫，有时干唍。已上五证忽时呕吐者，必成阴癇，俗谓之（慢惊风）。

《小儿卫生总微论方》卷七：芦根饮子 治伤寒干唍及反胃呕吐

《本草纲目》卷十七：伤寒干唍 半夏熟洗研末，生姜汤服一钱七 梅师方

《小儿病源方论》中的“干唍”在他书中又写作“干硬”，两者皆有合理之处。若作“干唍”，按记述的病情发展，则“干唍”的下一步为“呕吐”，那么“干唍”应当义同“干呕”，对应“有声无物”，《小儿卫生总微论方》中所记亦可为证。如此，则此处“唍”同“呕”。

4.“烦唍”

《幼幼新书》卷十七：阴气先绝，阳气独发，则少气烦唍，手足热而呕。

《太平圣惠方》卷四十七：治干霍乱，心腹疠痛，气短急，四体闷，不吐利，烦惋难忍。此名干霍乱斯须不治即杀人急治方。

“烦惋”只此两例，遍访他书同句多作“烦冤”，且“烦冤”为医籍常用词汇，为躁动不安之症，此义与材料前后相合，以上两例“烦惋”当为讹写。

5.“惋逆”

《严氏济生续方》卷八：曲蘗圆。治酒癖不消，心腹胀满，噫酢吞酸，惋逆不食，胁肋疼痛。

《小儿卫生总论微方》卷九：有一李医问曰：何食而哕。乙曰：脾虚不能食，津液少即惋逆。

《名医别录》：疗惋逆，喉痺不通，鼻中息肉。

类似病症，医籍用“呕逆”更多，记因胃气上逆而产生呕吐感觉的症状，因而此处“惋”义也应同“呕”。

6.“哕惋”

《本草纲目》卷三：羊乳。大人干呕，小儿哕惋，时时呷之。

《本草单方》卷八：又燕蓐草烧黑研末，水进方寸匕，亦止哕惋。即燕窠中草。

“哕”义为干呕，参考“呕惋”，此处“惋”义或也已弱化，仅作对干呕这一行为的放大强调用。

综上简言之，依托于“呕”义界定，“惋”常表“有声有物”之“呕”义，其余也作“有声无物”之“哕”义以及“呕”“哕”“吐”混用的通义。

二、“惋”音考求

查阅《汉语大字典》与《汉语大词典》，两部书中所记“惋”字音义除却引例不同，其余皆同，汇总整理如下：

惋

（一）yè《字彙》於劣切。

干呕。《難經·十六難》：“心痛，掌中熱而惋，有是者心也，無是者非也。”滑壽本義：“惋，干嘔也。心病則火盛，故惋。”《本草綱目·木部·竹》：“淡竹茹，主治嘔惋。”

（二）wā

方言。语气助词。用法似“啊”而语气较强。《海上花列傳》第二回：“就省點也要一百開外咯，耐也犯勿着惋。”

但《中医大词典》《简明中医辞典》《简明中医病症辞典》所记“干呕”义“惋”症，均为“wā”音，三者记述汇总整理如下：

惋（wā） 症名。即干呕。惋，通哕。《类证活人书》卷十：“干呕者，今人所谓也。”《医经溯洄集·呕吐干呕哕咳逆辨》：“夫碗与哕，盖字异而音义俱同者也。”参见哕、干呕条。

表示病症的“惋”究竟为何音亦需考求。

《一切经音义》中引庄炘言“哕”“啘”音相近，记“哕”为於越反，那么“啘”音也应近於越反。访查《广韵》，“干呕”义的“哕”，记有两音：於月切与乙劣切。按“哕”反切推导，影母清化為零聲母，月韻合口三等入聲演變為üe，入聲派入上聲，现今读作 yuě，并无差池。但同为影母山摄，月韻與薛韻合口三等入聲在普通話中均演變為üe 的“啘”的现代音却记为“yè”，或为《汉语大字典》与《汉语大词典》存在的记音问题，应改为 yuē。如此，“哕”与“啘”即韵母相同、声母相同，仅在声调上存在差异，含义又相近，若要相混相通，已然具备了充分的条件。

至于《中医大词典》《简明中医辞典》《简明中医病症辞典》中“啘”读“wā”音，或从方言中来。

“啘”在吴语中的读音具有地域差异，主要表现为以下几种形式：

苏州话：短促入声 uaʔ（如“好啘”读作[hæʊɦ uaʔ]）。

上海话：viau（部分地区保留老派发音，新派可能弱化为 ua）。

其他地区：嘉兴、湖州等地存在类似发音，如 uaʔ或 ua，但声调可能因方言而异。

清代的吴语文献中，“啘”字也大量出现，譬如《海上花列传》中“耐倒说说看啘”，此为苏州方言对话，句末“啘”兼具催促与委婉提问功能。又如《九尾龟》第一百五回“阿是倪说差哉啘？”，此处“啘”作吴语疑问语气词。

至于“wā”音如何生发，若从“啘”出，“啘”中古音为於劣切，属影母薛韵合口三等入声（*ʔiuᴇt），声母影母（*ʔ-）清喉音在吴语中多弱化为零声母或保留喉塞音特征，韵母薛韵合口三等（*iuᴇt）在吴语中韵腹高化，入声韵尾-t 演变为喉塞音-ʔ，由此，可形成现代读音 uaʔ。此外，“wā”亦有可能因语音简化从其他吴语语气助词（如“弗啊”合音）分化而来。

三、结语

本文聚焦于中医古籍中“啘”字的含义与读音考求。通过查阅大量古代医学文献及字书，深入分析了“啘”在不同语境下的含义，发现其义与“呕”“哕”“吐”紧密相连且存在多种释义情况。依托于“呕”义界定，“啘”常表“有声有物”之“呕”义，其余也作“有声无物”之“哕”义以及“呕”“哕”“吐”混用的通义。在读音方面，本文认为“干呕”义的“啘”应读 yuē，《汉语大字典》与《汉语大词典》此处可能存在注音错误。至于其他医书辞典中，“干呕”义“啘”读 wā则可能是受到了吴语影响。吴语中“啘”的发音形式多样，与中古音演变和吴语语音特点相关。

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The Mediating Role of Differentiated Instruction in Intercultural Adaptation and Subjective Well-being among Chinese as a Second Language Learning University Students

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Abstract

Previous research indicates that the development of subjective well-being (SWB)—a critical factor for second language learners' psychological health and motivation—depends on intercultural adaptation (IA). However, much of the literature has concentrated on theoretical discussions and position papers, with few empirical investigations addressing second language acquisition, particularly in the context of English. To fill this gap, the present study examines the influence of IA on SWB by introducing differentiated instruction (DI) as a mediating variable. Survey data were collected from 193 Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) university students and analyzed using the SEM-PLS model. The results reveal that key components of IA, including cultural empathy, emotional stability, and Chinese proficiency, significantly enhance SWB, while DI exerts a positive mediating effect on the IA–SWB relationship. Based on these findings, we recommend that educators emphasize thematic care in IA development to help learners maintain a strong connection to Chinese culture during cross-cultural adaptation. In addition, teachers should adopt diverse instructional strategies and assessment tools to foster learners' sensitivity and openness to cultural exploration. This research offers valuable insights for CSL educators seeking to improve international students' well-being and promote their mental health through culturally informed practices.

Keywords

Differentiated Instruction; Intercultural Adaptation; Subject Well-being; Chinese as a Second language Learning; Pls-SEM

1. Introduction

The concept of modern language has shifted the focus of language teachers from written language acquisition to learners' expressive language skills (Coleman, 2005). This emphasis on affective expression

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reflects the growing recognition of how second language learners use socialized language to connect with others. Primarily driven by the need to fulfill social purposes, self-existence and self-expression are realized through social connections and negotiations with others (Ruti, 2015). As a result, people increasingly prioritize affective experiences within living contexts (Proctor, 2024). Aligned with this tendency, in second language teaching, positive affective learning experiences are closely tied to a strong sense of Subjective Well-Being (SWB), which primarily stems from two factors: teaching fairness and academic satisfaction (Pomfret et al., 2023). Teaching fairness involves customizing instruction based on the individual academic backgrounds and learning characteristics, (Grecu, 2023).

Differentiated Instruction (DI), as a tailored instructional approach, incorporates various methods to provide personalized learning solutions targeted at the diverse needs, abilities, and learning styles of students (Roy et al., 2015). Its primary aim is to stimulate motivation among second-language learners, enhance their well-being, and maximize their learning potential (Gaitas et al., 2024). In DI, teachers do not apply a uniform assessment standard to all students but instead treat each learner as an independent learner. Traditional assessment methods often rely primarily on language tests and test scores to determine whether learners have met learning objectives. However, test scores alone do not fully reflect learners' language abilities. DI fosters closer collaboration between teachers and students, promoting greater engagement in the language-learning process and helping to establish strong cooperative relationships (Roberts and Inman, 2023).

Previous studies have primarily applied DI in language teaching to areas such as phonetics and vocabulary, demonstrating that DI not only encourages a more systematic and effective approach to language learning but also enhances learners' SWB (Ainscow et al., 2006). However, there is limited research on how DI impacts learners' well-being in the context of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC). Compared with the traditional language skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, ICC plays a unique role in supporting learners' sense of human agency (Bandura, 1999). ICC enables communicators to make psychological adjustments and adapt to new environments positively rather than negatively (L.I.U, 2023). Doucerain et al. (2015) highlighted that ICC is the ability of individuals from different cultural backgrounds to engage with one another, establish harmonious relationships, and promote mutual growth. Malik et al. (2023) argues that learners often encounter cultural conflicts in real-life scenarios due to limited exposure to authentic native cultures, which can result in frustration and hinder their full integration into target language environments.

Currently, in the context of Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) research, to form Intercultural Adaptation (IA) ability is the main goals of teachers to hold ICC activities or open ICC classes, thereby promoting a greater sense of SWB among international students (IS) both in academic settings and in authentic social contexts (Han, Xuan, 2024). However, current research has paid less attention to this issue in Language Other Than English (LOTE). In this regard, China has attracted considerable international attention, with learners from over 195 countries coming to seek better educational opportunities. Accordingly, the Chinese

government has committed to attracting more than 50,000 American students and 10,000 French nationals over the next five years, as part of its efforts to enhance international educational exchange. Moreover, approximately 60% of these international students are enrolled in academic programs (Minister of Education, 2025).

To investigate the mediating role of DI in the relationship between SWB and IA, we adopt three theoretical frameworks: the DI framework proposed by Roy et al. (2013), the CFL IA framework proposed by Ran & Shiao-Yun Chiang (2015), and the SWB framework proposed by Diener et al. (1985) and Steger et al. (2006). Our aim is to develop a new, more comprehensive DI framework for CFL teachers to effectively address the relationship between IA and SWB. This framework will assist teachers—even those who have not previously learned strategies to help IS overcome cultural shocks—in facilitating better IA and enhancing SWB. This study represents the first attempt to advance and refine the current research on IA within the context of CFL among university students. It stands at the forefront of both theoretical innovation and creative teaching practices in the field of CFL education. The research hypothesis are listed as follows:

(H1): IA will show a positive relationship with SWB.

(H1a): IA will predict an increased Satisfaction with Life.

(H1b): IA will predict an increased Meaning in Life.

(H2): Cultural Empathy will be positively related with IA.

(H3): Open-mindedness will be positively related with IA.

(H4): Emotional Stability will be positively related with IA.

(H5): Social Flexibility will be positively related with IA.

(H6): Chinese Proficiency will be positively related with IA.

(H7): DI will be expected to present a salient mediating role between DI and SWB.

(H7a): Instructional Adaptations will show a positive significance between DI and SWB.

(H7b): Academic Progress Monitoring will show a positive significance between DI and SWB.

3 Methodology

3.1 Participants

The data for this study were obtained from international students majoring in CFL at four Chinese universities. The researcher obtained the necessary approvals from the faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences at these universities before the study began. Prior to distributing the questionnaires, participants were informed via email that their personal information would be used solely for research purposes and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. After collecting the completed questionnaires, the researcher manually reviewed them and excluded any with unanswered questions as invalid.

A total of 216 international undergraduate students participated voluntarily, with the sample selected

through convenience sampling. Questionnaires were distributed both online and offline. The online distribution was conducted via Questionstar (问卷星). During the offline distribution, the researcher and a teaching assistant were present to assist the participants in completing the questionnaires. For participants who were not native speakers of Chinese or English and had limited proficiency in these languages, the instructors provided simplified explanations to ensure the reliability of the responses. In the online distribution, the researcher hired two instructors to offer asynchronous guidance in completing the questionnaires.

After gathering all questionnaires from July 2024 to November 2024, the reliability of the instrument was examined first. An index of 0.83 was obtained, which falls within the ideal range of 0.8 to 0.9, indicating that the instrument's reliability is satisfactory. Any values outside this range would put the reliability at risk. Second, all the questionnaires were reviewed, and 23 were deemed invalid. These culled questionnaires either exhibited statistical irregularities or were completed too quickly, failing to meet the predetermined response time criteria established in the pilot study. Finally, 193 questionnaires were included in the formal statistical analysis.

Demographic Features	**Specific Information**
Gender	Male: 26 Female: 167
Age	Mean: 21.9 Maximum: 28 Minimum: 18
Area	Asia: 182 Europe: 3 Africa: 8
Grade	Freshmen: 21 Sophomore: 113 Junior: 28 Senior: 31
Length in CFL	1 year: 18 2 years: 101 3 years: 26 4 years: 29 Above 4 years: 19

Table 1: Basic Descriptions of participants.

3.2 Measures

3.2.1 Differentiated Instruction (DI)

This study employed the DI Scale (DIS), developed and validated by Roy et al. (2013). The scale consists of 12 items that measure various aspects of differentiated instruction, including differentiation of instructional content (e.g., "Adjust the amount of work required according to students' capabilities"), instructional process differentiation (e.g., "Provide weaker students with additional aids or tools, such as a study guide"), academic progress monitoring (e.g., "Plan different assignments to match students' abilities"), and teacher self-reflection on teaching practices (e.g., "Use student data to make decisions about teaching adjustments"). Notably, the

questionnaire did not examine the differentiation of the classroom instructional environment as a separate construct but rather incorporated it into the differentiation of the instructional process (e.g., "Adapt the lesson plan format, present information in a different sequence, or provide additional explanations"). The scale uses a five-point Likert scale (1 = never, 5 = very frequently). Cronbach's alpha for the DIS was .80, indicating strong reliability. Additionally, Roy et al. (2013, 2015) demonstrated the scale's factorial, convergent, and divergent validity.

3.2.2 Intercultural Adaptation (IA)

This questionnaire used a questionnaire developed by Ran and Shiao-Yun Chiang (2015) to specifically assess CFL learners' ability to adapt their learning across cultures. The questionnaire was adapted from the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002; Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000). The original questionnaire consisted of 74 sub-questions covering six major dimensions related to intercultural competence: Cultural Empathy, Open-mindedness, Emotional Stability, Social Initiative, Flexibility, and Self-efficacy. In their adaptation, Ran and Shiao-Yun Chiang (2015) combined Flexibility and Self-efficacy under Social Initiative to better suit CFL learners in the Chinese context, as both dimensions are closely related to social interactions and help reduce learners' stress in answering the questions. Additionally, they included Chinese Proficiency in the dimension of IA, recognizing that Chinese culture, with its 5,000-year history, often incorporates familiar or idiomatic phrases into everyday conversations. These phrases are difficult to acquire through standard listening, speaking, reading, and writing classes, as most textbooks focus on basic conversational skills. However, in everyday Chinese life, these phrases are frequently used, making IA essential for CFL learners to navigate Chinese communication effectively.

Ran and Shiao-Yun Chiang’s (2015) final questionnaire consisted of 25 items across five dimensions: Cultural Empathy, Open-mindedness, Emotional Stability, Social Initiative, and Chinese Proficiency.

The traditional five-point Likert scale is often inadequate for detecting intercultural adaptability, as culture is a complex and dynamic system. Therefore, specific interaction scenarios were provided to enhance the detection of intercultural adaptability. For example:

open-mindedness

If a Chinese student is willing to develop a relationship with me, I would

(1) have no comment

(2) not accept

(3) be okay with it but still prefer someone from my own country

(4) be pleased to know that

(5) like to try

Each question was scored on a five-point Likert scale (1 = A, 2 = B, 3 = C, 4 = D, 5 = E), with a score of 5 indicating a deeper understanding of intercultural competence adaptation.

3.2.3 Subjective Well-being (SWB)

The Subjective Well-Being Scale (SEBC) was consisted of 2 questionnaires developed by Diener et al. (1985), consists of 5 items and is scored using a five-point Likert scale and Steger et al. (2006), consists of 10 items and is also scored using a five-point Likert scale to test the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ). Higher scores reflect a greater level of perceived SWB. Over the past four decades, the two scales has been widely used and has demonstrated excellent convergent, discriminant, and IA validity (Pavot & Diener, 1993; Thomas & Lisa, 2015).

3.3 Statistical Analysis

PLS-SEM (Partial Least Squares-Structural Equation Modelling), a variant of traditional structural equation modelling, was selected for this study due to the exploratory nature of the analysis and the need to examine relationships between multiple latent variables. PLS-SEM is particularly well-suited for small-sample investigations and can more accurately analyze complicated models, demonstrating strong processing capabilities when dealing with samples of around 200 or fewer (Dijkstra, 2010). Moreover, compared to traditional SEM, PLS-SEM is more effective for analyzing complex relationships among constructs, especially when the model comprises a large number of latent variables. It can directly estimate the correlations between these variables, allowing researchers to simultaneously assess these relationships and test hypotheses (Zainal-Abidin et al., 2016).

After collecting the data, five analytical procedures were conducted using R version 4.4.2 (released on October 31, 2024). First, we installed and loaded the necessary package by running the following commands: install.packages("seminr") and library(seminr). Next, we set up the model, which involved specifying the measurement details and creating both the measurement model and the structural model. Then, we evaluated the reflective measurement models alongside the structural model. Finally, we conducted the mediation analysis.

4 Results

This study employed PLS-SEM to evaluate five reflective constructs that directly affect SWB: Cultural Empathy (5 indicators), Open-mindedness (5 indicators), Emotional Stability (5 indicators), Social Flexibility (5 indicators), and Chinese Proficiency (5 indicators). Additionally, two reflective constructs—Instructional Adaptations (8 indicators) and Academic Progress Monitoring (4 indicators)—were examined for their mediating effects on SWB. The SWB construct itself was further conceptualized as comprising two reflective constructs, namely Satisfaction with Life (5 indicators) and Meaning in Life (10 indicators). Reflective measurement models evaluations aim to reflect the relationship between the measurement structure and its indicators (i.e., loadings). The quality of reflective measurement models evaluations is primarily determined by five factors: indicator reliability (IR), composite reliability (CR), average variance extracted (AVE), discriminant validity (DV), and factor loading (FL). The main purpose of this reflective measurement model is

to assess the reliability and validity of our PLS-SEM.

4.1 Evaluations of the Reflective Measurement Models

Construct	Indicators	Factor Loadings (FL)	Indicator Reliability (loadings2) (IR)	Composite Reliability (CR)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
Cultural Empathy				0.911	0.772
	CE1	0.882	0.727		
	CE2	0.901	0.892		
	CE3	0.817	0.827		
	CE4	0.809	0.883		
	CE5	0.892	0.816		
Open-mindedness				0.776	0.468
	OM1	0.676	0.701		
	OM2	0.567	0.597		
	OM3	0.729	0.698		
	OM4	0.694	0.654		
	OM5	0.586	0.599		
Emotional Stability				0.899	0.801
	ES1	0.907	0.777		
	ES2	0.896	0.802		
	ES3	0.912	0.856		
	ES4	0.889	0.718		
	ES5	0.902	0.887		
Social Flexibility				0.799	0.411
	SF1	0.678	0.567		
	SF2	0.701	0.674		
	SF3	0.664	0.591		
	SF4	0.541	0.696		
	SF5	0.576	0.700		
Chinese Proficiency				0.883	0.790
	CP1	0.900	0.796		
	CP2	0.846	0.902		
	CP3	0.887	0.887		
	CP4	0.815	0.892		
	CP5	0.902	0.747		
Instructional Adaptations				0.817	0.542
	IA1	0.904	0.787		
	IA2	0.856	0.904		
	IA3	0.833	0.923		
	IA4	0.838	0.768		
	IA5	0.911	0.781		

	IA6	0.879	0.709		
	IA7	0.812	0.721		
	IA8	0.876	0.892		
Academic Progress Monitoring				0.909	0.672
	APM1	0.923	0.906		
	APM2	0.951	0.928		
	APM3	0.855	0.857		
	APM4	0.886	0.914		
Satisfaction with Life	SWL1	0.856	0.799	0.882	0.518
	SW2	0.900	0.802		
	SW3	0.897	0.816		
	SW4	0.817	0.813		
	SW5	0.838	0.794		
Meaning in Life				0.698	0.408
	MIL1	0.565	0.672		
	ML2	0.786	0.511		
	ML3	0.784	0.702		
	ML4	0.692	0.707		
	ML5	0.711	0.587		
	ML6	0.410	0.512		
	ML7	0.744	0.690		
	ML8	0.734	0.600		
	ML9	0.563	0.674		
	ML10	0.442	0.701		

Table 2: Results summary for the reflective measurement model

Table 2 presents the factor loadings of each construct as derived from the reflective measurement models. Previous studies indicate that in the social sciences, FL exceeding 0.8 are generally considered acceptable, with values above 0.9 regarded as outstanding. Although some research suggests that exploratory studies may accept FL as low as 0.7, most of these studies come from the field of management rather than linguistics or education (Becker et al., 2015). Therefore, a threshold of 0.8 has been adopted in this study. Based on this standard, of the nine constructs examined, six achieved FL above the 0.8 threshold, while only Open-mindedness, Social Flexibility, and Meaning in Life failed to reach this level.

Following the first round of FL tests, the IR of the remaining six constructs was examined to ensure the accuracy of the model's measurements. Previous studies have typically set the threshold for IR at 0.7; however, this value may be considered insufficiently rigorous. Subsequent research has proposed more precise criteria, with many scholars suggesting that a threshold of 0.708 represents an optimal standard for confirming IR in reflective models (Hair et al., 2011). Additionally, scholars concur that if a construct's IR falls between 0.40 and 0.708, it should not be discarded outright; rather, researchers should employ supplementary methods, such as triangulation, to determine whether its removal is warranted. Constructs exhibiting IR below 0.40 should be

discarded.

In this study, the IR of the six constructs—Cultural Empathy, Emotional Stability, Chinese Proficiency, Instructional Adaptations, Academic Progress Monitoring, and Satisfaction with Life—ranged from 0.709 to 0.914. This range indicates that, after eliminating three constructs, the remaining six constitute a model with stable structural reliability that far exceeds the minimum acceptable value of 0.40 (Chin, 1998). Among these constructs, Academic Progress Monitoring demonstrated the highest indicator reliability, exceeding the ideal value of 0.7 by 0.214, which preliminarily suggests a significant mediating role. In contrast, Chinese Proficiency exhibited slightly lower indicator reliability compared to the other constructs, implying that its influence on SWB may be relatively weaker.

In addition to the two indicators mentioned above, CR and AVE serve as the final criteria to assess the model's stability. When the CR value exceeds 0.7 and the AVE value exceeds 0.5, the model is considered stable (Danks et al., 2020). Specifically, CR and AVE evaluate the internal consistency and reliability among the independent, mediating, and dependent variables. While model stability indicates whether the overall model functions effectively, internal consistency and reliability ensure that the relationships among the variables are genuine and that the research hypotheses are adequately supported. The CR values for the six constructs ranged from 0.817 to 0.911, while the AVE values ranged from 0.518 to 0.801. These findings indicate that the six constructs offer reliable explanatory power and that the overall model demonstrates strong explanatory efficacy.

4.2 Discriminant Validity (DV)

DV is employed to assess the distinctiveness of constructs rather than the overall persuasiveness of the model. Its primary purpose is to determine whether constructs are sufficiently differentiated. If discriminant validity is found to be weak, researchers may consider merging constructs that lack clear distinctiveness. Strict criteria for establishing discriminant validity have been proposed. For example, Fornell and Larcker (1981) argued that discriminant validity is achieved when the square root of the AVE for each construct exceeds the highest correlation between that construct and any other construct in the model. In addition, Hair et al. (2011) recommend that the factor loadings of each indicator on its associated latent variable should be higher than its loadings on any other latent variables.

	Cultural Empathy	Emotional Stability	Chinese Proficiency	Instructional Adaptations	Academic Progress Monitoring	Satisfaction with Life
Cultural Empathy	0.878					
Emotional Stability	0.818	0.894				
Chinese Proficiency	0.365	0.675	0.888			
Instructional Adaptations	0.724	0.557	0.675	0.736		

Academic Progress Monitoring	-0.223	0.437	0.609	0.364	0.819	
Satisfaction with Life	0.563	-0.025	0.673	0.657	0.462	0.760

Table 3: Results of discriminant validity

As shown in Table 3, the reflective measurement models fully satisfy the criteria outlined above, providing strong evidence for the direct relationship between IA and SWB and for the mediating effect within this relationship.

4.3 Evaluation of the Structural Model

4.3.1 Collinearity Issues

After confirming the model's stability, explanatory power, and discriminant validity, the next step is to examine multicollinearity by checking the standard errors between variables. This step is crucial for evaluating the predictive power of the model and is one of the primary indicators of model effectiveness. In some past studies, scholars have omitted testing for multicollinearity in the evaluation of the structural model—primarily due to the inherent difficulty in completely avoiding multicollinearity. However, the challenge of avoiding multicollinearity is not a valid reason to skip this check. Traditional guidelines suggest that a Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) in the range of 5 to 10 is acceptable, while other researchers have proposed stricter standards, setting the threshold for multicollinearity between 3 and 5 (Diamantopoulos et al., 2012).

Cultural Empathy								
	CE1	CE2	CE3	CE4	CE5			
	1.688	1.641	1.568	1.384	1.506			
Emotional Stability								
	CE1	CE2	CE3	CE4	CE5			
	1.125	1.468	1.560	1.337	1.272			
Chinese Proficiency								
	CP1	CP2	CP3	CP4	CP5			
	1.223	1.475	1.444	1.818	1.716			
Instructional Adaptations								
	IA1	IA2	IA3	IA4	IA5	IA6	IA7	IA8
	1.715	1.874	2.863	2.806	2.357	1.341	2.178	1.657
Academic Progress Monitoring								
	APM1	APM2	APM3	APM4				
	1.677	1.988	2.526	2.132				
Satisfaction with Life								
	SWL1	SWL2	SWL3	SWL4	SWL5			
	1.652	1.835	1.672	1.524	1.251			

Table 4: Collinearity Results

As shown in Table 4, the VIF for the six constructs included in the model range from 1.125 to 2.806,

which are well below standard thresholds for multicollinearity. Furthermore, all values fall below even the strictest criteria, providing preliminary evidence that the model possesses strong predictive power.

4.3.2 Significance and Relevance of the Structural Model Relationships

Through multicollinearity analysis, we confirm that the established SEM-PLS model exhibits some predictive power. However, it remains unclear whether all independent, mediating, and dependent variables contribute significantly to the model's predictive capability. Therefore, we employ the Bootstrap method to test the validity of each variable (i.e., each construct) regarding its contribution to the model's explanatory power. Traditional practice suggests using 1,000 bootstrap samples, although some studies accept 500 samples. The Bootstrap method enables us to obtain p-values, path coefficients, and confidence intervals for the model. A p-value less than 0.05 is considered statistically significant, and the path coefficients should lie within the range of –1 to 1, where –1 indicates a strong negative correlation and 1 indicates a strong positive correlation. A 95% confidence interval is most commonly used to assess the significance of the estimates; the interval should generally not include 0, as this would indicate that the estimated coefficient is not significant (Dijkstra, 2010). Although three constructs were excluded in previous analyses, each hypothesis from earlier research will still be tested using the methods outlined above to provide a final evaluation of the hypotheses.

Hypothesis	Path Value	P-value	95% CI	Supported
H1	0.792	0.000	[0.673, 1.017]	Supported
H1a	0.792	0.000	[0.673, 1.017]	Supported
H1b	-0.964	1.120	[-1.09, 0.67]	Not supported
H2	0.798	0.023	[1.564, 1.665]	Supported
H3	-0.813	0.562	[-0.020, 0,662]	Not supported
H4	0.775	0.045	[0.796, 1.121]	Supported
H5	-1.003	1.765	[-0.876, 0.273]	Not supported
H6	0.803	0.037	[2.123, 2.349]	Supported
H7	0.913	0.041	[1.156, 1.928]	Supported
H7a	0.938	0.000	[1.967, 2.121]	Supported
H7b	0.887	0.036	[2.003, 2.118]	supported

Table 5: Results of Tested Hypothesis

Based on the above tests, Table 5 presents the final evaluation results for the proposed hypotheses. The results indicate that three hypotheses—H1b, H3, and H5—associated with three constructs cannot be included in the final model analysis. Conversely, the remaining hypotheses have passed all the tests and are retained in the final model.

In the second part of this section, we use R Square to assess the endogenous constructs of the structural model (Hair Jr et al., 2016). R Square is primarily used to evaluate the goodness-of-fit of a linear model by measuring the extent to which the dependent and mediating variables align with the observed values. Although the ideal R Square value is one that approaches 1—similar to the ideal path coefficient—in practice, especially in the humanities and social sciences, R Square values rarely approach 1. Consequently, many scholars

recommend an optimal threshold of 0.67 for R Square in the social sciences. Additionally, recent research by Miao and Shi (2024) suggests that a model's goodness-of-fit is acceptable when R Square is greater than or equal to 0.40.

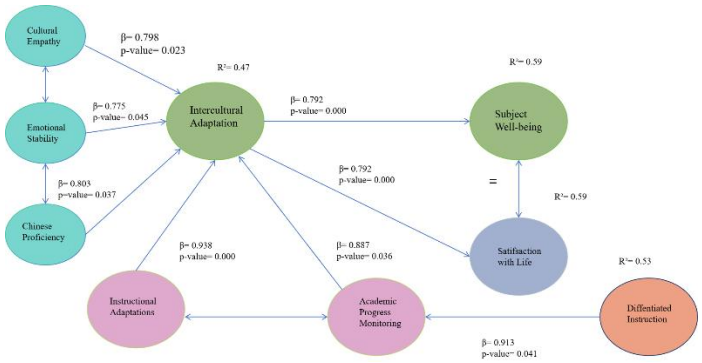


Figure 3: PLS Results

5 Discussion

Based on previous research, this study is the first to examine how IA influences SWB and which dimensions of SWB are impacted by IA in a CFL context. Additionally, this study is the first to incorporate DI as a mediating variable in the research model. Previous studies have suggested that five indicators in the CFL-IA model can point to SWB. However, in this study, we found that only three indicators can directly influence SWB capabilities.

To SWB itself, however, in this study, Satisfaction with Life remains the only significant dimension affecting SWB. When SWB was first proposed by Diener et al. (1985), it only included the dimension of Satisfaction with Life. Later, Steger et al. (2006) incorporated Meaning in Life into the SWB theoretical model, proposing that Meaning in Life is a result of Satisfaction with Life. In the model where IA serves as the independent variable and SWB as the dependent variable, the constructs of Cultural Empathy, Emotional Stability, and Chinese Proficiency within IA have apparent effects on SWB (refer to Satisfaction with Life in this study).

Finally, this study successfully verifies the mediating role of DI and its two components as mediating variables, illustrating how they facilitate the enhancement of IA-SWB, and concludes that DI is an important pathway for the realization of IA-SWB.

5.1 IA-SWB: A Product of Complexity, Holism, and Plasticity

As a product of subjective judgment, well-being is the outcome of an individual's analysis that combines past experiences with current feelings, influenced and constrained by societal interests, resources, and power (Waterman, 1993). Furthermore, this subjective product in any society is shaped by specific theories, beliefs, values, and the collective experiences and perceptions of its members. Therefore, even though human societies value rationality, well-being cannot be entirely governed by reason, which justifies that the need for attachment to well-being is an innate biological need of humans (Voukelatou et al., 2021). The familiar social negotiation

networks and structured social relationships undergo transformation equal to that individuals have are compelled to activate their own interaction capabilities to gain recognition from heterogeneous macro-cultural groups or micro-collectives in order to perceive well-being. IA, in this connection, serves as the deep driving force for CFL learners' ability to perceive well-being.

In our study, Chinese Proficiency (β = 0.803) plays a more significant role in promoting SWB. To some extent, language is an emergent product of culture, stemming from the mutual interpretation and transmission of the causal relationships in language interactions between speakers, suggesting that in countries with a deeper cultural foundation always attach greater importance in the causal logic of language when uttering and the precision of language use. On the one hand, Chinese society does not simply view language as a tool for communication but also, to a certain extent, as a tool for evaluating one's identity. With an emphasis on “the art of language”, not only on pursuing convey ideas, Chinese still put much heed to how a conversation can be deemed successful, appropriate, and especially elegant based on the way it is conducted between two speakers (Fu et al., 2021). On the other hand, the profound history of the Chinese language has endowed it with a rich variety of expressions, such as idioms, proverbs, and puns, which are still commonly used in daily conversation compared with those in other societies. Therefore, if an individual can reference classical allusions during conversation, it is more likely that they will gain the recognition of Chinese society members (Wang et al., 2021). With this enhanced identity, learners are often more frequently invited to participate in local Chinese social activities, a way to be more immersed in target culture and enrich human resources, which ultimately contributes to their SWB.

With strong explanatory power, Cultural Empathy (β = 0.798) and Emotional Stability (β = 0.075) have been widely recognized in previous research in both EFL and CFL, but aligned with previous research regarding positive contribution to the promotion of SWB. According to the learner typology theory proposed by Kolb (1976) and Coleman and Klapper (2005), one type of learner values observation, practice, and reflection, while the other type focuses on auditory, tactile, visual, and kinesthetic learning, which directly corresponds to Cultural Empathy and Emotional Stability. The former requires learners to possess strong perception and summarization abilities, while the latter necessitates emotional awareness and regulation. When facing the need to overcome cultural barriers to attain a sense of well-being, these two factors can be intuitively perceived and seamlessly utilized by learners. Strong Empathy reflects learners' WTC, while controlled emotional stability indicates learners' ability to manage anxiety, thereby enhancing learning motivation.

In contrast to previous studies, this research found that Open-mindedness (AVE = 0.468) and Social Flexibility (AVE = 0.411) did not significantly contribute to the promotion of SWB. Regarding its abstract concept, even under the guidance of a culturally inclusive mindset, open-mindedness may still not be sufficient to determine whether a person will practice culturally inclusive behaviors (Wilczewski, 2023). The key difference between open-mindedness and empathy can be explained by the fact that the former is merely a

rational attitude, while the latter encompasses potential empathic actions. Social flexibility shares characteristics with open-mindedness; it may only indicate a lack of rejection, while the person might still internally experience discomfort. Some studies have shown that international students sometimes force themselves to integrate into local cultural circles or participate in social activities they are not interested in, suggesting that while they are not rigid in adhering to their own views, the flexible adjustment of social strategies may not positively contribute to their sense of well-being (Lacroix et al., 2023; Zabrodina and Ryazanova, 2024).

5.2 IA-DI-SWB: Interdependence and Mutual Promotion

DI as a mediating variable has a significant effect on the relationship between IA and SWB. It is worth noting that, in this study, SWB is only related to Satisfaction with Life ($\beta = 0.913$), which is the main reason why SWB extends into only one dimension in Figure 3. Regarding this phenomenon, Diener et al. (1985) argued that SWB is solely concerned with the level of satisfaction derived from life itself, and is unrelated to other extraneous factors. However, Steger et al. (2006) and others argued that Meaning in Life is inseparable from Satisfaction with Life, as individuals who are unable to find meaning in their lives are unlikely to perceive their lives as satisfactory. In this study, however, our model testing remains consistent with Diener et al.'s dimensions of SWB. One possible primary reason for this can be credited to cultural values, an important link that distinguishes individuals from other ethnicities and connects them to bounded communities, unaffected by universal values or norms. While various cultures, including Confucian culture, subtly promote a value orientation towards individuals aligning with group expectations, the social expectations do not directly correlate with individual identification. Therefore, attributing an individual's SWB subjectively to Meaning in Life may, in some contexts, be inappropriate (Billioud, 2021). Another possible reason is that this study mainly focuses on the role of IA in advancing IA-SWB, leading participants to approach the questionnaire primarily from the perspective of cultural perception, rather than considering their life as a whole. Especially for students still engaged in academic struggle on campus, it may be premature to ask them to make a statement like 'I have discovered a satisfying life purpose (Appendix B, section 3, item 11).'

This study is the first to confirm that DI ($R^2 = 0.53$) as a mediating variable can effectively moderate the relationship between IA and SWB. Both Instructional Adaptations ($\beta = 0.938$) and Academic Progress Monitoring ($\beta = 0.887$) showed positive predictive relationships. Instructional Adaptations have been rarely mentioned in the classrooms of many developing countries, including China, whether in foreign language learning or other subjects (Obilişteanu and Niculescu, 2016). One limiting factor is that most developing countries lack sufficient educational resources, like those in developed countries to support teachers in making changes. Teachers are often required to teach according to textbooks or curricula, and learners have limited autonomy to control classroom activities. However, in recent years, the rapid economic development in many developing countries has led to increased government spending on education, which has pressured schools to

move toward a more personalized approach, adapting as much as possible to each learner's academic needs. Currently, in CFL classrooms, the class size typically ranges from 5 to 20 students, which allows for a more reasonable student-teacher ratio and provides many teachers with more opportunities to experiment with DI (Qiping and White, 2023). For learners, receiving timely professional guidance from teachers during the process of cultural adaptation is extremely important, one of the benefits is that they can attain one-on-one consultation, care, and advice for those that are difficult to solve through other social forces. Instructional Adaptations build a bridge between IA and SWB, enabling learners to quickly establish academic self-esteem in a heterogeneous cultural environment, critically reflect on their behaviors, and subsequently create their own cultural products. For a long period of time, academic self-esteem was narrowly understood, with the belief that respect for learners was only shown by avoiding verbal bullying or physical conflicts in the classroom. In fact, besides these factors, being treated fairly is also a component that cannot be ignored in developing academic self-esteem (Domínguez et al., 2021). Both language and culture are symbolic resources, and learners use these resources to ensure that their voices and wishes are heard by society, whether it is one they have lived in for many years or one they are still unfamiliar with. Instructional Adaptations aim to cooperate with learners to build each learner's personal "knowledge fund" , using it for both classroom and social activities.

Academic Progress Monitoring is another effective factor in mediating the relationship between IA and SWB, highlighting the teacher's role as a mentor in the learner's IA capability. The initial development of IA skills primarily stems from the learner's individual personality and keen observation of the new environment. However, it is essential for the teacher to intervene promptly after the learner forms a preliminary impression of the new environment, to assess whether the learner's IA skills are developing in a positive direction rather than moving toward a negative one. Teaching monitoring or assessment is particularly crucial in the development of IA (Wang and Li, 2012). The learner's initial adaptation outcomes must be combined with appropriate teacher evaluation, which involves responses, communication, and even conflicts between both parties regarding specific events. These processes help learners better understand the IA benchmark accepted by the society they are living in.

6 Conclusion

This study used a PLS-SEM model to conduct a survey on 193 learners from four universities in China, all majoring in CFL. The primary research objective was to explore whether the learners' IA abilities were related to SWB, and to examine whether DI as a mediating variable positively influences the relationship between the two.

The first conclusion of this study is that Cultural Empathy, Emotional Stability, and Chinese Proficiency within IA have a strong indicative effect on Satisfaction with Life in the SWB of the CFL group. The second conclusion is that Instructional Adaptations and Academic Progress Monitoring in DI have a significant path-directing effect on the IA-SWB relationship. Learners in classrooms where DI is integrated into the IA

development process show a more significant level of satisfaction with their SWB.

Based on the above two conclusions, this study provides two teaching recommendations for the future development of learners' IA and SWB abilities. The first recommendation is that teachers should view learners as independent output individuals rather than cultural recipients in the process of IA development. Teachers and learners should work together as co-constructors and discussants of cultural adaptation in their daily interactions, concentrating on the learners' cultural resilience and providing guidance based on the cultural adaptation difficulties that each learner exhibits. Teachers are supposed to offer as many diverse learning materials as possible to help learners understand the special background and reasons behind a cultural phenomenon. Understanding is the foundation of empathy and the main source of emotional stability (Tang and Zhang, 2023). If learners have only a superficial understanding of a cultural phenomenon from the start, they are likely to interpret it from a biased perspective, leading to distress.

Secondly, teachers should avoid merely leading learners to experience certain cultural activities without involving them in meaningful participation, which requires both teachers and learners to exchange opinions about a particular phenomenon and discuss its positive or negative impacts on their own lives. Through this process, learners can gain deeper insights into the understanding of a particular cultural phenomenon. Once learners understand the social realities behind a cultural phenomenon, they can engage with it in a personally acceptable way by understanding the underlying logic of language use (Wildy et al., 2013). Ultimately, learners can apply these values or ideas to deconstruct their own real-life experiences, no longer as ordinary followers, but as adaptors. SWB is nurtured through these logically structured developmental stages, giving learners hope and joy when facing life, rather than being stuck in confusion, helplessness, or pessimistic emotions caused by intercultural misunderstandings.

The second teaching recommendation is to introduce diversified teaching methods to assess the development of learners' IA abilities (Chang et al., 2016). Teachers need to adjust their training plans according to learners' progress in the classroom and consistently monitor the direction of learners' IA development. These adjustments can align with the nine multiple intelligences teaching system, creating an organic teaching cycle. Teachers’ guiding input can be delivered through both verbal and non-verbal means, helping establish a rapport between the teacher and students for effective communication on cultural issues. In the actual interaction process, placing logical thinking within cognitive subjectivity offers an ideal interaction mode, where learners are constantly engaging in self-reflection and self-construction of their identity, rather than remaining isolated participants. It helps learners stay aware of fluctuations in their self-status and make timely adjustments when facing negative states, thereby enhancing their sense of well-being.

The monitoring of learners' IA-SWB abilities should be integrated throughout the entire teaching process. Teachers can use peer evaluations and portfolio assessments as the primary evaluation tools, while ability tests and classroom presentations can serve as supplementary methods. It is key for teachers to remember that the

purpose of any form of monitoring is to boost learners' motivation, not to diminish it (Fernández-Álvarez et al., 2022). While most teachers agree with this principle, in practice, they may unintentionally engage in teaching behaviors that contradict this idea. Assessing abilities and well-being is difficult through tests and classroom presentations alone. Although many teachers avoid requiring formal tests, they often ask students to demonstrate their IA skills in class through multimodal projects. These projects are sometimes used to assess students' psychological well-being and determine if psychological intervention is needed. However, this approach may lead learners to question the teacher’s intentions, potentially undermining their IA development and perceptions of SWB by creating feelings of distrust or pressure (Voukelatou et al., 2021).

Despite some criticisms of peer evaluations in academic assessments, they can effectively contribute to evaluating IA-SWB abilities. Peers spend more time with individual learners than teachers do, often observing their daily lives and behaviors, which means that teachers can gain better insights into whether learners develop IA skills and experience well-being (Coleman and Klapper, 2005). Portfolios showcase the learner's efforts at different stages to achieve various goals, highlighting progress and making academic journeys more visible, thus enhancing learners' sense of accomplishment. At the same time, teachers can provide private feedback in written form, allowing learners to make adjustments as needed.

There are three main types of portfolio assessments: "Language Passport," "Language Autobiography," and "Language Multimedia Repository." The "Language Passport" records the achievements learners have made during the learning process; the "Language Autobiography" contains learners’ self-reflections on different stages of their academic journey and the feedback provided by teachers; the "Language Multimedia Repository" includes videos, audios, and other media captured by learners throughout their learning stages. Learners' ability to perceive happiness often comes from their concrete life experiences, which can be fleeting. Without careful attention, these moments may be lost (Baume, 2001). By systematically recording their experiences, learners can continuously develop their IA skills under teacher supervision and clearly perceive their growth trajectory through their language memoirs, thus reinforcing their ability to recognize and improve their well-being.

Although this study largely explains the relationship between IA, DI, and SWB, there are still three limitations. The first limitation is the insufficient sample size. The number of participants is relatively small compared to fields like management or psychology, which may have negatively impacted the results to some extent. Although the PLS-SEM model is designed for small sample research, the inclusion of mediating factors in this study has increased the sample requirements. Additionally, while the study selected four universities to expand the sample size and enhance the scientific rigor, all four institutions are located in the northern plains of China. Since China spans a vast geographic area with varying educational standards across regions, this could affect the generalizability of the findings.

Secondly, the study lacks an in-depth qualitative exploration of the text, which would provide deeper

insights into the construction paths of the explicit factors in the model and the mechanisms of the implicit factors.

Finally, the study mainly focuses on undergraduate students without detailed subgroup differentiation for preparatory students or graduate students. Future research should consider incorporating larger, more diverse sample groups, with indicators such as geographical diversity, institutional tier, and sample population variety. Additionally, it is suggested that future studies adopt a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative data to further explore the pathway relationships between IA, DI, and SWB.

Appendix A Student Basic Personal Information

1. Your name: (Chinese name) _____Age_____

2. Major: _____

3. Nationality: _____

4. Gender: _____

5. Year (Circle one)：Fr. So. Jr. Sr.

6. How many years of Chinese have you taken? _____

Appendix B IA-DI-SWB Scales

Section 1. Differentiated Instruction Scale

1.Your teacher will use alternative materials to match students' abilities in cultural classes and activities (e.g. books below and beyond grade level)

2.Your teacher will assign different cultural lessons to different students depending on their level of understanding of Chinese culture.

3.Your teacher will adjust the level of difficulty of cultural instruction (e.g., making judgments or summarizing texts, identifying major themes) based on your students' knowledge of Chinese culture.

4.Your teacher will adjust the content of the cultural program based on the real-time performance of your classmates (e.g., presenting information in a different order, providing more explanations).

5.Your teacher will assess to accommodate everyone's cultural competence based on their current level of cultural understanding (e.g., adjusting grading)

6.Your teacher will adjust the amount of time in the classroom needed to complete a cultural task, such as a trip to a local restaurant, based on the cultural learning abilities of your classmates.

7.Your teacher will revise the acculturation goals and expectations for students with acculturation difficulties

8.Your teacher will provide additional help or tools (e.g., study guides) for students who are less culturally competent

9.Your teacher will assess the effectiveness of adapted cultural teaching methods (e.g., monitoring follow-up grades and progress)

10.Your teacher will ask students for their opinions on cultural instruction, which will lead to adjustments in some teaching sessions

11.Your teacher will frequently ask students who are not well acculturated about their acculturation progress

12.After culturally responsive instruction, your instructor will analyze whether your classmates have become more culturally competent and have reduced cultural conflicts with others over time.

Section 2. Intercultural Adaptation in L2 Chinese Scale

1. When my school and teachers invite me to make dumplings with them on Chinese New Year to learn something about Chinese people's views on Chinese New Year

2. When the teacher gives a lecture about the Chinese government's language policy for international students

3. When I find that my learning style is different from the way my Chinese teacher prefers students to learn

4. When my Chinese teacher tells me that Chinese people eat hearty breakfasts, nutritious lunches, and simple dinners

5. when my Chinese teacher tells me that Chinese people have the habit of taking a nap

6. When a Chinese classmate gives me a skinny egg and says it is a Chinese specialty

7. If a Chinese student is willing to develop a relationship with me

8. When my Chinese teacher told me that high school students in China get up at five o'clock in the morning and start their classes every day and don't get out of school until 10:30 p.m

9. when the Chinese teacher told me that I could choose a home-stay family

10. When the Chinese teacher starts to introduce the workplace culture about China

11. When I feel lonely and home-sick

12. When I have difficulties in learning Chinese

13. When I have a conflict with someone

14. When I first came to China

15. When I find that my learning style is different from the way my Chinese teacher prefers students to learn

16. When I receive a message from my classroom teacher on a social network

17. When my teachers or my classmates invite me to eat out for the first time

18. When I am told that electric bicycles are not allowed on campus and that I can only ride a bicycle or walk

19. When I see a cultural phenomenon that I don't understand

20. Chinese people like to stare at me when I am walking on campus

21. When my teacher told us that “Being like water” is an important social rule in China, I understood that

22. If a Chinese person says, “You look so lucky”, it means that

23. I saw a billboard on the side of the road which said “Autumn is easy to catch fire”

24. There is a line in the school motto that reads, “To be moderate”

25. My teacher asked us to study the text “The Unity of Heaven and Man”. When I first saw the title, I thought

Section 3. Subjective Well-being Scale

1.In most ways my life is close to my ideal

2.The conditions of my life are excellent

3.I am satisfied with my life

4.So far I have gotten the important things I want in life

5.If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing

6.I understand my life's meaning

7.I am always looking to find my life's purpose

8.I am always looking to find my life's purpose

9.My life has a clear sense of purpose

10.I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful

11.I have discovered a satisfying life purpose

12.I am always searching for something that makes my life feel significant

13.I am seeking a purpose or mission for my life

14.My life has no clear purpose

15.I am searching for meaning in my life

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Credit authorship contribution statement

Chenrui Miao: Conceptualization, Methodology, Data Curation, Writing. Na Yang: Methodology, Data Curation.

Declaration of competing interest

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于语料库的中日同形词的比较研究

——以“意见”和「意見」为例

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摘要：“意见”和「意見」是一组常用易混的中日同形词，但迄今为止尚未见到有关两者的全面且实证充分的比较研究。故本研究基于语料库语料与数据，结合权威词典释义，从词义、词性及用法三个维度对其展开全面的实证对比分析。研究发现，词义上，两者虽共有“想法”这一核心义项，但中文“意见”还具有“对人对事不满意的想法”的词义，日语「意見」还具有“劝告”义；词性上，日语「意見」呈现名词-动词多态性，中文则为纯名词；用法上，日语「意見」比中文多了谓语的用法，且多作主语和宾语，而中文“意见”则主要充当宾语。基于上述差异，本研究结合误用情况提出了“三维干预”教学策略，以期为教学与学习提供帮助。

关键词： 中日同形词；比较研究；语料库；意见；意見

Comparative Study of Homophones in Chinese and Japanese Based on Corpus

——Taking "意见" and "意見" as Examples

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Abstract : "意见" and "意見" constitute a pair of frequently used but easily confused Chinese-Japanese homophones. However, up to now, there has been no comprehensive and empirically sufficient comparative study about them. Therefore, this study,based on the BCCWJ Japanese Corpus and the CCL Chinese Corpus, combined with the definitions from authoritative dictionaries, conducts an empirical comparative analysis from three dimensions: word meaning, part of speech, and usage. The study finds that although both have the core meaning of "thought", the Chinese "意见" also has the meaning of "a thought of dissatisfaction towards people or things", while the Japanese "意見" has the meaning of "advice". In terms of part of speech, the Japanese "意見" has both noun and verb functions, while the Chinese is purely a noun. In terms of usage, the Japanese "意見" has more usage as a predicate, and is often used as the subject and object, while the Chinese "意见" mainly serves as the object.Taking into account the above differences, the study proposes a "three-dimensional

intervention" teaching strategy based on the misused cases, aiming to provide assistance for teaching and learning.

Key words： Chinese-Japanese homophones; comparative study; corpus; yijian（意见）; yijian（意見）

中日两国是隔海相望的邻国，且同属汉字文化圈，自古以来文化交流密切。特别是语言层面，两国相互影响且影响深远。因此，现今在两国语言中存在着许多字形相同或相似的词语，这些词语被称为中日同形词。而因两国社会环境、文化背景以及语言系统等的不同，很多中日同形词间都存在着或多或少的差异。受母语干扰，以汉语为母语的日语学习者和以日语为母语的汉语学习者极容易误用这些存在差异的中日同形词。“意见”和「意見」就是一组常用易混的中日同形词。但迄今为止，有关两者详细辨析的研究可谓凤毛麟角。且除张娜从词义、词性、搭配关系的角度对该组同形词作过简单分析外[1]，其余研究均只将其作为易混淆误用的例词之一加以列举。目前尚未见到有关两者的全面且实证充分的比较研究。因此，本论文使用语料库研究法与文献研究法，基于先行研究及字典义，以语料库中的语料和数据为支撑，从词义、词性、用法等方面对该组同形词作了全面深入的实证辨析。

一、“意见”和「意見」的词义比较

首先，笔者调查了权威词典中有关两者的记述。汉语词典选用《现代汉语词典（第七版）》、《现代汉语大词典》、《辞海（第七版）》；日语词典则选用『広辞苑（第六版）』『日本国語大辞典（第二版）』『デジタル大辞泉』『新明解国語辞典（第七版）』。查阅结果如下。

表 1 日语「意見」的词典义

広辞苑（第六版）	日本国語大辞典（第二版）	デジタル大辞泉	新明解国語辞典（第七版）
「思うところ。考え。」[3]（笔者译：想法）	「ある物事や判断に対して持つ考え。見解。」[4]（笔者译:对事物或判断的想法、见解）	「ある問題に対する主張・考え。心に思うところ。」（笔者译：对某个问题的主张、想法）[5]	「ある問題についての、個人の考え」[6]（笔者译:个人对于某个问题的想法）
「（「異見」とも書く）思うところを述べて人を諫めること。忠告。」[3]（笔者译：说出所想来劝告他人；劝告）	「（――する）思うところを述べて、いさめること。忠告。説教。訓戒。」[4]（笔者译:说出所想来劝告他人;劝告;规劝;	「自分の思うところを述べて、人の過ちをいさめること。異見。」[5]（笔者译：劝别人改正错误）	「一する（自他サ）＜だれニ（なんだト）―する＞好ましくない行為を思いとどまるように、教えさとすこと」[6]（笔者译:教导别人放弃不

	训诫）		良行为）
	「室町幕府や寺院の訴訟制度において、意見衆(評定衆、右筆衆あるいは供僧など)が衆議して決定した答申。」[4] （笔者译：室町幕府和寺院的诉讼制度中，意见众（如评定众、右笔众或供僧等）合议后决定给出的答复。）		

表 2 中文“意见”的词典义

现代汉语词典（第七版）	现代汉语大词典	辞海（第七版）
对事情的一定的看法或想法[7]	见解、主张[8]	对事物的看法、想法[9]
（对人、对事）认为不对因而不满意的想法[7]	指对人对事不满意的想法[8]	

根据上表的总结，可发现中日词典关于两者的记述都存有词典记述不一致的问题，有两个义项存在争议。具体而言，日语的「意见」：“室町幕府和寺院的诉讼制度中，意见众（如评定众、右笔众或供僧等）合议后决定给出的答复”这一义项仅存于『日本国語大辞典（第二版）』中；中文的“意见”：“对人对事不满意的想法”这一词义在《辞海（第七版）》中未有记载。这一情况为比较词义造成了一定的困难。为解决这一问题，本研究利用语料库，于BCCWJ日语语料库和CCL汉语语料库各随机抽取语例300例，探讨各个义项的实际使用情况，以明确词义。（为保证语料数据的时效性，笔者在检索时将时间范围限定在20世纪。）分析结果如下。

表 3 BCCWJ：「意见」词义分析结果

词义	用例数	比例
想法	282	94%
室町幕府和寺院的诉讼制度中，意见众（如评定众、右笔众或供僧等）合议后决定给出的答复	0	0%

劝告	18	6%
词义不明/其他词义	0	0%
总例	300	100%

经统计，在三百例语料中，仅有“想法”和“劝告”两项义项有相应语料，未见“室町幕府和寺院的诉讼制度中，意见众（如评定众、右笔众或供僧等）合议后决定给出的答复”该义项的对应语料，因此可将日语「意見」的词义初步确定为“想法”和“劝告”。这一结论也契合大部分词典的记述。据笔者进一步调查，“室町幕府和寺院的诉讼制度中，意见众（如评定众、右笔众或供僧等）合议后决定给出的答复”该义在历史上却有存在，但随着社会政治经济的变化，该词义渐渐退出历史舞台，在现代日语中已不被使用了。

表 4　CCL：“意见”词义分析结果

词义	用例数	比例
想法	254	84.67%
对人对事不满意的想法	46	15.33%
词义不明/其他词义	0	0%
总例	300	100%

根据上述统计结果，可知中文的“意见”确有“对人对事不满意的想法”这一词义，具体的语料库语例有，“战士王卫宾对伙食有意见，在饭堂当众大发牢骚，刚好被进饭堂的王志刚和其他干部听到”。

综上，对比中文的“意见”和日语的「意見」，可得：两者都有“想法”这一共同义项，但各自又具有独特的词义。中文的“意见”还存在“对人对事不满意的想法”的词义，日语的「意見」还存在着“劝告”的意思。

二、“意见”和「意見」的词性比较

据词典记述，中文的“意见”仅有名词词性，而日语的「意見」除名词词性外还有动词词性。如：酒を飲みすぎないようにといくら意見してもむだだった。（无论怎么劝他别酗酒都没用。）考虑到词典标注往往体现的是规范化的静态描述，而实际语言使用具有动态性特征，语境因素会导致词性使用产生变异，故本研究对上文随机抽样得到的 600 例语例作了词性分析，以确保结论的正确性。统计数据如下，结果同词典记述一致。

表 5 BCCWJ：「意見」词性分析结果

词性	用例数	比例
动词（サ变动词）	15	5%
名词	285	95%

形容词	0	0%
总例	300	100%

表 6 CCL：“意见”词性分析结果

词性	用例数	比例
动词	0	0%
名词	300	100%
形容词	0	0%
总例	300	100%

三、“意见”和「意見」的用法比较

在用法上，本文主要就两者的句法功能作对比分析，探讨两者在句中充当句法成分的情况。分析 600 例语料得结果如下。

表 7 BCCWJ：「意見」句法成分分析结果

句法成分	用例数	比例
主语	112	37.333%
谓语	36	12%
宾语	134	44.667%
定语	8	2.667%
状语	10	3.333%
补语	0	0%
总例	300	100%

由上表可知，日语的「意見」可以作为主语、谓语、宾语、定语、状语使用，并且主要作为主语和宾语使用。具体例句如下。

①作主语

このようなネットワークにおける議論における名誉毀損事件については、まず反論することを救済の第一義とし、それが機能しないときにはじめて法的救済が認められるという意見もある。

②作宾语

番組中も他のパネラーに対して妥協と遠慮のない意見をぶつけた。もちろん相手からも激しい口撃を何度も受けた。

③作谓语

道場の兄弟子高橋新助という者が、仙太郎のあまりの変り様に驚き、何度か意見した。その時の、仙太郎の態度はひどいものであったという。

④作状语

新聞等のいう「ベテラン教師でもだめだ」という意見には、私はどうしても納得がいかないんです。

⑤作定语

意見のすれ違いやディスコミニケーションということが、問題なのではないのだ。

表 8 CCL:“意见”句法成分分析结果

句法成分	用例数	比例
主语	61	20.333%
谓语	0	0%
宾语	221	73.667%
定语	9	3%
状语	9	3%
补语	0	0%
合計	300	100%

据表 8，可知中文的“意见”在句子中可作主语、宾语、状语和定语。且其用作宾语的例句比例达到73.667%，占绝大多数，说明中文的“意见”主要作宾语。

本文收集的300例语例中没有一例“意见”作谓语或补语,而由于本文中的语例都是随机抽样得到的，因此具有一定的代表性，可以认为，即使扩大例句的数量，“意见”用作谓语和补语的频率也很低，不是主流用法。

下面将分别举例说明这些用法。

①作主语

例如90年代初日本经济企划厅对日本经济潜在增长率的预测是3.75%,经济界的多数意见则是4%。但90年代日本经济的实际增长率只有1%。

②作宾语

双方还就共同关心的问题交换了意见。

③作状语

各省市党委和政府根据群众在“三讲”中提出的意见和建议，特别是涉及广大群众切身利益的问题，坚持边学边改，边整边改，明确责任，建章立制，狠抓落实，取得了阶段性成果。

④作定语

意见的出台，必将对实现由电影大国向电影强国的历史性转变产生深远的影响。

综上所述，在句法功能上，就共同点而言，两者都可用作主语、宾语、状语和定语。而就不同点而言，日语的「意見」比中文的“意见”多了谓语的用法，且日语的「意見」主宾语功能较为均衡，主要作为主语和宾语使用，而中文的“意见”则主要作宾语使用，呈现显著的宾语偏好。

四、“意见”和「意見」的整体差异及习得干扰

基于前文分析，“意见”与「意見」在词义、词性和用法三个维度上均存在一定程度的差异。具体而言：（1）在词义层面，二者呈现“核心共享-边缘分化”特征，虽共享“想法”这一核心义项，但中文的“意见”还具负面评价义（“对人对事不满意的想法”），日语「意見」则发展出行为指向义（“劝告”）；（2）在词性层面，日语「意見」呈现名词-动词多态性（名词 95%，サ变动词 5%），而汉语保持严格的单一名词性（100%）；（3）在用法层面，日语的「意見」比中文的“意见”多了谓语的用法，且日语的「意見」主宾语功能均衡（主语 37.333%，宾语 44.667%），汉语则呈现显著的宾语偏好（73.667%）。根据语言迁移理论，这些差异构成了典型的负迁移源。通过对「日本語学習者作文コーパス」（日本语学习者作文语料库）及身边的以中文为母语的日语学习者进行调查，笔者发现对于该组同形词，初级乃至中高级学习者都存在不同程度的误用。如：

①他对你意见可大了。

误：彼は君に対してひどく意見を持っているよ。

正：彼は君に対してひどく不満を持っているよ。

在该例中，学习者受母语干扰，将中文“意见”的负面义“不满的想法”强加于日语「意見」之上，忽略了日语「意見」并未有这个义项。

②上司に何度か意見した。

误：我抱怨了上司好几次。

正：我劝了上司好几次。

在该例中，学习者受母语干扰，对日语的动词用法并不熟悉，根据中文“意见”的词义误推其义为“抱怨”，未认识到日语「意見」作动词时仅有“劝告”义。

基于此，建议采取“三维干预”教学策略：（1）建立语义映射矩阵，可视化边缘义项；（2）设计词性转换练习，强化サ变动词认知；（3）通过平行语料库，对比典型句法分布。

五、结语

本文通过语料库分析，系统考察了中文“意见”和日语「意見」在词义、词性和用法上的异同。研究发现，两者虽共享“想法”这一核心义项，但在具体词义、词性分布及句法功能上均存在显著差异。中文的“意见”还具有“对人对事不满意的想法”这一词义，而日语「意見」则具有“劝告”的独特用法；此外，日语「意見」还可作为动词使用，在句中充当谓语，这是中文“意见”所不具备的。这些差异极易导致学习者在跨语言交际中出现误用。因此，建议教学者在教授该组同形词时，注重对比分析，结合真实语料帮助学习者全面理解其异同。未来研究可进一步扩大语料范围，探讨更多中日同形词的差异，为语言教学提供更丰富的实证支持。

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翻译美学视阈下 AI 文学翻译的内生可塑性研究——以 DeepSeek 自主学习张培基译文风格为例

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摘要. 在人工智能技术深度融入翻译领域的背景下，本研究基于翻译美学理论，构建涵盖形式系统美与非形式系统美的双维评估体系，旨在深入探究大语言模型 DeepSeek 在无监督学习后自主优化翻译风格的能力。形式系统美主要从用词、句法等方面展开，非形式系统美从意象与意境、超文本意蕴等方面进行分析。实验选取了张培基散文译本中的《背影》作为基准文本，首先由原始 DeepSeek 生成初译，经双盲评估发现，其在意境传递与情感还原与张培基原译存在显著差距。随后，模型凭借自主学习机制，在无人工干预的情况下，仅通过“阅读”张培基的其他 40 篇译文，自主提炼风格特征，并进行重译。重译评估结果表明，经过自主学习的 DeepSeek 在意象还原、隐义处理等维度有了显著提升，但对于隐性美学要素的捕捉能力仍有待加强。研究表明，AI 文学翻译具备内生可塑性，其自主学习能力集中在对显性风格特征的掌握上，但对文化哲学内涵的迁移存在本质局限。基于此，本文提出融合“阅读-反思-生成”的认知模拟框架，推动大模型“文化感知型译者”进化，为 AI 文学翻译的发展提供新的思路和方向。

关键词：翻译美学；DeepSeek；内生可塑性；自主学习；迁移学习

1 翻译美学概述

翻译不仅是语义的传递，更是文化审美价值的再创造过程。翻译中，译者既要注重语言的准确性，又要强调保留源语文本的审美特质与文化意蕴。

西方美学讲求“语法逻辑”，关注的是美的本质问题。西方早期的美学思想发源于毕达哥拉斯学派，极盛于柏拉图和亚里士多德（刘宓庆，1986）。西方中世纪美学带有浓厚的神学色彩，中世纪晚期的经院哲学美学以著名的哲学家托马斯·阿奎那（2013）为代表，提出“美的三要素”，即“整体性”、“和谐”和“鲜明性”。1750 年，德国启蒙思想家、哲学家鲍姆加登在其著作《美学》中，首次明确地提出创立一门新学科，也就是今天的“美学”（王钰等，2014）。

中国传统译论引介了许多中国传统美学的审美价值论或审美形态作为翻译标准。严复（2018）在《天演论》中说：“译事三难：信、达、雅。”傅雷（2020）将“神”与“形”、“神似”与“形似”引入译学并应用到个人的翻译实践中。钱钟书（1985）在《林纾的翻译》中提出，“文学翻译的最高理想是‘化’，把作品从一国文字转变成另一国文字，既能不因语文习惯的差异而露出生硬牵强的痕迹，又能完全保存原有的风味，那就算得人于‘化境’”，指出文字翻译的最高标准是“化境”，这是中国传统美学的渊源。

刘宓庆（2005）在传统美学的基础上，深入探讨了翻译与美学的关系。他分析了翻译中的审美客体、审美主体等要素，并提出，翻译审美客体可以分为形式系统和非形式系统。形式系统可以分为语音层审美信息、文字层审美信息、词语层审美信息和句段层审美信息，非形式系统包括情与志、意象与意境、超文本意蕴。这构建了翻译美学的理论框架，为翻译理论的拓展以及译者发现审美内涵提供了研究方法和路径。

2 张培基翻译风格解读

本文将从用词、句法两个层面展开对形式系统美的分析，从意象与意境、超文本意蕴两个方面对非形式系统美进行分析。

2.1 用词

张培基在用词上用词精准，直译与意译相结合，口语化与文学性互相调和。

《匆匆》中把“轻烟”译为“wisp of smoke”，“薄雾”译为“thin mist”，形象生动地再现了原文中描述的景象，选词准确，让读者能通过译文感受到原文所描绘的时光如轻烟、薄雾般易逝的画面；《落花生》中将“食品”译成“goodies”。文中提到要开一个收秋节，“goodies”更能形象地体现出收秋节上那些美味、让人喜欢的食物，比直译的“food”更准确地传达了原文的内涵。直译与意译的灵活使用，使得译文准确又不失生动。

《差不多先生传》中“何必太精明”译为“What’s the use of being precise and accurate?”，用口语化反问句“What’s the use”传递原文的讽刺语气，同时“precise and accurate”保留原文对“精明”的贬义色彩；《匆匆》中“我们的日子为什么一去不复返呢？”张培基讲“去”译为“leaving us”是比较口语化的表达，让读者感觉日子就像身边的事物离开自己一样，亲切自然；而“never to return”又带有一定的文学性，用较为正式、书面的语言强调了日子一去不返的特点，使译文既符合日常表达习惯，又提升了语言的表现力，传达出原文对时光流逝的感慨。

2.2 句法

张培基在句法层面的翻译中句子结构处理灵活，注重逻辑显化。

《匆匆》中“洗手的时候，日子从水盆里过去；吃饭的时候，日子从饭碗里过去”译为“Thus the day flows away through the sink when I wash hands; vanishes in the rice bowl when I have my meal”，通过分号与重复结构“when”衔接，既保留中文排比节奏，又符合英文主次分明的句法逻辑；《书房》中“到过几位朋友家的书房，尽管大小各不相同，陈设各异，但四壁书橱架上，层层叠叠的书籍，或排成整齐的行列，或纵横交错如阡陌丛林，满屋子到处是书，则大体相同”译为“I’ve been to the studies of several friends. Though of different sizes and with different furnishings, they are nevertheless about the same in boasting a roomful of books. Books shelved in bookcases lining the four walls. Books either piled up one upon another, or displayed in neat rows, or laid out in disorder like fields with crisscross footpaths or a jungle”，将长句拆分成了几个短句，先总述去过朋友的书房，然后用“though”引导的让步状语从句说明书房大小和陈设不同，接着翻译“满屋子到处是书，则大体相同”，并用“books”开头的几个并列短句分别描述书的

摆放状态，使译文层次清晰，符合英语的表达习惯。句子结构的灵活调整，使得张培基的译文在忠实传达原文意思的基础上，更符合目标语的表达习惯，增强了译文的流畅性和可读性。

《笑》中“弓儿似的新月,挂在树梢”译为“The crescent new moon looked as if hanging on the tips of the trees”，新月本身不会挂在树上，冰心在这里使用了隐喻，翻译中添加了“looked as if”，将隐喻转为明喻，逻辑更加清晰合理；《故都的秋》中“一层秋雨一层凉”译为“Getting cooler with each autumn shower!”，用“each”替代重复出现的“一层”，简洁自然地表达了原文的逻辑；《匆匆》中“燕子去了，有再来的时候；杨柳枯了，有再青的时候；桃花谢了，有再开的时候”译为“Swallows may have gone, but there is a time of return; willows may have withered away, but there is a time of regreening; peach blossoms may have fallen, but they will bloom again”，原文是三个并列的句子，描述了三种自然现象及其循环规律，译文每句中都使用了“but”来连接前后两个部分，显化了“事物有消逝的一面，也有重生的一面”这种转折逻辑，强调了对比关系，让读者更能体会到作者通过这些自然现象所表达的对时光流逝和生命循环的思考。翻译时明确原文中隐含的逻辑关系，会增加译文的连贯性，突出文本的重点，并且可以避免目标读者对译文产生误解。

2.3 意境还原

张培基翻译过程中，倾向于保留和深化原文意象，准确还原原文意境和内涵。

《朋友》中“我不配做一盏明灯。那么就让我做一块木柴罢。我愿意把我从太阳那里受到的热放散出来,我愿意把自己烧得粉身碎骨给人间添一点点温度”译为“I, however,don't qualify for a bright lamp. Let me be a piece of firewood instead. I'll radiate the heat that I have absorbed from the sun. I'll burn myself to ashes to provide this human world with a little warmth”，保留了“明灯”“木柴”等意象，体现了作者的谦虚，同时将动词短语“粉身碎骨”进行了转译，添加“ashes”这一意象，强调了原文作者乐于奉献的精神。

“土阶边的水泡儿，泛来泛去的乱转”译为“Beside the earthern doorstep, bubbles in puddles of rainwater were whirling about like mad”，结合语境，“水泡儿”这里指雨水坑中的水泡儿，所以增加了“in puddles of rainwater”译为 bubbles in puddles of rainwater，在保留原有意象的同时，译者根据上下文添加了对意象的解释，准确传达原文意思。通过保留原文中的意象，灵活添加意象，对原文中意象进行解释，译者忠实地呈现了原作风貌，这不仅保证了译文的质量，而且有利于促进跨文化交流。

2.4 隐义传递

对于原文中出现的隐义，译者做了两种处理。对于言外之意明显的原文，译者选择忠实翻译，而对于某些可能不译就会被目标读者忽略的隐义，译者添加了解释性的信息，以保证译文内涵的完整性。

《路畔的蔷薇》中的“昨晚上甜蜜的私语,今朝的冷清的露珠……”译为“Last night’s whispers of love; this morning's drops of cold dew”，作者写在路畔的发现，接着联想“可怜的少女受了薄幸的男子的欺绐”“不幸的青年受了轻狂的妇人的玩弄”，而后写“昨晚的甜蜜私语”和“今早冷清的露珠”，言外之意明显，所以在译文中没有做延伸解释，两个英语并列词组,在用词结构上前后完全对称,与原文形似,并与原文有同样的言外之意。

《朋友》中“但是他给我的那一点点温暖至今还使我的心颤动”译为“But the little warmth that he gave me has been keeping my heart throbbing with gratitude”，其中“with gratitude”是添加的成分,原文虽无其字

而有其意，但因为前文提到“在朋友们面前我只感到惭愧”，不添加“with gratitude”，目标读者可能会误认为这里要表达的意思是“我的心因为惭愧而颤动”，译者通过增译点名了原文中的隐含意义，保证译文的可读性。

3 DeepSeek 初译分析

通过分析初译译文，发现 DeeepSeek 在还原张培基在翻译中的形式系统美时表现较好，用词精准，句法处理得当，而在重现其翻译中的非形式系统美时略显不足，出现意象弱化处理、文化内涵解读不清晰等问题。下面将从形式系统美和非形式系统美两个方面对 DeepSeek 初译译文进行案例分析。

3.1Deep Seek 初译的形式系统美分析

根据《背影》原文的特征，本文将从形式系统美维度中的用词、句法两个方面对 DeepSeek 初译译文进行分析。形式系统美聚焦于翻译中可量化、结构化的语言特征，如词汇精准度、句法规范性等。

3.1.1 用词分析

DeepSeek 初译在用词层面，相对契合源语的语言逻辑，与张培基翻译风格相似，有效还原了原文的形式美感。

例 1：

原文：这时我看见他的背影，我的眼泪很快地流下来了。

张培基译文：While I was watching him from behind,tears gushed from my eyes.

DeepSeek 初译：At the sight of his straining back, tears rushed to my eyes.

原文中眼泪“很快地流下来了”，张培基将动词译为“gushed”，精准形象地将“眼泪涌出”的动态描述了出来，DeepSeek 将其译为“rushed”，虽然没有和张培基使用完全一致的词语，但是已经足够准确表达原文要表达的“眼泪夺眶而出”的内涵，用词相对准确。

例 2：

原文：我看见他戴着黑布小帽,穿着黑布大马褂，深青布棉袍，蹒跚地走到铁道边，慢慢探身下去，尚不大难。

张培基译文：I watched him hobble towards the railway track in his black skullcap, black cloth mandarin jacket and dark blue cotton-padded cloth long gown.

DeepSeek 初译：His black cloth cap, black mandarin jacket, and dark blue cotton-padded robe swayed as he shuffled forward.

“蹒跚”是指“腿脚不灵便，走路缓慢、摇摆的样子”，张培基译为“hobble”，指“艰难地行走（尤其是腿脚受伤）”，DeepSeek 使用的“shuffle”指的是“笨拙地行走，拖着腿移动”，形象生动地描述了年迈的父亲蹒跚向前的形象，此处用词精准，形象生动，甚至比张培基所用的“hobble”更加准确。

DeepSeek 在用词方面相对准确，和张培基在翻译中的用词风格相似，能较好传达原文作者的意思。

3.1.2 句法分析

DeepSeek 初译译文在句法上比较灵活，这与张培基翻译中句法的表现形式有很大相似之处。

例 1：

原文：事已如此，不必难过，好在天无绝人之路！

张培基译文：Now that things’ve come to such a pass, it’s no use crying. Fortunately, Heaven always leaves one a way out.

Deep Seek 初译：What's done is done. Don't grieve. Heaven always leaves us a way out!

此句原文句式简短，意思简明扼要，是父亲对儿子的安慰之词。DeepSeek 与张培基的翻译句式相似，都比较简短清晰，尤其是最后一句和张培基所译几乎一致，将“天”翻译为目标读者更为熟悉的“heaven”，在保持与原文忠实的基础上兼顾了文化差异。

例 2

原文：他少年出外谋生，独力支持，做了许多大事。

张培基译文：Father left home to seek a livelihood when young and did achieve quite a few things all on his own.

DeepSeek 译文：He left home young to build a livelihood, achieving much through sheer effort.

原文中使用了三个并列的动词短语，张培基没有译为三个动词短句或者三个短句，而是灵活地调整句式，将“独力支持”译为“on his own”，侧重“独力”。DeepSeek 同样没有拘泥于原文的形式，将“独力支持”译为“through sheer effort”，侧重“支持”。虽然两个译本的结构内容不尽相同，但可以看出相似的翻译理念：灵活调整句式，还原原文逻辑和内涵。

3.2 DeepSeek 初译的非形式系统美分析

接下来从意象还原和隐义再现两个方面，结合张培基翻译风格，对 DeepSeek 初译译文进行分析。

3.2.1 意象还原

《背影》中最重要的意象就是“背影”，接下来从不同译例中分析这一意象的还原情况。

例 1

原文：背影（题目）

张培基译文：The Sight of Father’s Back

DeepSeek 译文：The Back View

《背影》中饱含了父子深情，DeepSeek 采用了直译，所译题目简明扼要，但在情感表达上稍显不足，张培基译本点明了“父亲的背影”，信息更加明确，也与全文内容相呼应。相比之下，张培基的翻译相对合适。

例 2

原文：我读到此处，在晶莹的泪光中，又看见那肥胖的，青布棉袍，黑布马褂的背影。

张培基译文：Through the glistening tears which these words had brought to my eyes I again saw the back of father's corpulent form in the dark blue cotton-padded cloth long gown and the black cloth mandarin jacket.

DeepSeek 译文：Reading this, through a blur of tears, I saw again his back—stout, clad in that dark blue robe and black jacket.

此处，“我”在读父亲的信时，又想起了离别时父亲臃肿蹒跚的背影，清晰地记着那时父亲的穿着，对于“青布棉袍”“黑布马褂”等意象的翻译，DeepSeek 的翻译简短，但是并不准确，“robe”在英文中一般指“典礼上穿的礼袍”，“jacket”指的是“夹克衫”，由于文化差异性，“青布棉袍”“黑布马褂”在英文中并没有对等的词语，容易造成误解，此处 DeepSeek 对于意象的翻译并不地道。

通过分析，DeepSeek 初译时与张培基翻译风格有一定差距，且可能因为文化差异造成错译。

3.2.2 隐义处理

刘宓庆翻译美学中的超文本意蕴，是指“言外之意”，译者需要先捕捉到原文的隐义，再根据具体情况选择翻译策略。

例 1

原文：不要紧，他们去不好！

张培基译文：Never mind! It won't do to trust guys like those hotel boys!

DeepSeek 译文：It’s no trouble. They won’t do it properly.

此处，父亲觉得茶房做不好，所以选择自己去送“我”，张培基译文直接点明对他们不放心，对父亲形象的刻画更加形象，而 DeepSeek 直译了“他们去不好”，但是“在照顾儿子这件事上对别人不信任”这一言外之意并不清晰。

例 2

原文：我心里暗笑他的迂。

张培基译文：I sniggered at father for being so impractical.

DeepSeek 译文：Secretly, I scoffed at his old-fashioned ways.

“我”心里暗笑父亲的迂，这里含蓄表达了微妙的父子关系，“迂”是指“不切实际”或“没有见识”，“我”暗笑“父亲”的原因在于“我”知道茶房不会因为父亲的叮嘱而用心关照“我”，而 DeepSeek 译为“old-fashioned ways”做“做事老派”理解，逻辑上虽然讲得通，但是表达的意思上与原文稍有不同。

结合例子分析，DeepSeek 会因为不处理“言外之意”或者“言外之意”解读错误，在隐义传达时逻辑不轻轻，内涵不明确，不能体现超文本意蕴的美。

综上，DeepSeek 用词相对准确，句法灵活调整又兼顾行文逻辑，基本还原原文的形式系统美，与张培基翻译风格基本一致；而对于意象还原、隐义处理等方面稍显不足，原文的非形式系统美无法还原，与张培基的翻译风格有很大不同。

4 DeepSeek 重译分析

初译结果导出后，给 DeepSeek 发送指令：请在用词、句法和意境还原、隐义处理等方面分析张培基翻译风格。该指令附有张培基其他的散文翻译 40 篇，且整个过程将 DeepSeek 调至不联网模式。DeepSeek 自主分析与张培基翻译风格基本相同，之后继续发送指令：根据以上分析，请学习张培基翻译风格并重译《背影》。根据初译结果，DeepSeek 对于形式系统美的还原表现较好，在非形式系统上

有一定的提升空间。因此，接下来从意象还原、隐义处理等非形式系统美的表现上，分析重译译文，评估 DeepSeek 的自主学习能力。

4.1 意象还原

下面将在意象还原方面分析 DeepSeek 重译结果，结合初译结果分析 DeepSeek 的自主学习能力。

例 1

原文：背影（题目）

张培基译文：The Sight of Father’s Back

DeepSeek 初译：The Back View

DeepSeek 重译：The Sight of Father’s Back

初译译文中将题目“背影”直译为“The Back View”，未能呼应原文中特指父亲的背影，重译时将“背影”这一核心意象强化，突出了亲情纽带以及“我”饱含的真挚感情。

例 2

原文：我读到此处，在晶莹的泪光中，又看见那肥胖的，青布棉袍，黑布马褂的背影。

张培基译文：Through the glistening tears which these words had brought to my eyes I again saw the back of father’s corpulent form in the dark blue cotton-padded cloth long gown and the black cloth mandarin jacket.

DeepSeek 初译：Reading this, through a blur of tears, I saw again his back—stout, clad in that dark blue robe and black jacket.

DeepSeek 重译：Through fresh tears, I see him again—stout, struggling form swathed in mourning blues and blacks.

初译时，DeepSeek 对于意象“青布棉袍”和“黑布马褂”的翻译有偏颇，在重译译文中，DeepSeek 依旧没有准确翻译文中父亲的穿着，而是用颜色来将具体内容模糊化处理，避免了初译时出现的错误。同时，重译时对意象进行了加强处理，用“struggling”修饰背影，表现了“我”对于父亲的真挚情感，用“mourning”修饰蓝黑的衣服，蒙上了一层悲伤的氛围。通过分析，DeepSeek 重译时，学习应用了张培基善用保留和深化意象的处理。

4.2 隐义处理

下面将在隐义方面分析 DeepSeek 重译结果，结合初译结果分析 DeepSeek 在翻译方面的内生可塑性。

例 1

原文：不要紧，他们去不好！

张培基译文：Never mind! It won’t do to trust guys like those hotel boys!

DeepSeek 初译：It’s no trouble. They won’t do it properly.

DeepSeek 重译：They won’t handle it properly. I’ll see you off myself.

DeepSeek 重译译文中加了“I’ll see you off myself”，虽然没有直接点明自己对于茶房不信任，但是“我自己来做”和前面相互照应，可以表明内在的逻辑，相比初译译文有一定的进步，比较符合张培基对于隐义的处理风格。

例 2

原文：我心里暗笑他的迂。

张培基译文：I sniggered at father for being so impractical.

DeepSeek 初译：Secretly, I scoffed at his old-fashioned ways.

DeepSeek 重译：How I inwardly scoffed!

DeepSeek 重译译文中直接将“迂”删掉，将“我”暗笑的内容隐藏起来，避免了初译中出现的翻译不准确问题，逻辑上也可以讲的通，但是不符合张培基善用直译、增译的翻译风格。可见，DeepSeek 在隐义处理对张培基风格的学习有一定不足。

综上，对于初译中意象还原、隐义处理等方面处理的不足之处，DeepSeek 在重译过程中，几乎可以通过自主学习进行修正，在非系统形式方面对张培基翻译风格的学习有一定成效，但仍有一定提升空间。

5 总结

分析表明，DeepSeek 在还原形式系统美时比较得当，用词和句法相对比较准确，而在非形式系统美的还原上容易出现误译，且和张培基的翻译风格有很大差距，经过自主学习重译的译文，对于一项还原、隐义处理等非形式系统美有一定程度的提升，说明 DeepSeek 对于翻译的自主学习有一定的成效，但是自主学习后对于非形式系统美的处理上仍有不足。

基于此，本文提出融合“阅读-反思-生成”的认知模拟框架。在“阅读”环节，通过多模态文本分析技术，使大模型能够精准捕捉源语文本的语言结构、文化意象、情感脉络及审美特征，建立起包含形式与非形式系统美的完整语义图谱；“反思”环节则借鉴元认知理论，赋予模型对自身翻译过程的批判性思考能力，通过预设的文化评价指标与美学准则，对译文进行多维比对与误差溯源，识别非形式系统美还原过程中的误译根源；“生成”环节依托强化学习机制，在综合阅读与反思成果的基础上，结合目标语文化语境，动态调整翻译策略，实现译文在内容忠实与美学传达间的平衡。

该框架通过循环迭代的学习机制，推动大模型向“文化感知型译者”进化。在具体实施过程中，将构建跨文化知识图谱作为关键支撑，整合文学理论、文化符号学、语用学等多学科知识，使模型能够理解不同文化背景下文学文本的深层意蕴；同时，引入人类译者的翻译经验库，通过对比分析人类译者与模型译文的差异，为模型提供更具针对性的学习样本。此外，框架还设置了动态反馈系统，根据文学批评家、译者和读者的反馈，持续优化模型参数，增强其对文学文本的理解与审美再现能力。

通过“阅读-反思-生成”认知模拟框架的实践应用，有望突破当前 AI 文学翻译在非形式系统美处理上的瓶颈，不仅为大模型的自主学习提供更科学的引导机制，也为 AI 文学翻译的技术发展开辟新路径，使人工智能在文学翻译领域能够更好地实现文化传播与审美传承的双重使命。

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On Middle Constructions in the Chinese Language

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Abstract

This study aims to elucidate the concept of the middle construction in Mandarin Chinese (hereafter referred to as Chinese), a subject that has sparked debates for decades. The research endeavors to identify the defining features of the Chinese middle construction by scrutinizing its syntactic and semantic properties, cross-linguistic similarities, and interpretive variations. The study suggests that a particular construction, the NP_{theme} V-*de* ADV construction (hereafter the V-*de* construction), is the sole authentic middle construction in Chinese. It delves into the syntactic structures, aspectual verb categories, and the interpretations of the V-*de* construction. Moreover, two types of negation within the V-*de* construction are identified: one with a generic interpretation (without *de*) and the other with an event-based interpretation (with *de*). This research challenges the categorization of the V-*qilai* construction as a middle construction, contending that it corresponds to either the formal subject construction with an expletive *it* or the *pretty*-predicate construction in English. Likewise, the *hao*/*rongyi*/*nan* construction is analyzed as analogous to the *tough* construction in English. Methodologically, a cross-linguistic comparative approach is adopted, examining the similarities and differences between Chinese middle constructions and those in English, French, and German. The results indicate that the V-*de* construction, as the only genuine Chinese middle construction, shares certain similarities with its English counterpart, especially in aspectual verb classes. It also bears resemblance to the French middle construction, as both allow for generic and event interpretations. Additionally, a variant of the Chinese middle construction similar to the German impersonal middle construction, featuring an intransitive verb and two adverbials, is discussed. These findings underscore the subtle diversity of the Chinese middle construction while clearly defining its essential characteristics. The significance of this study lies in its clarification of the true Chinese middle construction, which contributes to a more profound understanding of its syntactic and semantic properties. By addressing the issues regarding middle constructions in Chinese, the study enriches cross-linguistic comparison among middle constructions and provides novel insights into the typology of middle constructions across languages.

Key words

Chinese middle construction, V-*qilai* construction, V-*de* construction, event reading, cross-linguistic perspective

1. Introduction

This article investigates middle constructions in modern Mandarin Chinese (hereafter referred to as Chinese). Although the Chinese middle construction has been widely discussed for decades, there is still no consensus regarding which construction(s) actually constitute the middle construction in Chinese. This article identifies the only bona fide middle construction in the language and further analyzes it from a cross-linguistic perspective. It reviews various existing views on the topic and distinguishes true Chinese middle constructions from other generic constructions in the language, based on the well-established properties of middle

constructions found in the literature. Moreover, the article compares Chinese middle constructions with their counterparts in other languages, such as English, French, and German, highlighting both similarities and differences.

Middle constructions have been a focal point of linguistic research since early studies by Sweet (1898) and Jespersen (1927). Keyser and Roeper (1984) may be the first to adopt the term *middle*. Since then, the middle construction has been discussed extensively, including Fagan (1992), Kemmer (1993), Marelj (2013), and Lekakou (2005), among others. Middle constructions are not limited to Indo-European languages; they also appear in non-Indo-European languages. For instance, in Japanese, middle constructions often involve derivative verbs with the inchoative verbal suffix *-rareru* or certain intransitive verbs. When the requirement of transitivity is added, the scope narrows to a limited set of verbs, such as *hiraku* 'open'. While the range of middle constructions in Japanese may vary, the general concept is sufficiently clear for non-Japanese linguists to grasp. In contrast, the Chinese middle construction remains a contentious topic. Some scholars argue that the Chinese language lacks middle constructions altogether, while others propose that several unrelated constructions such as constructions corresponding to *tough*-constructions or transitive constructions with generic meanings should be classified as middle constructions. Between these extremes, numerous other views identify Chinese middle constructions with one or a few of the constructions involved in the latter extreme. While all these constructions are worthy of study, most should not be labeled as middle constructions to avoid misrepresenting this concept of *middle* from a comparative perspective. The lack of consensus on Chinese middle constructions can partially be attributed to the absence of inflection in Chinese. For example, the verb *mai* 'buy' remains unchanged across its corresponding English forms such as *buy*, *buys*, *bought*, *to buy*, and *buying*.

To establish a reasonable framework for analyzing Chinese middle constructions, it is essential to first examine the properties commonly associated with middle constructions across languages. Based on previous studies, these properties can be divided into essential and optional categories. The generally accepted essential properties include a) the indication of the generic property of the subject, b) a verbal predicate, c) the implication of an agent, d) responsibility attributed to the subject (see van Oosten, 1986), e) being active in the verb form, and f) simple present tense. Optional properties may include g) a patient subject, h) an affected subject, and i) an activity or accomplishment verb (see Fagan, 1992), and j) the presence of an adverbial.

2. The Bona Fide Chinese Middle Construction

This section aims to argue that part of the NP_{theme} V-*de* ADV constructions (hereafter the V-*de* constructions) is the only bona fide Chinese middle constructions and distinguish them from other non-middle V-*de* constructions.

2.1 The true Chinese middle construction, its negative forms, and its interpretations

Xiong (2017) categorizes the V-*de* construction into three types, as shown in (1).

(1) a. Zhe-ge huaping da-de po. (generic)
this-CL vase hit-DE broken
'The vase can be broken.'

b. Zhe-tao gongyu zhuangxiu-de piaoliang. (resultative)
this-CL flat decorate-DE beautiful
'The flat has been beautifully decorated.'

c. Zhe-jian yifu xi-de ganjing.
this-CL coat wash-DE clean

i. 'This coat can be washed clean.' (generic)[1]

ii.'This coat has been washed clean.' (resultative) (cf. Xiong 2017: 208)

We argue that the V-*de* construction which is exemplified in (1c) represents the genuine Chinese middle construction. Additional examples are provided in (2). Sentences in (2) exhibit both generic and resultative interpretations.

(2) a. Zhe-ge juzi du-de tongshun.
this-CL sentence read-DE smoothly
i. 'This sentence reads smoothly.' (generic)
ii. 'This sentence is smoothly read.' (resultative)

b. Zhe-kuai mutou qie-de zhengqi.
this-CL wood cut-DE neatly
i. 'This piece of wood cuts neatly.' (generic)
ii. 'This piece of wood is neatly cut.' (resultative)

c. Zhe-zhong mianliao xi-de ganjing.
this-CL fabric wash-DE clean
i. 'This fabric can be washed clean.' (generic)
ii. 'This fabric has been washed clean.' (resultative)

d. Zhe-ge daoli jiang-de tongtou.
this-CL reason talk-de thoroughly
i. 'This reason makes sense.' (generic)
ii. 'This reason is thoroughly explained.' (resultative)

e. Zhe-ben shu mai-de hao.
this-CL book sell-DE well
i. 'This book sells well.' (generic)
ii. 'Many copies of the book have been sold.' (resultative)

f. Mianshi xiaohua-de kuai.
noddles digest-DE quickly
i. 'Noodles digests rapidly.' (generic)
ii. 'Noodles have been digested rapidly.' (resultative)

g. Zhe-lei shijian yiwang-de kuai.
this-CL event forget-DE quickly
i. 'Such events are quickly forgotten.' (generic)
ii. 'Such events have been quickly forgotten.' (resultative)

h. Zhe-liang che kai-de pingwen.
this-CL car drive-DE smoothly
i. 'The car drives smoothly.' (generic)
ii. 'The car has been driven smoothly.' (resultative)

When the sentences in (2) are negated, the presence or absence of *de* correlates with their interpretation. *De* does not occur in negative sentences in (3), and they have a generic reading. On the contrary, *de* occurs in negative sentences in (4), and they have a resultative reading.

(3) a. Zhe-ge juzi du bu tongshun.
this-CL sentence read not smoothly

[1] According to Carlson (1977), generic interpretations indicate generalizations or habits, and generic clauses typically appear in the simple present tense and imperfective aspect in many languages.

'This sentence cannot be read smoothly.' (generic)

b. Zhe-kuai mutou qie bu zhengqi.
this-CL wood cut not neatly
'This piece of wood cannot be cut neatly.' (generic)

c. Zhe-zhong mianliao xi bu ganjing.
this-CL fabric wash not clean
'This fabric cannot be washed clean.' (generic)

(4) a. Zhe-ge juzi du-de bu tongshun.
this-CL sentence read-DE not smoothly
'This sentence is not read smoothly.' (resultative)

b. Zhe-kuai mutou qie-de bu zhengqi.
this-CL wood cut-DE not neatly
'This piece of wood is not neatly cut.' (resultative)

c. Zhe-zhong mianliao xi-de bu ganjing.
this-CL fabric wash-DE not clean
'This fabric has not been washed clean.' (resultative)

A very similar phenomenon can be found in another construction in Chinese, as shown in (5) and (6). The presence or absence of *de* correlates with the differences in the interpretation of the negative sentences.

(5) Zhangsan pao-de kuai. (generic and eventive)
Zhangsan run-DE fast
i. 'Zhangsan runs fast./Zhangsan can run fast.' (generic)
ii. 'Zhangsan ran fast./Zhangsan has run fast.' (eventive)

(6) a. Zhangsan pao bu kuai. (generic)
Zhangsan run not fast
'Zhangsan runs slowly./Zhangsan cannot run fast.'

b. Zhangsan pao-de bu kuai. (eventive)
Zhangsan run-DE not fast
'Zhangsan ran slowly./Zhangsan has run slowly.'

Note that while most V-*de* sentences allow both eventive and resultative interpretations as the sentence in (1b), some are exclusively eventive, as the sentences in (7) and (8).

(7) Rizi guo-de jiannan.
life live-DE hard
i. 'Life is difficult.' (generic)
ii. 'Someone had a hard time.' (eventive)

(8)[2] Zhe-ben shu mai-de hao.

[2] Just as *buy* cannot occur in an English middle construction, *mai* (the third tone) 'buy' cannot occur in a Chinese middle construction. Thus, (7) has only an eventive interpretation, without a middle interpretation. *De* can appear in the negative sentence (i) with *de* but not in the negative sentence (ii) without *de*. This further confirms that the corresponding affirmative sentence (7) does not have a generic reading, as pointed out by our previous observations of the difference in interpretation between V-*de* negative sentences with and without *de*.

(i) Zhe-ben shu mai-de bu hao.
this-CL book buy-DE not well
'This book was a bad buy.'

(ii) ?Zhe-ben shu mai bu hao.
this-CL book buy not well

this-CL book buy-DE well
'This book was a good buy.'

2.2 Some non-middle V-de constructions

Not every NP_{theme} V-*de* construction qualifies as a middle construction in Chinese. (1a) is not a Chinese middle construction, because *po* 'break' is not an adverb of manner, based on the fact that it cannot be modified by the degree adverb *hen* 'very', as shown in (9), neither can *dong* 'move' in (10).

(9) Zhe-ge beizi da-de (*hen) po.
this-CL cup hit-DE very break
'The cup can be broken.'

(10) Zhe-zhang zhuozi ban-de (*hen) dong.
this-CL table carry-DE very move
'The table can be moved.'

The instances in (9) and (10) are generic, but *po* and *dong* are not adverbs. As noted by Marelj (2013: 124-129), adverbials are generally required in middle constructions unless negation or focus intonation is present. Thus, we propose that instances in (9) and (10) are not Chinese middle constructions, because they do not have the property j) in section 1, the presence of an adverbial. The analysis above can be further supported by additional evidence from similar constructions, as illustrated in (11) and (12). Note that the elements preceding and following *de* often form compound verbs, such as *dapo* 'break' in (9), *bandong* 'move' in (10), *kanjian* 'see' in (11), and *xuehui* 'master' in (12). From a morphological point of view, the first morphemes in the verbs have a verbal sense, such as *da-* 'hit' in (9), *ban-* 'carry' in (10), *kan-* 'look' in (11), and *xue-* 'learn' in (12), and the second/last morphemes of the verbs have a resultative sense, such as *-po* 'break' in (9), *-dong* 'move' in (10), *-jian* 'see' in (11), and *-hui* 'master' in (12). Another reason why *-po* 'break', *-dong* 'move', *-jian* 'see', and *-hui* 'master' cannot be modified by the degree adverb *hen* 'very' may lie in the fact that they are morphemes.

(11) Aifei'er Tieta kan-de jian
Eiffel Tower look-DE see
'The Eiffel Tower is visible.'

(12) Zhe-men yuyan xue-de hui
this-CL language learn-DE master
'This language is learnable.'

The fact that *da* in (9) does not necessarily contain the sense of *hit* or *beat* also suggests that *da* is a bound morpheme, instead of a verb. Thus, it is reasonable to posit that *da-* 'hit', *ban-* 'carry', *kan-* 'look', *xue-* 'learn', *-po* 'break', *-dong* 'move', *-jian* 'see', and *-hui* 'master' are all morphemes. It follows naturally that *de* here is also a morpheme, notated as *-de-*. The morpheme *-de-* is to some extent similar to the English morpheme *-able*. Thus, everything falls into place, and (9) – (12) can be analyzed as in (13).

(13) a. Zhe-ge beizi da-de-po.
this-CL cup hit-DE-broken
'The cup is breakable.'

b. Zhe-zhang zhuozi ban-de-dong.
this-CL table carry-DE-move
'The table is movable.'

c. Aifei'er Tieta kan-de-jian.
Eiffel Tower look-DE-see
'The Eiffel Tower is visible.'

d. Zhe-men yuyan xue-de-hui.

this-CL language learn-DE-master
'This language is learnable.'

The second sentence under discussion here is (1b), which is categorized as a resultative construction, a type of eventive construction. The verbs which can occur in this type of eventive construction are more than those which can occur in a middle construction. For example, (7) in section 2.1 can only be an eventive sentence, instead of a middle construction. Incidentally, a middle interpretation is possible for (1b) when enough context is given. Many studies do not recognize the *V-de* construction as a middle construction, probably because the Chinese middle construction shares the same form with the resultative construction, which have blurred our understanding of this construction.

3. Various Views on the Chinese Middle Construction and the Discussion

In this section, we will examine the various arguments surrounding the (non-) existence of Chinese middle constructions and assess their status in the study of the Chinese language.

3.1 The [NP$_{theme}$ V-qilai/shangqu/xiaqu/zhe AP] construction

The [NP$_{theme}$ V-*qilai*/*shangqu*/*xiaqu*/*zhe* AP] construction (hereafter referred to as the V-*qilai* construction) is regarded as a middle construction in Chinese by scholars such as Cao (2004), Xiong (2017), Li (2018), Chen (2019), and Hu (2019), among others. Consider the following examples of the V-*qilai* construction:

(14) Zhe-jian yifu xi-qilai hen rongyi.
zhe-CL coat wash-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to wash the coat. /This coat is easy to wash. /This coat washes easily.'[3]

(15) Zhangsan kan-qilai hen piaoliang.
Zhangsan look-QILAI very beautiful
'Zhangsan looks very beautiful.'

Semantically, *-qilai* in (14) denotes a sense of commencement, execution or trial, and *-qilai* in (15) conveys a sense of *appearing to be* or *giving the impression of*.

Hu (2019) identifies four different uses of *-qilai*: as an action verb, a directional particle, an inceptive aspectual marker, and a specific marker for middle constructions. Hu (2019) further analyzes *-qilai* as a light verb and compares it to markers like *se* in French and *sich* in German middle constructions. However, treating *-qilai* as a middle construction marker raises certain questions. For instance, *-qilai* is sometimes omissible, as seen in example (16), unlike the obligatory nature of *se* and *sich* in French and German middle constructions.

(16) Zhejian yifu ganxi(-qilai) hen rongyi.
this-CL coat dry-clean-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to dry-clean the coat.'

Given this observation, it can be argued that *-qilai* should not be considered a marker of middle constructions. Two questions arise here: What kind of construction in English corresponds to the V-*qilai* construction? How should *-qilai* in the V-*qilai* construction be analyzed? Let us address the second question first by examining the contrast between the following sentences, where (a) sentences contain monosyllabic verbs and *-qilai* is generally not omissible except in a contrastive context, while (b) sentences with disyllabic verbs show more flexibility with the omission of *-qilai*.

(17) a. Zhe-jian yifu xi*(-qilai) hen rongyi.

[3] There is no preference among these translations. Henceforth, I choose only one of these ways to translate Chinese examples provided in the article. The choice is generally made at random, and English translations only express the meaning of the Chinese sentences, thus have little to do with the syntactic analysis.

zhe-CL coat wash-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to wash this coat.'

b. Zhe-jian yifu ganxi(-qilai) hen rongyi.
zhe-CL coat dry-clean-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to dry-clean this coat.'

(18) a. Yingyu xue*(-qilai) hen rongyi.
English learn-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to learn English.'

b. Yingyu zixue(-qilai) hen rongyi.
English teach oneself-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to teach yourself English.'

(19) a. Zhe-tiao lu zou*(-qilai) hen lei.
this-CL road walk-QILAI very tiring
'It is tiring to walk down the road.'

b. Zhe-tiao lu qixing(-qilai) hen lei.
this-CL road cycle-QILAI very tiring
'It is tiring to cycle down the road.'

From this, it is feasible to argue that *-qilai* in the V-*qilai* construction can be considered as a particle with no inherent meaning, used for phonological purposes in Chinese.

In addition, although these sentences in (20) share the general meaning of 'It is tiring to walk down the road,' the presence of *-qilai*/*-zhe*/*-xialai*/*-xiaqu* conveys nuances regarding aspectual nature, as demonstrated in the translations in (20a) – (20d).

(20) a. Zhe-tiao lu zou-qilai hen lei.
this-CL road walk-QILAI very tiring
'It is tiring to start to walk down the road.'

b. Zhe-tiao lu zou-zhe hen lei.
this-CL road walk-ZHE very tiring
'It is tiring to walk on the road.'

c. Zhe-tiao lu zou-xialai hen lei.
this-CL road walk-XIALAI very tiring
'It is tiring to finish walking down the road.'

d. Zhe-tiao lu zou-xiaqu hen lei.
this-CL road walk-XIAQU very tiring
'It is tiring to continue walking down the road.'

This suggests that *-qilai* in the V-*qilai* construction also can be considered as a particle that conveys a sense of commencement, execution, or trial. In summary, *-qilai* may function as a directional particle, a particle that provides inceptive or progressive aspectual information, or a particle with no inherent meaning which satisfies the phonological requirements of certain verb phrases, particularly those involving monosyllabic verbs.

Let us come to the first question mentioned earlier in this section: what kind of construction in English corresponds to the V-*qilai* construction? A Chinese manner adverb should be led by *de* (得) when it is used after the predicate it modifies, or it should be followed by an omittable *de* (地) when it is used in front of the predicate it modifies. Thus, it is unreasonable to regard the word after *-qilai* in the V-*qilai* construction as an adverb due to the aforementioned reason, and we argue that it is an adjective. Although the presence of an adverbial is considered an optional property (see Fagan, 1988: 201 for middle constructions without adverbs) in

section 1, it does not mean that the element after the verb in a middle construction can be an adjective. The V-*qilai* construction does not meet the property j) the presence of an adverbial. Furthermore, we argue that the Chinese construction exemplified by (14) corresponds to the formal subject construction with expletive *it* (also termed as preparatory *it* in Jespersen, 1927 and others) in English. (21) is an instance of the English formal subject construction with expletive *it*.

(21) It is easy to wash the coat.

The reason why the word order in (14) and that in (21) are different is because there is no expletive *it* in Chinese and *zhe-jian yifu* 'this coat' is topicalized in (14). Without topicalization, (14) should be in the form of the sentence in (22). The word order in (22) corresponds to the word order in (23), an English sentence without expletive *it*.

(22) Xi-qi zhe-jian yifu-lai hen rongyi.
wash-QI this-CL coat-LAI very easy
'It is easy to wash this coat.'

(23) To wash this coat is easy.

On the other hand, I suggest that the Chinese construction exemplified by (15) corresponds to the *pretty*-predicate construction in English. (24) is an example of the construction, and the term *pretty*-predicate construction is adopted from Keine and Poole (2017).

(24) Mary is pretty to look at. (Lasnik and Fiengo, 1974: 535)

This is supported by the evidence in (25) and (26). Just as *Mary* cannot occur in the object position of the predicate *look at*, as shown in (25), the subject *Zhangsan* in the sentence in (15) cannot occur in the object position of the verb *kan* 'look at', as shown in (26).

(25) *It is pretty to look at Mary. (Lasnik and Fiengo, 1974: 536)

(26) *Kan-qi Zhangsan-lai hen piaoliang.
look-QI Zhangsan-LAI very beautiful
'Zhangsan looks very beautiful.'

In addition, note that Yin (2006) suggests that there are several distinctions between the V-*qilai* construction and the English middle construction. Although middle constructions in different languages cannot be syntactically and semantically the same, the V-*qilai* construction and the English middle are too different to be considered the counterparts of each other. Dong (2022) suggests that the V-*qilai* construction is not a bona fide middle construction with evidence from its historical development.

3.2 The Hao/Rongyi/Nan construction

This section examines the *hao/rongyi/nan* construction, as illustrated in (27), which is often considered a type of the Chinese middle construction.

(27) Zhe-jian yifu hao xi.
this-CL coat easy wash
'This coat is easy to wash.'

It can be argued that the adjectives *hao/rongyi/nan* 'convenient/easy/hard' are central to the predicate in this construction. Thus, we maintain that this should not be classified as a middle construction, even though it conveys a generic meaning. The key distinction lies in the fact that the construction uses an adjectival predicate rather than a verbal one. This property prevents it from satisfying syntactic property (b) of middle constructions, which specifically requires a verbal predicate. Furthermore, we argue that the *hao/rongyi/nan* construction is analogous to the *tough* construction in English for three reasons. First, the *hao*/*rongyi*/*nan* construction and the *tough* construction share similar adjectival predicates. In English *tough* constructions, the predicates are adjectives indicating degrees of difficulty, such as *easy*, *hard*, or *tough*, as well as adjectives denoting emotions,

such as *pleasant*, *fun*, and *annoying*. In the *hao*/*rongyi*/*nan* construction, *hao* means *easy* or *convenient*, *rongyi* means *easy*, and *nan* means *hard* or *tough*. Although less common, *yi* (second tone), meaning *pleasant*, can also appear in the construction, as shown in (28). In the idiom *xi-wen-le-jian*, *xi* means *pleasant* and *le* means *fun*.

(28) Zhe-ge chengshi yi ju.
this-CL city pleasant live
'This city is pleasant to live in.'

Second, both constructions require the obligatory absence of the object. This is illustrated in (29) and (30).

(29) a. Harry is hard to handle Ø skillfully. (Stuurman, 1990: 124)
b. *Harry is hard to handle the horse skillfully. (*ibid*.)

(30) a. Zhangsan nan duifu.
Zhangsan hard handle
'Zhangsan is hard to handle.'
b. *Zhangsan nan duifu Lisi.
Zhangsan hard handle Lisi
'Zhangsan is hard to handle Lisi.'

Finally, both constructions allow for reanalysis in certain contexts. As pointed out in Chomsky (1981: 308-312), a sentence such as (31a) can be reanalyzed as (31b). The same operation can be implemented in the Chinese counterpart in (32). In (32a), the sentence is analyzed as a structure with an operator and a PRO, while the sentence in (32b) is analyzed as a structure with a complex adjective.

(31) a. John is easy [Op [PRO to please *t*]]
b. John is [$_{AP}$ [$_{A}$ easy-to-please] t]

(32) a. zhe-ge gongju hao [Op [PRO yong t]]
zhe-cl tool easy [Op [PRO use t]]
'this tool is easy to use'
b. zhe-ge gongju [$_{AP}$ [$_{A}$ hao-yong] t]
zhe-cl tool [$_{AP}$ [$_{A}$ easy-to-use] t]
'this tool is easy-to-use'

In conclusion, although the *hao/rongyi/nan* construction conveys a generic sense, it does not qualify as a middle construction.

3.3 Discussion and summary of section 3

Xiong (2017), Li (2018), and others consider some of the constructions among the V-*qilai* construction, the *hao/rongyi/nan* construction, transitive constructions with generic meaning (as illustrated in (33)) and the NP $_{non\text{-}agentive}$ + auxiliary (*neng*/*ke*/*zhide*) + V construction (as shown in (34)), to be Chinese middle constructions. However, the criteria used to classify these constructions as middle constructions are overly broad and do not capture the essential syntactic and semantic features that define middle constructions across languages. Specifically, the inclusion of transitive constructions with generic meaning and the NP $_{non\text{-}agentive}$ + auxiliary (*neng*/*ke*/*zhide*) + V construction blurs the distinction between middle constructions and other types of generic or modal constructions. Therefore, we argue that these constructions should not be classified as middle constructions, as they lack the defining features typically associated with this grammatical category.

(33) Zhe-ge zi nian er'sheng.
this-CL character read the rising tone
'This character should be pronounced with the rising tone.' (cf. Xiong 2017: 250)

(34) Zhe-bu xiaoshuo zhide du.
this-CL novel worth read

'This novel is worth reading.' (cf. Li 2018: 35)

If the view above on the Chinese middle construction represents one extreme, then the view that there are no middle constructions in Chinese, as suggested by Yan (2011), represents the other extreme. This article agrees with Yan's position that the V-*qilai* construction is not a Chinese middle construction, but it also acknowledges that Chinese does, in fact, have a type of genuine middle construction.

It is also important to examine why the V-*qilai* construction is often regarded as a middle construction in Chinese. It is probably because the V-*qilai* construction is often used when translating an English middle construction into Chinese, which suggests that the V-*qilai* construction and the English middle are semantically close. However, as we all know, to judge whether a construction is a middle construction, we should not only take its semantics into consideration, but also (if not more crucial) its syntax. There are many cases in which an English construction is often translated with a Chinese construction which is syntactically very unlike the English construction. For example, English phrases such as *it is said that …*, *it is reported that …*, *it is estimated that …*, etc., are often translated as *ju shuo* 'according to what is said', *ju baodao* 'according to the report', *ju guji* 'according to the estimation'. Just as the *ju-* phrase in Chinese (a prepositional phrase) is not syntactically equivalent to the English passive construction with the expletive *it* (e.g., *it is said that…*, *it is reported that…*, *it is estimated that…*), the V-*qilai* construction should not be regarded as a Chinese middle construction merely because it is often used to translate English middle constructions. In translation, a phrase or construction may sometimes correspond to its counterpart in the original language both semantically and syntactically. However, in other cases, a phrase or construction may be selected based on semantic equivalence rather than syntactic similarity. Thus, the frequent use of the V-*qilai* construction to translate English middle constructions reflects their semantic similarity rather than syntactic equivalence.

4. An Analysis of the Chinese Middle Construction from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective

This section examines the Chinese middle construction from a cross-linguistic perspective to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the bona fide Chinese middle construction.

4.1 Chinese middle constructions and English middle constructions

The V-*de* construction shares several similarities with English middle constructions, particularly regarding the types of verbs permitted in these constructions. For instance, consider the equivalents between the Chinese and English examples in (35) and (36). (35a) is very marginal if not ungrammatical, and *zhe-shou shi lijie-qilai hen qingsong* 'this poem is easy to understand' and *zhe-shou shi hao lijie* 'this poem is easy to understand' are qualified expressions here. Additionally, note that (36a) lacks a generic reading and is limited to an eventive reading, which disqualifies it from being a middle construction. Meanwhile, their corresponding English sentences in (35b) and (36b) cannot qualify as middle constructions either.

(35) a. *Zhe-shou shi lijie -de qingsong.
this-CL poem understand-de easily
'This poem is easy to understand.'
b. *This poem understands easily. (Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz, 1989: 11)

(36) a. Zhe-ben shu mai-de hao.
this-CL book buy-de hao.
'It was good to buy this book./This book was a good buy.' (not generic)
b. *This book buys well. (Fagan 1992: 65)

Incidentally, (37) and (38) further support the proposal that part of the V-*de* construction is the true Chinese middle construction, as opposed to the V-*qilai* construction. Both *mai* (the fourth tone) 'sell' and *mai* (the third

tone) 'buy' can appear in the V-*qilai* construction, as shown in (37), just as both *sell* and *buy* can appear in English constructions with the expletive *it*, as shown in (38). In contrast, *mai* (the fourth tone) 'sell' instead of *mai* (the third tone) 'buy' can occur in the V-*de* middle construction, just as *sell* instead of *buy* can occur in an English middle construction.

(37) a. Zhe-ben shu mai-qilai hen rongyi.
this-CL book sell-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to sell the book.'

b. Zhe-ben shu mai-qilai hen rongyi.
this-CL book buy-QILAI very easy
'It is easy to buy the book.'

(38) a. It is easy to sell the book.

b. It is easy to buy the book.

Regarding the aspect of verbs used in middle constructions, both Chinese and English generally require activity verbs or accomplishment verbs, as shown in (39) and (40). Although the verbs used in Chinese middle constructions do not completely overlap with those in English middle constructions, the aspectual categories of the verbs appearing in these constructions are the same.

(39) a. The car drives easily. (activity verb) (Fiengo, 1980: 50)

b. These toys assemble easily. (accomplishment verb) (Fellbaum, 1986: 18)

c. *FBI agents recognize on the spot. (achievement verb) (*ibid*.: 23)

d. *The answer knows easily. (stative verb) (Keyser and Roeper 1984: 383)

(40) a. Zhe-liang che kai-de qingsong. (activity verb)
this-CL car dirve-DE easily
'The car drives easily.'

b. Zhexie wanju zuzhuang-de kuai. (accomplishment verb)
these toys assemble quickly
'These toys assemble quickly.'

c. *Lianbang-diaocha-ju tegong liji ren-de-chulai.
FBI agents on the spot recognize-DE-out
(achievement verb)
'FBI agents can be recognized on the spot.'

d. *Zhe-ge da'an dong-de qingsong. (stative verb)
this-CL answer know-DE easily
'The answer is easy to understand.'

Adverbials in Chinese middle constructions are less restricted than in English and nearly as abundant as those in French. Examples (41) to (43) illustrate this difference.

(41) a. Xilayu fanyi-de kuai
Greek translate-DE quickly
'Greek translates quickly'

b. *Xilayu fanyi(-de) yong cidian
Greek translate(-DE) with dictionary
'Greek translates with a dictionary'

c. Xilayu zaoshang fanyi-de genghao
Greek morning translate-DE better
'Greek translates better in the morning'

d. Alisituofen zhongxue henshao fanyi
Aristophanes high school rarely translate
'Aristophanes rarely translates in high school'

(42) a. Greek translates easily
b. *Greek translates with a dictionary
c. *Greek translates better in the morning
d. *Aristophanes rarely translates in high school (Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 10)

(43) a. Le grec se traduit facilement
the Greek SE translate easily
'Greek translates easily'
b. Le grec se traduit avec un dictionnaire
the Greek SE translate with a dictionary
'Greek translates with a dictionary'
c. Le grec se traduit mieux le matin
the Greek SE translate better the morning
'Greek translates better in the morning'
d. Aristophane se traduit rarement dans le lycées
Aristophanes SE translate rarely in the high schools
'Aristophanes rarely translates in high school' (cf. Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 10)

While the Chinese language permits temporal adverbials (41c) and frequency adverbials (41d), constructions that are unacceptable in English (42c, d), it nevertheless restricts instrumental adverbials in the example in (41b), which are fully acceptable in French (43b). The contrastive analysis above suggests that French appears to allow a broader range of adverbials in middle constructions than Chinese. However, the scope of the investigation is not exhaustive, so we cannot definitively conclude whether the range of adverbials allowed in middle constructions is wider in Chinese or French. Further research would be needed to make a more conclusive comparison.

4.2 Chinese middle constructions and French middle constructions

The Chinese and French middle constructions share a noteworthy similarity. Chinese middle constructions allow an eventive reading, similar to French middle constructions. Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989) point out that an English middle construction, exemplified by (44a), must always take on a property reading, while its French counterpart in (44b) can take either a property reading or an eventive reading, as shown in (45).

(44) a. Greek translates easily.
b. Le grec se traduit facilement.
the Greek SE translate easily (cf. Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 23)

(45) a. 'Greek has the property of being easy to translate.'
b. 'Greek is translated with ease.' (cf. Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 23)

Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989: 4-9) point out the difference between middle constructions and ergative constructions in French and English lies in three aspects. These characteristics in (46) are distinctive features of English and French middle constructions, setting them apart from ergative constructions.

(46) a. The implicit agent: The interpretation of a middle construction always involves the θ-role AGENT
b. The constraint on imperative formation
c. The need for a modifier (cf. Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 4-9)

The characteristics outlined in (46) also apply to Chinese middle constructions, in contrast to Chinese ergative constructions. (47a) is a middle construction and it involves an implicit agent, while (47b) is an ergative

sentence which does not require an implicit agent.

(47) a. Zhe-gen shuzhi zheduan-de rongyi. (middle)
this-CL branch break-DE easily
i. 'This branch breaks easily.' (generic)
ii. 'This branch have been broken easily.' (eventive)
b. Zhe-gen shuzhi zheduan-le. (ergative)
this-CL branch break-PAST
'This branch broke.'

A Chinese middle construction cannot be transformed into an imperative, as shown in (48a), whereas a Chinese ergative construction can be, as demonstrated in (48b).

(48) a. *Zheduan-de rongyi, zhe-gen shuzhi! (middle)
break-DE easily, this-CL branch
'Break this branch easily.'
b. Zheduan, zhe-gen shuzhi! (ergative)
break, this-CL branch
'Break this branch.'

The Chinese middle construction in (49a) requires an adverbial modifier for the predicate, whereas the Chinese ergative construction in (49b) does not necessarily require a verb modifier.

(49) a. Zhe-gen shuzhi zheduan*(-de rongyi). (middle)
this-CL branch break -DE easily
b. Zhe-gen shuzhi zheduan-le. (ergative)
this-CL branch break-PAST
'This branch broke.'

In summary, the Chinese middle construction is similar to both English and French middle constructions in the way they differ from their corresponding ergative constructions.

Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989: 28-30) point out that the subject of a middle must be affected in English, but not in French. They define affectedness as in (50).

(50) An argument *A* (of a verb or predicate) is AFFECTED by the action or process *P* referred to by the verb if the referent of *A* exists prior to *P* and if its inherent properties are modified by *P*. (Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 28)

Although the affectedness condition is not without its flaws, it is observable in English, as shown in the contrast between (51a) and (51b).

(51) a. *German learns easily. (Fagan, 1992: 258)
b. This wood splits easily. (Fagan, 1992: 65)

According to the definition in (50), none of the subjects in the Chinese, English and French examples in (52) – (54) should be regarded as being affected. However, the grammaticality varies among them.

(52) Aifei'er Tieta cong wo-de chuanghu kan-de qingchu
Eiffel Tower from my window see-DE clearly
'The Eiffel Tower sees easily from my window'

(53) *The Eiffel Tower sees easily from my window (Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 11)

(54) La Tour Eiffel se voit facilement de ma fenêtre.
The Tower Eiffel SE sees easily from my window
'The Eiffel Tower sees easily from my window' (cf. *ibid*.: 10)

Although it may be problematic to argue that the affectedness condition does not apply to the Chinese middle construction, it is reasonable to suggest that this condition is not as strong as it is in English.

4.3 Chinese middle constructions and German middle constructions

German middle constructions and English middle constructions are similar in that they allow only a generic reading, not an eventive reading. German middle constructions and French middle constructions are similar in that they both employ resumptive pronouns. This section discusses the similarities between Chinese middle constructions and German middle constructions. In German, intransitive verbs can form middle constructions, as shown in (55).

(55) a. Es lebt sich gut als Secretärin in Bonn. (Fagan 1992: 44)
it/there lives SELF well as secretary in Bonn
b. Es tanzt sich gut auf glattem Parkett. (*ibid*.: 189)
it/there dances SELF well on smooth parquet

Since the impersonal pronoun *es* 'it' or 'there' occurs in the subject position, this type of German middle construction is called the impersonal middle construction. In Chinese, there are middle constructions similar to this type of the German middle construction, as shown in (56).

(56) a. (Zai) jia-li chi-de jiankang.
at home eat-DE healthy
'Eating at home is healthy.'
b. (Zai) bengchuang-shang tiao-de gao.
on trampoline-top jump-DE high
'People jump high on the trampoline.'

The verbs in (56) are intransitive, and there are two adverbials in these instances—one precedes the verb, and the other follows it. Another example is shown in (57). The subject *chuan yundongxie* 'wear sneakers' which functions as the theme seems to be a verbal phrase, but it should be analyzed as an adverbial meaning *with sneakers*.

(57) Chuan yundongxie pao-de kuai.
wear sneakers run-DE fast
'People run fast with sneakers.'

This article does not claim that this construction must be included as a type of Chinese middle construction but suggests leaving the issue open for further study.

Future studies should examine middle constructions in other languages, as they may offer valuable typological insights. Additionally, a historical study of the development of the V-*de* middle construction in Chinese may provide valuable insights into this issue, as Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz (1989: 33) suggest that the distinctions between English and French middle constructions may result from the historical difference outlined in (58).

(58) While the English middle is historically and cognitively related to the ergative, the French middle is similarly related to the passive construction. (Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989: 33)

5. Conclusion

This article has examined several so-called Chinese middle constructions and argued that part of the NP_{theme} V-*de* ADV construction is the only valid Chinese middle construction. It has suggested that the V-*qilai* construction which is often regarded as the Chinese middle construction in previous studies corresponds to the formal subject construction or the *pretty*-predicate construction in English. Another construction which is often regarded as the Chinese middle construction is the *hao*/*rongyi*/*nan* construction, and I have proposed that it

corresponds to the *tough* construction in English based on the evidence provided in the article. The article has also pointed out that the V-*de* ADV middle construction allows either a generic or an eventive reading, and it has two types of negation—one with a generic reading (without *de*) and the other with an eventive reading (with *de*). Furthermore, the Chinese middle construction is examined from a cross-linguistic perspective. It has been pointed out that the Chinese middle construction shares some similarities with the English middle in the type of verbs occurring in middle constructions. Similar to the French middle construction, the Chinese middle construction has a generic interpretation as well as an eventive interpretation. The Chinese middle construction may include a type of impersonal middle with an intransitive verb and two adverbials, which is similar to a type of German middle construction. Although the scope of the Chinese middle construction may be variable, this article has argued that it should be limited to part of the V-*de* construction.

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Advances and Challenges in Neural Machine Translation Techniques for Low Resource Language Translation

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Abstract. Low-resource language translation is a critical research area within Neural Machine Translation (NMT), confronting data scarcity and inconsistent translation quality. With the rapid advancement of NMT technology and intense learning-based translation models, low-resource language translation has become increasingly pivotal for preserving cultural heritage and transmitting endangered languages. This paper reviews the essential techniques in low-resource language translation, including data augmentation, transfer learning, multimodal translation, paragraph-level translation, and multilingual translation. By analyzing how these techniques enhance the quality of low-resource language translation, the paper investigates their role in addressing translation challenges. Additionally, the paper demonstrates, through case studies, how these techniques can be applied to specific low-resource language pairs in addressing real-world translation problems. Finally, this paper summarizes the datasets and evaluation metrics commonly utilized in low-resource language translation. It anticipates future research directions, particularly the potential of techniques such as bi-directional learning, self-supervised learning, and linguistic relevance analysis, which are expected to advance low-resource language translation further.

Keywords: neural machine translation; low-resource languages; data augmentation; transfer learning; multimodal translation; paragraph-level translation; datasets; evaluation metrics; case studies

1 Introduction

With the acceleration of globalization, machine translation has played a crucial role in facilitating cross-language communication, particularly in translating high-resource language pairs, and has yielded remarkable results. However, the translation of Low-Resource Languages (LRLs) continues to face numerous challenges [1-3]. Low-resource languages typically refer to languages that lack extensive parallel corpora and linguistic resources, which leads to challenges such as data scarcity and poor model generalization in NMT. Translating low-resource languages presents a technical challenge and a matter of global linguistic diversity and cultural heritage preservation. Numerous low-resource languages are disappearing, and the loss of these languages, which embody unique cultures and histories, results in the loss of valuable cultural heritage. Therefore, the study of translation in low-resource languages is of significant academic value and profound social significance, offering practical support for preserving and transmitting these languages [4-5].

NMT is a deep learning-based machine translation method that has made significant strides in translating high-resource language pairs in recent years [6]. The NMT model typically employs an encoder-decoder architecture, directly learning the mapping between the source and target languages through neural networks. The introduction of the attention mechanism has enabled NMT to perform better in long-distance dependency translation tasks, further enhancing translation quality. However, low-resource language translation encounters

numerous challenges, including data scarcity, syntactic differences, and semantic understanding [7-9]. Nevertheless, neural machine translation techniques present promising solutions for low-resource language translation. This paper focuses on the significant technological advances in low-resource language translation, analyzing how these technologies can effectively address translation challenges and exploring future research directions.

2 Technological advances in low-resource neural machine translation

The data scarcity and translation quality challenges encountered in low-resource language translation have prompted researchers to propose various innovative techniques. Table 1 summarizes the most common approaches and compares their strengths and weaknesses to better understand their advantages and limitations.

Table 1. Comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of low-resource language translation technologies

Technical approach	Vantage	Drawbacks
Data enhancement	Ability to extend the training dataset to improve model generalization	Inconsistent quality of data generated
Transfer learning	Ability to borrow knowledge from resource-intensive languages to reduce data requirements	Cross-language migration effects limited by language differences
Multimodal translation	Enrich contextual understanding and improve contextual understanding skills	Difficulties with data capture, alignment problems with modalities such as images
Paragraph-level translation	Ensure coherence and consistency of translation	Requires more computing and processing power
Multilingual translation	Increase translation capacity for low-resource languages and reduce the number of models	There are limitations to sharing knowledge across languages

2.1 Data enhancement

Data enhancement is a critical challenge in low-resource language translation. A sufficient parallel corpus is essential for model learning when training a neural machine translation model. However, large-scale parallel corpora are often unavailable for low-resource languages, resulting in a significant shortage of training data, which hampers the model's ability to effectively capture the mapping between the source and target languages. To address this issue, data augmentation techniques assist models in improving translation quality by generating additional training data. Back-translation (BT) is one of the most widely used data augmentation techniques [10]. In back-translation, researchers first use high-resource language datasets to translate the target text back into the source language, then pair the back-translated text with the original target text to generate a new parallel corpus. This method can significantly expand the training dataset, and back-translation is especially effective for low-resource language pairs. Back-translation alleviates the issue of parallel corpus scarcity and enhances the model's generalization ability, improving its performance on unseen data.

Additionally, data synthesis techniques have been widely applied in low-resource language translation. Data synthesis generates new training data by combining monolingual data with an existing parallel corpus. Data synthesis can effectively provide additional training samples for the model, particularly for low-resource

languages with a severe shortage of parallel corpora. In this manner, the model can learn more language mapping relationships, thereby improving translation accuracy and fluency.

2.2 Transfer learning

Transfer learning is a widely used technique in low-resource language translation that reduces the need for extensive training data by transferring knowledge from high-resource languages to low-resource language tasks [11-12]. The core concept of transfer learning is to leverage knowledge acquired from high-resource languages to support translation tasks in low-resource languages. Specifically, researchers typically train a neural machine translation model on a high-resource language pair (e.g., English-French) and transfer the model's parameters to a low-resource pair. In this manner, the translation task in the low-resource language can leverage the rich knowledge of the high-resource language, thereby improving the model's translation performance. The most common transfer learning method is model parameter sharing, where the model parameters obtained from training the high-resource language pair are directly transferred to the training process of the low-resource language pair.

Another transfer learning method is the Shared Word Vector Space (SWVS), which enables the low-resource language translation model to leverage the vocabulary knowledge of the high-resource language by mapping the vocabulary of both languages into the same space. This method can significantly enhance translation quality, mainly when translating Out-of-Vocabulary (OOV) words. The shared word vector space can address the issue of vocabulary scarcity in low-resource languages, enhancing the ability of low-resource language models to handle rare and unknown words.

2.3 Multimodal translation

Multimodal translation technology enhances the contextual understanding capabilities of neural machine translation models by integrating multiple modalities, such as text, images, and speech [13]. Traditional text-based models often struggle to capture contextual information adequately for translation tasks in low-resource languages. In contrast, multimodal translation techniques provide richer contextual support by incorporating additional modalities (e.g., images), improving translation quality.

Specifically, image information provides additional context to the translation system, allowing the model to comprehend the relationships between text and images during the translation process. For instance, when translating descriptive text or text with visual cues, image information can help the model better comprehend the meaning of the source language, leading to a more contextually accurate translation. Visual semantic features are extracted and input into the neural network alongside textual information, enabling the model to use image information to aid in translation. This approach is efficient for low-resource language translation, mainly when sufficient textual data is unavailable. Multimodal translation allows the system to understand the text and consider information from other modalities, such as images and videos, essential for enhancing the model's comprehension of diverse contexts. The application of multimodal translation in low-resource language translation, particularly in areas involving images or descriptive text, can substantially enhance translation quality and accuracy.

2.4 Paragraph-level translation

Paragraph-level translation addresses the issue of context loss often encountered in traditional sentence-level translation by incorporating longer-range contextual information. It effectively handles long sentences and inter-sentential dependencies, ensuring translation consistency and coherence. Paragraph-level translation requires the model to focus on translating individual sentences and understanding inter-sentential relationships within a paragraph to produce more coherent and contextually appropriate output. This approach is particularly valuable when translating extended texts such as novels and technical documentation [14].

In contrast, multilingual translation technology enhances performance in low-resource languages by enabling knowledge sharing across multiple languages. In multilingual translation models, low-resource

languages can utilize the parameters and linguistic knowledge of high-resource languages to improve translation performance. In particular, for language pairs with similar syntactic and semantic structures, multilingual translation can significantly enhance the translation quality of low-resource languages through knowledge sharing. Furthermore, multilingual translation models reduce the need to train separate models for each language, improving overall translation efficiency in multilingual settings.

3 Case Study: Mongolian-Chinese and Albanian-English translation applications

3.1 Mongolian-Chinese translation

A significant grammatical difference exists between Mongolian and Chinese, with Mongolian relying on suffix variation and Chinese on word order [15]. This difference limits the effectiveness of traditional rule-based translation methods in Mongolian-Chinese translation. The researchers employed the back-translation technique to enhance translation quality by generating additional parallel corpora. Additionally, the transfer learning method was applied to this task. By transferring the English-French translation model to the Mongolian-Chinese translation task, the translation quality was significantly improved, particularly in handling complex syntax, with transfer learning enhancing translation accuracy.

3.2 Albanian-English translation

Albanian, a low-resource language, faces the challenge of insufficient parallel corpora for its translation tasks [16]. Using transfer learning, the researchers pre-trained the model on the English-French parallel corpus. They transferred the model parameters to the Albanian-English translation task, significantly improving translation quality. Specifically, transfer learning allowed the model to understand better the complex relationships between the source and target languages when translating technical terms and long sentences.

4 Key data sets and metrics for low-resource language translation

4.1 Acquisition of low-resource language datasets

One of the central challenges in low-resource language translation is acquiring appropriate datasets. Without sufficient parallel corpora, researchers have constructed training datasets for low-resource languages using open-source corpora, collaborative data collection, and back-translation techniques. The OPUS dataset is an open-source, multilingual parallel corpus containing data from various low-resource languages. It is widely used in low-resource language translation research. The TICO-19 dataset focuses on the medical domain and includes medical texts in low-resource languages, making it particularly suitable for medical translation research involving low-resource languages. The WMT dataset is a significant evaluation benchmark for machine translation, offering parallel corpora for multiple language pairs, and is extensively used for both training and evaluation of translation systems. It includes extensive texts from domains such as news, science and technology, and law, making it suitable for many translation tasks, particularly high-resource language pairs. Although the WMT dataset primarily targets high-resource languages, recent years have seen an increasing inclusion of low-resource language pairs in WMT evaluations. The WMT dataset provides valuable reference data for low-resource language translation, enabling researchers to compare the performance of different translation systems across low-resource language pairs, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Low-resource language datasets

Dataset name	Descriptions	Applicability/Use

Opus dataset	Multilingual parallel corpus with multiple low-resource languages	Training and testing for translation into low-resource languages
TICO-19 dataset	Medical text datasets in predominantly resource-poor languages	A study of low-resource language translation for use in the medical field
WMT dataset	News dataset with multiple language pairs	Evaluating the performance of translation models in journalism

4.2 Evaluation indicators

Evaluating translation quality is essential in low-resource language translation, with commonly used metrics including BLEU, METEOR, and TER.

Table 3. Evaluation indicators

Indicators	Descriptions	Applicability/Use
BLEU	N-gram based accuracy assessment metrics	Used to measure the similarity between the translated text and the reference translation
METEOR	Evaluation metrics combined with semantic matching	Suitable for semantic evaluation, especially for low-resource languages
TER	Suitable for semantic evaluation, especially for low-resource languages	Quality assessment for long text translations

BLEU is an n-gram-based accuracy metric widely used to measure the similarity between a translated output and its reference translation. METEOR, conversely, considers linguistic factors such as synonyms and morphological variations with a greater emphasis on semantic matching. TER assesses translation quality by calculating the number of edits required to change the translated text into the reference translation, making it especially effective for evaluating long-form translations.

5 Conclusions and outlook

The translation of low-resource languages faces key challenges such as data scarcity and inconsistent quality, which hinder the practical application of NMT. However, significant advancements have been made through data augmentation techniques like back-translation and data synthesis, as well as transfer learning and multimodal translation. Transfer learning effectively utilizes knowledge from high-resource languages, while multimodal translation integrates different modalities (e.g., images) to improve translation accuracy. Additionally, paragraph-level and multilingual translation models address the limitations of sentence-level approaches, allowing for more robust context handling.

Despite these breakthroughs, several challenges remain, including issues related to data quality, source diversity, and the structural complexity of low-resource languages. Future research should focus on emerging technologies such as self-supervised and bidirectional learning to further enhance translation quality. These methods can reduce reliance on labeled data and improve knowledge sharing across languages. Additionally, future studies should consider the integration of linguistic and cultural factors to foster deeper semantic understanding. By exploring how linguistics and computer science can collaborate, future advancements will support the revitalization of low-resource languages and the preservation of global cultural diversity, ultimately contributing to linguistic equity and the safeguarding of cultural heritage.

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A Systematic Review on English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in Higher Education from the Sociolinguistic Perspective

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Abstract: The adoption of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education has gained global popularity in recent years, prompting a need to examine its sociolinguistic implications. This study aims to conduct a comprehensive review of the implementation of EMI from the sociolinguistic perspective, expanding Spolsky's (2004) language-policy model to explore the underlying power dynamics and inequalities. With the assistance of VOSviewer, which helps identify key research areas in EMI research, the current study investigates the background of the EMI policy, the concrete practices of language use by instructors and students, the sociocultural factors that affect the effectiveness of EMI, and the effects of EMI on both instructors and students. Guided by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis Protocol (PRISMA-P), a rigorous screening process is implemented. Studies are carefully evaluated based on inclusion and exclusion criteria including article type, language, research topics and subjects, research designs, and conclusions. As a result, 51 high-quality articles are meticulously selected for in-depth analysis. Findings indicated that the formulation of EMI policy was influenced by multiple factors including globalization, policy promotion, colonial history, and social recognition. In practical teaching, instructors and students used strategies such as code-switching, adaptive language use, multimodal teaching, translanguaging, and varied questioning techniques. However, they faced challenges which included negative language transfer and some teachers' reluctance towards translanguaging. It was also found that sociocultural factors played a crucial role in affecting the effectiveness of EMI. They covered students' L1 attachment, language proficiency, educational background, socioeconomic status, resource disparities, and gender, greatly influencing EMI's effectiveness. What's more, the effects of EMI on instructors and students have both positive and negative aspects. On one

hand, EMI improved students' motivation and language skills. On the other hand, some students struggled due to insufficient English proficiency or lack of teacher correction. Additionally, EMI intensified educational inequalities, influencing students' access to courses, academic progress, and cultural identities. Some instructors experienced anxiety due to limited English skills and rushed preparation. Moving forward, future research could explore students' learning behaviors with the help of learning analytics and provide additional suggestions for enhancing the application of EMI in higher education. By deepening our understanding of these behaviors, we can better inform the implementation of EMI classes that suit students' needs.

Keywords: online learning; quality assurance, student engagement, student satisfaction

1. Introduction

Numerous educational attempts have been conducted to improve students' academic outcomes guided by the development of modern educational policies. One such example is the launch of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) (Gu et al., 2023). EMI around the globe has gained substantial popularity in higher education, especially in non-English-speaking regions and countries (Cheng, 2017; Kohnke & Jarvis, 2023), marking a significant shift in the educational landscape. Disciplines including computing, engineering, and music have all witnessed its advantages (Kim, 2014; Su & Kong, 2023), offering significant opportunities for students and instructors. According to participants, the application of EMI courses associated them with enhanced communication skills, alternative job opportunities, and better research capabilities (Abdeljaoued, 2023; Karim et al., 2023). Therefore, the pedagogical pattern of EMI has won the increasing favor of students, their parents, and instructors (Siddiqui, 2022).

Nowadays, there has been an increase in the study of EMI in higher education. Some studies mainly investigated users' perceptions of EMI (Ko, 2008; Orfan, 2023). Other studies explored the effectiveness of EMI in classrooms (Al Muqarshi et al., 2024). After searching online databases, it was found that previous review studies mainly focused on the EMI policy while overlooking the sociolinguistic dynamics of how English, the medium of instruction, was used and adapted in the teaching process. A certain teaching language in class is one of the determinants of students' academic performances and instructors' content delivery.

Due to the prevalence and importance of EMI, the researchers must conduct a review that can provide a reference for instructors and future researchers to effectively integrate EMI in higher education in the future. Therefore, the objective of this study is to systematically investigate the implementation of EMI in higher education from four perspectives: the background of the EMI policy; concrete practices of language use by instructors and students; sociocultural factors that affect the effectiveness of EMI; and the influence of EMI on both instructors and students.

2. Literature review

2.1. English as a medium of instruction (EMI)

The introduction of EMI in higher education has brought about a tremendous change in the teaching mode, enabling more students to have access to English and be connected with the international stage (Shen & Gao, 2019; Zhang & Xiao, 2024). Meanwhile, it posed multiple challenges to instructors. For example, Othman and Mohd Saat (2009) found that instructors lacked the ability to integrate language and content and that teaching materials were not enough to serve dual purposes. Besides, instructors' insufficient communication skills in English was another challenge identified by the authors.

EMI has a long history. Qiu and Zheng (2023) stated that in the colonial era, the learning and teaching process was intertwined with linguistic imperialism and English dominance. At that time, English was imposed on education systems in the colonialized nations with the purpose of assimilation. Since then, English has been recognized as the lingua franca (Salomone, 2015; Siddiqui, 2021) and become dominant in almost all subjects. The Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 and the Bologna Declaration of 1999 laid the foundation for the adoption of EMI and equipping students with international perspectives and intercultural communication skills (Breetvelt, 2018).

In recent times, EMI refers to the educational practice of using English as the primary language of instruction for academic subjects other than English itself (Macaro et al., 2018). More importantly, EMI should be applied to regions or countries where the first language (L1) is not English (Simie & McKinley, 2024). Four features of EMI have been defined by Pecorari and Malmström (2018). First of all, English should be the teaching language in class; second of all, English should not be the subject itself; thirdly, the primary goal of EMI should not be language learning; last but not least, for the majority of people, English should be their second language (L2).

EMI courses developed rapidly in many regions and countries around the world. According to Dearden (2016), among 55 countries, approximately 80% of public universities and over 90% of private universities offered EMI courses. In Asia, mainly initiated and supported by governments and universities (Hu & Lei, 2014), China has transformed from Chinese as a medium of instruction (CMI) to EMI (McKinley et al., 2023) across diverse subjects, at various academic levels, and in different regions (Hu & Duan, 2019); Korea attempted to integrate English into the curriculum system while Japan has already established some EMI-only programs (Byun et al., 2011). In African countries such as Ethiopia, English was not only an instructional language but also a powerful tool to foster unity among the linguistic groups and modernize its educational system (Simie & McKinley, 2024). In the United Arab Emirates and other countries in the Persian Gulf, instructors were expatriates to guarantee the curriculum quality, and EMI courses on science, IT, and health were launched for students (Belhiah & Elhami, 2015).

Though the political, cultural, and geographical conditions of those regions and countries were distinctly different from each other, all of them uniformly took English as their language of instruction and promoted EMI in their educational systems. It is worth investigating the root cause of those attempts. Many previous researchers conducted reviews on related studies. For example, in a review study conducted by Lu et al. (2023), the forms and effects of translanguaging were classified. The limitation was that though they introduced the background of the concept of translanguaging, the background of EMI was not mentioned. Thus, the author proposed the following question:

RQ1. What is the background of the EMI policy?

2.2. Theoretical framework

Spolsky (2004) put forward a framework that the language policy consisted of three components. The first one is the actual practices of members of the speech community, including the varieties they use for different communicative functions and interlocutors, as well as the rules they follow for speech. The second one refers to the values and beliefs that community members assign to different language varieties and their attitudes towards a certain language. The third component, which Spolsky preferred to call management rather than planning, involves efforts by some community members who believe they have the authority to modify the language practices of others.

However, in every step of a language policy, people will show their certain attitudes in terms of the starting point, the implementation practices, and the effects. Thus, in the current study, students' and instructors' attitudes will not be discussed in a separate section but integrated into the discussion of other aspects of EMI. More importantly, since we view the EMI policy from the sociolinguistic perspective, it's crucial to investigate the sociocultural factors that could influence the effectiveness of EMI policy in real educational contexts. Thus, by extending the previous researcher's theoretical framework, the author put forward a new one that has been applied to the current study. Based on this framework, the author proposed the following questions:

RQ2. What are concrete practices of language use by instructors and students?

RQ3. What are the sociocultural factors that affect the effectiveness of EMI?

RQ4. What are the effects of EMI on both instructors and students?

3. Research Methods

3.1. Research Design

The current study adopted a systematic review method to evaluate the evidence in the studies, specifically using the Preferred Items for Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis Program (PRISMA-P) protocol (Crawford

et al., 2015). The whole process of conducting literature selection contains three sequential steps. First, a comprehensive literature search was carried out. Second, keywords were clustered and organized. Third, the results were refined to ensure their suitability for analysis.

3.2. Research Corpus

Firstly, the researcher gained the literature by searching the Web of Science (WoS) on December 11, 2024. Then, 1,227 results were found from the Web of Science Core Collection by keying in: “english-medium instruct*” OR “english as a medium of instruct*” (Topic) and “teach*” OR “learn*” (Topic). The results were extracted from multiple databases including Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) from 2005 to 2024, Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) from 2005 to 2024, and Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) from 2005 to 2024. Based on the literature that was identified, the range of publication years was between 2005 and 2024.

Secondly, all the results (N=1031) were exported in the form of plain text and clustered in the program VOSviewer. A map was created based on these bibliographic data by selecting co-occurrence as the type of analysis, full-counting as the counting method, and all keywords as the unit of analysis. Then, the minimum number of occurrences of a keyword was set to 10. Among the 2897 keywords, 112 met the threshold. For each of the 112 keywords, the total strength of the co-occurrence links with other keywords was calculated. The keywords with the greatest total link strength were chosen.

The keywords were classified into 6 clusters (see Figure 1.). Cluster 1 contains 41 items including English as a medium of instruction, achievement, bilingualism, and gender. Cluster 2 covers 21 items including globalization, identity, ideologies, language policy, and translanguaging. Cluster 3 has 20 items including higher education, internationalization, language proficiency, and professional development. Cluster 4 encompasses 17 items including attitudes, challenges, English as a lingua franca, and teachers. Cluster 5 comprises 12 items including context, engagement, students, and university. Cluster 6 involves 1 item which is English for academic purposes.

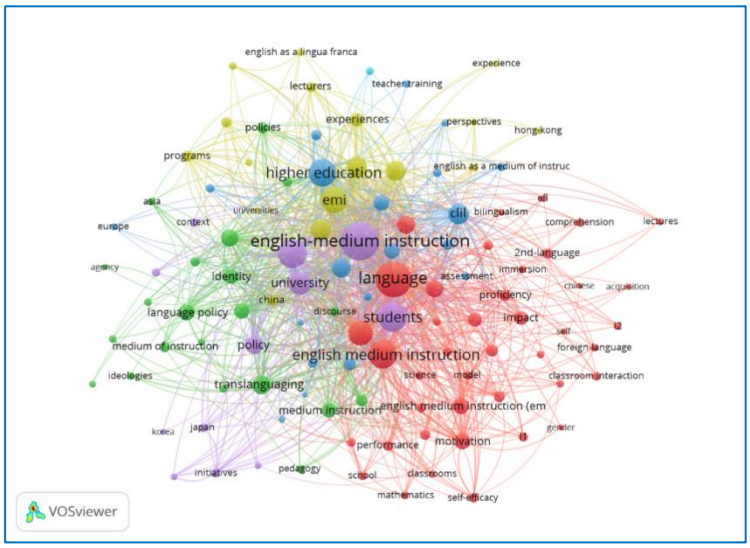


Fig. 1. Clustering of keywords in VOSviewer.

Then, hit research topics were identified and chosen by taking the total link strength of the keywords into account. Language is the top item with a total link strength of up to 1416. That is the reason why the current study chose to focus on the language use of instructors and students. Keywords relevant to EMI included English-medium instruction (N=1402), and EMI (N=752). Besides, keywords relevant to the background of EMI included policy (N=420), internationalization (N=383), language policy (N=266), and globalization (N=126), which were also highly ranked. In addition, keywords that were connected with the lingual practices of instructors and students included translanguaging (N=366), bilingual education (N=278), and multilingualism (N=269), which were among the top as well. Furthermore, keywords about factors that affected the effectiveness of EMI included motivation (N-376), experiences (N=240), and proficiency (N=186), which also deserved discussion. Last but not least, keywords that were associated with the impacts of EMI included challenges (N=550), attitudes (N=530), impact (N=250), identity (N=236), and achievement (N=166), which had high link strength as well. Therefore, the clustering result demonstrated that focusing on English, the medium of instruction, the background of EMI, lingual practices of EMI in courses, factors affecting the implementation of EMI, and the subsequent impacts were popular research topics in recent years.

3.3. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The researchers screened the collected literature based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. On one hand, the studies were excluded if they studies were excluded if they (1) did not specifically focus on the use of EMI; (2) were outside the educational field; (3) were not relevant to the proposed research questions, or (4) had no abstract. On the other hand, studies were included if they (1) provided adequate information relevant to the

current study; (2) showed a rigorous research method; (3) presented clear and distinct study outcomes; and (4) possessed a persuasive conclusion.

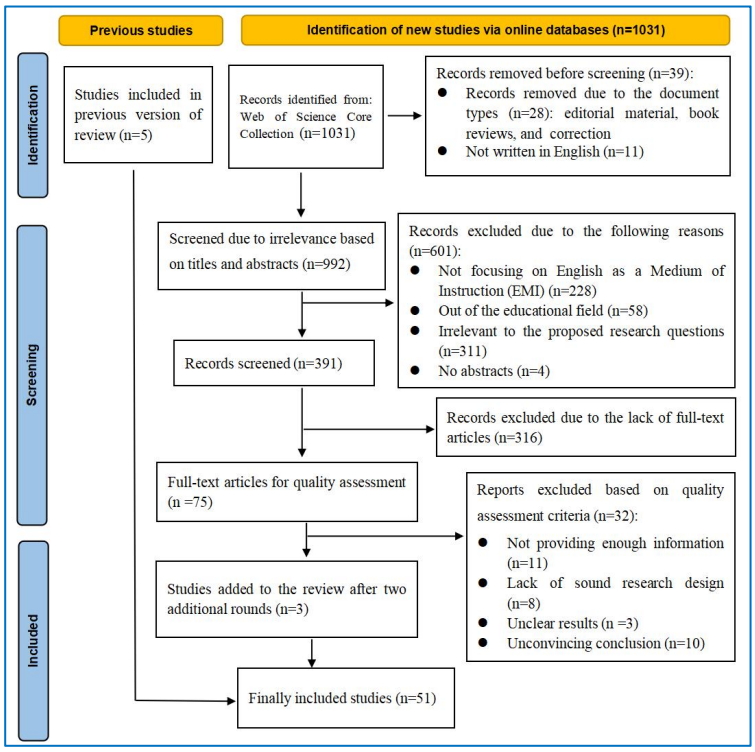


Fig. 2. A flow diagram of the selection of studies based on PRISMA.

Given the criteria, a rigorous assessment and selection flow diagram was constructed, as demonstrated in Figure 2. Initially, a total of 1031 studies were retrieved from the Web of Science. Then, 39 studies were excluded due to document types and other languages except English. Following the exclusion criteria, studies (N=992) were screened based on their titles and abstracts. This screening procedure resulted in the exclusion of 316 studies due to the lack of full-text availability, which was essential for fully understanding the research and verifying the reliability of the present study. 75 full-text articles were further checked based on the rigorous quality assessment criteria. After two additional rounds of evaluation by following the same procedure, 46 studies were ultimately included in the analysis, with 5 previous review studies inspiring the current study. Finally, these studies were tested with high inter-rater reliability (k=0.874). The whole selection process guaranteed the inclusion of the most relevant and high-quality studies in the systematic review.

4. Results

4.1. RQ1. What Is the Background of the EMI Policy?

First of all, EMI emerged as the response to economic globalization and educational internationalization (Abdeljaoued, 2023) where English was the lingua franca in many fields including education, business, and STEM (Belhiah & Elhami, 2015; Oraif & Alrashed, 2022). To adapt to the globalization trend, improve the employment prospects of graduates (Orr & Annous, 2018), and enhance the rank and competitiveness of the institutions on the international stage (Alghizzi & Alshahrani, 2022), many countries including Dutch, Germany, Saudi Arabic, and Ethiopia (Qiu & Zheng, 2023; Simie & McKinley, 2024) integrated EMI courses in their educational systems. In recent years, the further promotion of EMI has also been affected by neoliberal ideologies, associating English proficiency with economic prosperity, modernization, and social mobility (Huang, 2024).

Secondly, policy initiatives significantly advanced EMI, particularly in Europe. The 1998 *Sorbonne Declaration* and the 1999 *Bologna Declaration* accelerated the establishment of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), introducing the bachelor-master structure and a unified credit transfer system (Breetvelt, 2018), which prompted European countries like the Netherlands to adopt EMI extensively for international academic exchanges. In China, post-WTO accession, the Ministry of Education mandated that English-medium instruction cover at least half of university teaching hours, leading to widespread EMI course implementation (Guo et al., 2018). Through the 2001 Global 30 Program and the 2014 Top Global University Program, Japan attracted international students by offering EMI classes in universities (Huang, 2024). Similarly, South Korea took EMI as an integral part of its internationalization strategy, benefiting numerous students.

Thirdly, another significant factor related to EMI is colonialization. According to Orr and Annous (2018), former colonies like Lebanon, where English was historically used as a teaching language during European colonization, maintained its influence post-independence, facilitating extensive EMI implementation.

Last but not least, EMI gradually won social recognition from stakeholders including instructors, students, and their parents, who started to realize the prevalence and importance of English in the workplace and other fields in society (Siddiqui, 2022). More importantly, the promotion of English played an important role in promoting the unity of different language groups and the national construction strategy (Simie & McKinley, 2024).

4.2. RQ2. What Are Concrete Practices of Language Use by Instructors and Students?

Code-Switching in Class. Abdeljaoued (2023) found that both instructors and students switched flexibly between French, English, and Tunisian Arabic to achieve communication goals and facilitate academic

comprehension. This practice created a trilingual interactive space but also highlighted the difficulties students faced in speaking English, thereby increasing their learning burden. This finding was proved by Byun et al. (2011), who revealed that instructors used both Korean and English to facilitate their teaching efficiency in EMI courses.

Linguistic Negative Transfer and Correction. For most students, English is their second language. In class, the negative transfer phenomena from French to English existed (Abdeljaoued, 2023), including their borrowing and derivation of French words in the wrong way. When facing such issues, instructors would correct them after they fully express themselves instead of interrupting them immediately.

Adaptive Language Use in EMI Courses. To accommodate diverse language proficiencies, instructors adjusted grammar, vocabulary, and phrasing based on students' linguistic backgrounds and learning needs. For example, the instructors chose simpler words to explain complex concepts and also used synonyms to replace difficult terms (Pomat et al., 2024), accommodating the varied English proficiency levels of students and enabling more students to keep up with the teaching pace in class.

Teaching with Multimodal Resources. Jia et al. (2023) said one of the participants was found to use multimodal resources to assist teaching, such as pictures, slides (Pomat et al., 2024), and videos to help students understand professional knowledge. These forms could alleviate the difficulties brought by English and enhance students' engagement in classes through various vivid multimodal resources.

Translanguaging. In EMI classes, both instructors and students used translanguaging for two goals: one is to improve interaction and understanding and the other is to promote language learning (Li & Peng, 2024). For the first goal, translanguaging occurred mainly during term explanations (especially discipline-specific vocabulary), grammatical clarifications, or comprehension checks (Luchenko et al., 2024), breaking down language barriers and enhancing students' participation in class. As to the second goal, for those students with limited English levels, translanguaging could be seen as an effective means to use their mother tongue as a tool for understanding and interpreting English, connecting concepts in their mother tongue to English learning.

However, some native English instructors held negative attitudes towards translanguaging, viewing it as the manifestation of students' insufficient language abilities or halfhearted attitudes toward English learning (Li & Peng, 2024). Thus, they would interrupt students' speeches in class due to their pronunciation or incorrect wording, which made students feel pressured and more unconfident about their English levels.

Instructors' Questioning Discourses. The first type is questioning for interthinking. Through the combination of low-order and high-order questions (Ustuk & Hu, 2024), instructors not only imparted knowledge but also created a conversational space in the classroom, encouraging students to improve their in-depth thinking abilities, which was the embodiment of language as a social interaction tool.

The second type is authoritative questioning discourse, referring to the maintenance of power structures through linguistic forms. Through low-order questions, instructors aimed to check students' understanding and

emphasize the correctness of the answers to maintain authority (Ustuk & Hu, 2024). It reflected the power dynamics and language control between instructors and students in class.

4.3. RQ3. What Are the Sociocultural Factors that Affect the Effectiveness of EMI?

Emotional Connections with Students' Mother Tongue. In EMI contexts, many students cannot fully accept English as their main language because of their emotional attachment to their mother tongue. For example, Tunisian students tended to use French and Arabic in class instead of English because they were more familiar with those languages (Abdeljaoued, 2023). Such a resistant attitude towards English became a burden to students, impairing the effectiveness of EMI and students' learning outcomes (Bälte et al., 2024). For those students, language was not solely a tool but a symbol of their cultural identity (Almusharaf et al., 2023). Similarly, Some instructors also viewed EMI as a threat to national languages, while international students without European cultural roots felt excluded, reducing their engagement in EMI courses (Dearden & Macaro, 2016).

Limited English Skills of Both Instructors and Students. An instructor's language proficiency directly affected the teaching efficiency. Previous studies revealed problems such as instructors' influent speaking and their unclear expressions in English (Siddiqui, 2021; Siegel, 2020), hindering their teaching effectiveness to a large extent. Besides, instructors who were immersed in the French teaching model failed to switch to the EMI model in a short time, reflecting the challenges of cultural and linguistic transition (Abdeljaoued, 2023). Other teaching strategies represented by instructor-centered methods would undermine students' motivations because they were not given enough opportunities to pose their doubts (Bälte et al., 2024).

For students, limited vocabulary, slow reading, and poor oral comprehension (Almusharaf et al., 2023) posed barriers, exacerbated in multilingual classrooms where diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds disrupted cohesive EMI implementation (Luchenko et al., 2024).

Educational Cultural Factors. Bälte et al. (2024) linked high academic pressure and self-expectations in EMI to students' anxiety and frustration when they found it difficult to achieve their desired grades, creating a cycle of negative emotions that undermined performance (Yuksel et al., 2023). However, moderate extrinsic and intrinsic motivations improved students' adaption to EMI courses (Tai & Zhao, 2024). For example, if they believed that English was conducive to getting a better job and becoming a more educated person, they would be more interested and passionate in EMI classes.

What's more, China's exam-oriented culture compounded challenges, as instructors and students prioritized test scores over oral skills (Jia et al., 2023). As a result, they found it difficult to understand and express themselves in EMI classes.

Socioeconomic Status. According to Huang (2024), in some universities, students from low socioeconomic status backgrounds struggled to afford EMI courses and expensive textbooks. On the contrary, students from

high-income families could get in touch with English training at an early age because of their parents' substantial investment in their education (Nguyen, 2023). The accumulated English learning experiences laid the solid foundation for their EMI courses in higher education. These aspects affected their acceptance of EMI courses and limited their accessibility to EMI courses, reflecting that socioeconomic status differences could hinder students' participation in EMI programs.

Differences in the Distribution of Resources. Concerning different regions, compared with developed areas, developing and inland areas face many challenges during the implementation of EMI, including the lack of professional training, teaching facilities, and materials (Jia et al., 2023). Those areas could not guarantee the teaching and learning requirements, which further constrained the promotion of EMI.

What's more, different types of universities and majors enjoyed different EMI recourses as well. Students from key majors and subjects with international features had more access to English training and learning materials (Jia et al., 2023).

Gender. In terms of learning strategies, compared to girls, boys tended to seek additional English support when facing difficulties. In the Hong Kong educational environment, boys were more encouraged to actively participate in EMI classes while girls might be more reserved and need more guidance to actively express themselves (Pun & Jin, 2021). Those differences in learning behaviors between boys and girls might largely affect their learning outcomes.

4.4. RQ4. What Are the Effects of EMI on Both Instructors and Students?

First of all, concerning language ideology, Briggs et al. (2018) revealed that students' learning motivations increased because they recognized the importance of English in their career development (Karim et al., 2023). Most students thought that through EMI, their English skills improved a lot. For example, they became more confident in speaking, felt smoother listening comprehension, and had a larger vocabulary (Belhiah & Elhami, 2015). On some occasions, Alghizzi and Alshahrani (2022) reported that students developed cultural empathy, becoming open-minded by communicating with peers who had different cultural backgrounds in EMI classes. On the contrary, affected by Korean local culture, students tended to keep silent in EMI courses without any active interaction with instructors (Ko, 2008). In addition, students who had limited English proficiency lacked confidence, leading them to remain silent in EMI classes (Qiu & Zheng, 2023). This self-marginalization not only affected their participation but also gradually eroded their cognitive confidence.

However, due to the lack of instructors' correction of mistakes made by students, students showed that their English proficiency did not improve a lot (Almusharaf et al., 2023), leading to a higher dropout rate than other courses (Bälte et al., 2024). For some instructors, the implementation of EMI caused anxiety and pressure (Breetvelt, 2018) because of the hasty preparations for the courses and their limited English skills (Almusharaf et al., 2023; Huang, 2024).

Secondly, the implementation of EMI enlarged inequalities. According to (Huang, 2024), the government provided more policy support and funding for public universities than private ones. Additionally, some expensive English textbooks increase the financial burden for students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Such inequalities affected students' access to EMI courses, which hindered their academic progress and development in the future. Nguyen (2023) added that students whose English level was low in high school would make greater progress than others, showing the effectiveness of EMI. What's more, students who attended extracurricular English training institutions performed academically better, manifesting that EMI courses in schools alone may not be enough to meet students' English learning needs (Nguyen, 2023).

Concerning different genders, significant differences were identified between male and female students (Nguyen, 2023). Boys did better in EMI communication, but this did not necessarily mean that they had better English skills. Girls were more likely to feel pressured or shy about expressing their views publicly (Pun & Jin, 2021).

Thirdly, concerning students' views on their mother tongue and the cultures, students showed that in an EMI context where Western culture dominated, their local cultures would be challenged and their emphasis on their mother tongue would be diminished, causing confusion and conflicts in cultural identity (Peng & Xie, 2021). Besides, students might encounter difficulties in understanding academic content due to the lack of corresponding key concepts in their native culture (Qiu & Zheng, 2023).

5. Discussion

5.1. Suggestions for Institutions

Concerning the opinions of instructors and students, institutions need to reevaluate the distribution of learning resources among different disciplines, different majors, and different classes. By collecting stakeholders' opinions, they should ensure that each subject, major, and class can have access to adequate language support and materials, which could benefit all students in the end. Regarding course design, institutions must take into account students' interests and current language capabilities (Choi & Poudel, 2024). This could involve conducting surveys or focus groups to understand students' preferences and concerns before finalizing the curriculum. To enhance teaching efficiency, institutions should also provide comprehensive training for instructors involved in EMI teaching.

5.2. Suggestions for Instructors

First of all, though previous researchers contended that the adoption of EMI enlarged inequality (Hu et al., 2014), as for the distinctive features of every student, instructors should provide language support without any

discrimination. No matter what their educational background and English proficiency are, instructors should believe that they share the same development opportunities and EMI resources.

Secondly, instructors should encourage a more flexible approach to language use in the classroom. They can allow for appropriate translanguaging in the initial stage of EMI courses, enabling students to use multiple languages when necessary to enhance understanding. This will help overcome language barriers and promote a more inclusive learning environment (Choi & Poudel, 2024).

Thirdly, according to students' opinions mentioned above, the most pressing thing that the instructors should do is enhance their professional teaching abilities, including developing standard English accents (Sahan et al., 2022), adjusting teaching strategies according to students' styles, and keeping learning in and out of class to better support students.

6. Conclusions

The conclusion part consists of major findings, limitations of this study, and future research directions.

6.1. Major Findings

This study revealed that the background of the EMI policy was influenced by globalization, policy promotion, colonial history, and social recognition, leading to its wide application in higher education globally. In terms of language use practices, instructors and students employed various methods such as code-switching, adaptive language use, multimodal resource-assisted teaching, translanguaging, and different types of teacher questioning discourses, yet also faced issues including negative language transfer and some teachers' negative attitudes towards translanguaging. Sociocultural factors significantly impacted the effectiveness of EMI, including students' emotional attachment to their mother tongue, the language skills of both instructors and students, educational and cultural factors, socioeconomic status, differences in resource distribution, and gender differences. EMI had multiple effects on instructors and students; while students' learning motivation and language skills might improve, some struggled due to insufficient English proficiency or lack of instructor correction, and its implementation exacerbated inequalities, affecting students' access to courses and academic development and causing confusion in students' cultural identity with their mother tongue, and some instructors experience anxiety and pressure due to hasty preparations and limited English skills.

6.2. Limitations

This study has three limitations. Firstly, it may not comprehensively include all relevant publications due to limited library resources. Secondly, given the development of EMI, the practices and impacts may have

progressed, necessitating further examination. Last but not least, in the process of literature selection, some articles were not included because they were not full-text articles..

6.3. Implications for Future Research

Future research should identify students' learning habits in EMI courses with the help of the learning analytics method, and use predictive models to identify students with potential risks to promote learning progress (Jo et al., 2014). In this way, the EMI policy can better satisfy the practical requirements and conditions of the students. The success of adopting EMI in higher education may inspire the extension of its application in other fields such as business training, medication, and so on.

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网络舆情事件中的多元话语互动研究

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摘要：当前微博等新媒体蓬勃发展，其互动性功能不断放大，话语主体日益多元化，对网络舆情治理带来新挑战。本研究以2024年微博热点“莫言被起诉”一事作为具体考察案例，通过定性分析系统探究官方话语、个人话语以及媒体话语之间的互动博弈过程。研究发现，在本次网络舆情事件中，不同话语主体在事件发展的三个阶段内采用了不同的话语策略。首先在舆情发展潜伏期，话语互动主要是在文学文本层面进行争辩与定性，第二阶段爆发期上升至政治化定性与爱国情绪煽动，最终舆情成熟期官方媒体采取商业化定性，使得国内舆论逐渐消退，而国外报道相对于国内舆论爆发具有滞后性，又在事件后期开始了政治化的抹黑和负面建构。对网络舆情事件中多元话语间的互动进行研究，有助于发现热点事件舆情传播话语的基本规律，为舆情防范及监管提供相关启示与有益借鉴。

关键词：网络舆情；话语互动；多元话语分析；微博；舆论传播

1 引言

随着新媒体时代技术发展与普及，当下话语环境日益复杂，话语主体呈现多元化、多样化，话语影响更加社会化、即时化，多元意见激烈竞争，各种形式的社交媒体在社会公共事件舆情传播方面发挥越来越大的影响力和舆论动员力（李彪，2020）。中共中央宣传部舆情信息局（2009）指出，网络舆情是社会舆情在互联网空间的直接反映与映射，主要通过网络社交媒体平台进行扩散传播，是对自身关心或利益相关的热点事件、社会现象所表达的多种态度、认知、情绪和观点交错的总和。其中包括涉事人群较多的公共事件，也涵盖人数较少的个体性事件，且个体性事件可供炒作的舆论焦点丰富，成为网络舆情突发事件主要力量（张世昌，2019），期间吸引了多元话语主体，在舆情演变过程中不断进行着话语互动与话语对抗。

本文通过考察具体网络热点个体性事件，关注多方话语之间互动与对抗关系，以进行动态阐释分析。事件选取为2024年“莫言被起诉”微博热点事件，源于今年二月下旬，一位名为“说真话的毛星火”网友于微博公开发表向法院提起的起诉书，指控著名作家莫言的作品存在抹黑英雄先烈的问题，一时引发公众热议。在此事件中，个人、媒体与政府等话语主体分别进行了怎样的话语表达与建构？其中采用了何种话语策略？各话语之间形成了怎样的话语互动关系？该事件对网络舆情监管和防范有何启发？以上问题有待深入探讨。

2 文献综述与理论架构

话语（discourse）在批评话语研究领域被认为是一种社会实践，并非仅仅是口头话语、书面文本、交际行为或对现实的描述，而是“社会关系的构成维度”（Griggs & Howarth, 2013, p.17），话语本身具有生产性，组成社会系统的一部分。“话语”一词的理论根源可追溯到福柯对语言和表征的解读，在福柯看来，语言是社会关系和社会权力的媒介，语言的秩序表现出社会的秩序（Foucault, 1970），语言的表征并非孤立存在于社会关系外，而是渗透了思想观念、意识形态及复杂的社会文化意义（钱俊希，2013）。在此视角影响下，社会语言学者费尔克劳同样提出话语是表征世界的方式，不同话语之间的关系构成不同群体之间关系的一个要素（Fairclough, 2003, p.124），人们之间的合作、竞争乃至支配关系，都由话语反映并受话语影响。由此，话语在展开过程中也在动态建构着多元话语主体之间的关系，一个事件概念被不同定义，代表了不同的价值判断，隐含了特定社会成员和其他社会群体之间的关系。

不少学者关注到了社会网络舆论事件中话语的力量，李岩（2014）运用福柯的话语理论，从话语层面解读网络暴力生成过程，揭示了网络话语暴力的运作方式及其后果；李战子（2016）以功能语言学为框架进行话语分析，为新媒体研究所关注的话语提供系统而精微的描述和阐释；刘红波和高新珉（2021）通过考察 1711 个微博舆情事件及文本情感分析，探究公众网络参与行为对政府网络话语权产生的影响；而董扣艳（2021）对微博热搜性别话题进行了批评话语分析。但当前网络话语研究通常只关注一方面或某一群体话语的静态描述，缺少对多群体话语的互动以及话语对抗研究。在意义争夺场域内，公众、政府和媒体面对突发公共网络舆情事件会进行不同的话语表达与建构，相互交织，相互影响。不同的话语主体针对各自目的进行表达与实践，产生不同的话语，赋予不同的意义，其中话语之间的分歧和错位也会导致话语对抗关系的产生。基于网络空间发生的话语实践的互动性、多回合性特点有待进一步关注，话语互动背后的社会实践还需深入探究。

由此，在传统话语分析基础上，多元话语分析作为一种新的分析模式出现，批判性继承了福柯的话语理论，将话语分析与后现代主义思潮中的多元主义视角相结合，强调所有现象都是由话语群体在特定话语系统下所建构出来的话语性实在，而非给定的现实性实在（樊振佳&肖树璇，2022），不同话语体系下的话语主体展现着不同的价值观，对同一对象都会做出截然不同的话语建构，事物的本质也随话语系统的转变而转变（谢立中，2010）。“多元”即立场多元和视角多元，王国华等学者（2018）认为多元话语建构是从多元视角考察话语说出的多种可能性，以高校研究生自杀为例，通过研究青年学生群体话语策略的使用，尝试得到多样化的话语分析结果；赵秀凤（2023）聚焦由多元主体参与的话语网络，以能源政治话语为例，考察不同阶层社会主体话语间的相互影响。本文认为“多元”主要指话语建构主体的多元化，关注网络舆情中不同社会群体，多角度看待问题；另指话语分析环节多元化，通过词语策略、修辞策略和主题策略等不同话语策略，结合社会因素对话语建构进行分析。

“话语”通常作为话语分析的研究对象，而“话语互动”则突显出话语的社会互动特征，成为批评话语分析的一个新课题（田海龙，2021b），通常聚焦社会实践网络中不同活动场域中的多元社会主体，通过其语言表述探究彼此之间的相互作用与影响（田海龙，2021a）。在具体的网络舆情事件中，话语互动往往作为一种具体表现形式出现，涉及多元话语主体，在受到所在集体的文化、政治制度等因素影

响下，生产出不同话语，具体呈现为话题、词汇、修辞、态度立场等形式，借由媒体平台传递给话语受众，话语受众接收后以某种话语策略对信息做出反应，角色转变成又一话语主体，形成对等的话语（刘立华，2023）。图 1 即为上述话语互动详细过程，本文便遵循此话语互动模式，对具体网络舆情事件展开分析。

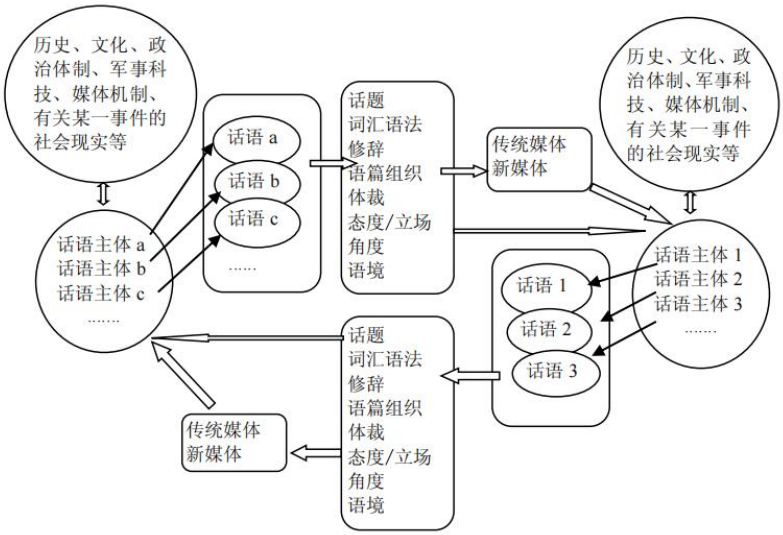


图 1 话语互动的基本模式（刘立华，2023）

3 研究对象及语料

3.1 研究对象

2024 年 2 月，一位名叫“说真话的毛星火”的微博博主通过信访渠道，向浙江省信访局举报知名作家莫言的作品《红高粱家族》及其出版机构，要求对该书进行重新审查，并于 2 月 2 日发表微博文章“莫言《红高粱家族》涉嫌抹黑英雄先烈八路军和美化侵华日军的事实证据”，开始引发网友关注和讨论。2 月 4 日，浙江出版联合集团慎重核查后，回复信访人反映的问题并不属实，事件风波稍有平息。

投诉不成，该博主发起起诉莫言的微博投票，得到九千人左右的投票支持，于是在 2024 年 2 月 22 日正式向北京地方法院提交起诉莫言的文字材料。因法院以不符合起诉案件驳回后，2 月 26 日博主再次向检察院提起公益诉讼，并在第二天于微博贴出起诉书，指控莫言小说作品涉嫌“抹黑烈士”等诸多“罪名”，事件再起风波。作为当事人的莫言始终未对博主的起诉做出回应，但河南省委直属媒体《河南日报》旗下“顶端新闻”对此事及时进行评论和批驳。2 月 27 日同日，《环球时报》前总编辑胡锡进也站出来反驳博主观点，作为意见领袖其发言非但没能为网络舆情事件降温，反而形势愈演愈烈，一时引发网络群众热议。

当前网络舆情呈现情绪爆发式传播，此次“爱国营销”事件在社会公共事件舆情传播方面呈现出强

大影响力和传播力，围绕这一事件的话语实践构成网络舆情中话语互动的典型案例。事件中不仅包含毛星火博主的日常微博话语，另有官方媒体及意见领袖对其进行反驳、新闻媒体进行报道传播，构成了多个社会主体话语的多元话语事件。本次研究以多元社会主体产生的话语为研究语料，具体探究各方对该事件的不同态度和定性，以及由此产生的话语策略，从而加深对网络舆情事件中话语互动过程的了解，促进营造理性的网络舆论空间。

3.2 语料收集

为清晰探究本次网络舆情事件的发展过程，本文语料选取时间限定为 2024 年 2 月 2 日至 3 月 17 日，时间跨度为 45 天，于微博、微信公众平台等网络渠道搜集相关语料。根据突发公共事件网络舆情生命周期（李纲&陈璟浩，2014），此次事件发展阶段可大致划分成第一阶段潜伏期、第二阶段爆发期、第三阶段成熟和衰退期。第一阶段时间跨度为 2024 年 2 月 2 日至 2 月 27 日，话题不断发酵，逐渐进入公众视野；第二阶段为 2 月 27 日至 3 月 3 日，一周时间内舆情热度急剧攀升，不同话语群体互动纷争，话语杂糅、交织；第三阶段为 3 月 4 日至 3 月 17 日，舆情爆发后的两周时间，话语参与者逐渐散去，信息增幅减缓。在这一话语互动实践中，本文重点关注代表性人物或媒体及意见领袖的网络言论，根据不同话语发生的时间顺序进行排序，得到下表 1。

表 1 有关“莫言被起诉”一事网络话语的时间顺序

阶段	媒体渠道	作者/来源	发表时间	标题
第一阶段	微博头条文章	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.2 16:42	莫言《红高粱家族》涉嫌抹黑英雄先烈八路军和美化侵华日军的事实证据
	网络	浙江出版联合集团	2024.2.4 10:09	浙江出版联合集团关于信访件处理情况的回复
	微信公众平台/微博头条文章	不屈毛星火/说真话的毛星火	2024.2.4 14:05	我精准投诉举报莫言书籍，收到有关单位答复莫言书籍没问题，我呼吁第三方部门来调查核实！
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.24 15:28	起诉莫言！依法治国，英烈法不能成为摆设！
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.27 16:00	起诉书
	微博	顶端新闻	2024.2.27 16:01	顶端新闻发布评论文
	官网	顶端评论	2024.2.27 16:08	莫言遭起诉，文学争议莫成法律闹剧
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.27 17:37	回应@顶端新闻 小编
第二	微博	胡锡进观察	2023.2.27 18:58	起诉莫言闹剧的背后，是民粹的危险升

阶段				温
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.27 22:20	我起诉莫言，胡锡进破防了！
	微博头条文章	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.28 15:33	起诉胡锡进，为所有爱国人民讨公道
	微信公众平台	胡锡进观察	2024.2.29 14:49	网上“专找汉奸打”该停了！
	微博头条文章	说真话的毛星火	2024.2.29 14:56	起诉胡锡进，胡锡进为何污蔑遵纪守法依法行事的爱国人民为“民粹”？
	微信公众平台	胡锡进观察	2024.3.2 18:31	获诺贝尔文学奖成了莫言的“原罪”？
	微信公众平台	不屈毛星火	2024.3.3 13:01	起诉莫言，起诉胡锡进，相信国家，相信法律
	微信公众平台	浙江宣传	2024.3.5 07:32	爱国情怀岂能这样消费
	微博头条文章	说真话的毛星火	2024.3.6 12:20	毛星火起诉莫言：实事求是，是永远的真理
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.3.10	致胡锡进以及莫言的支持者：依法起诉莫言不是闹剧。
第三阶段	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.3.13	公益诉讼莫言：我拒绝了美联社的采访。
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.3.14	公益诉讼莫言：我为何拒绝美国美联社的采访？拒绝这个名扬天下的机会？
	微博	说真话的毛星火	2024.3.17	公益诉讼莫言：日本媒体，为何支持莫言？

此外，媒体作为话语互动场域的一个话语主体，本身也在影响其他话语互动主体观念的传递和信息意义的建构。不同于微博的实时交互性，新闻媒体略有滞后，于第三阶段开始介入报道，尤其以国外媒体为代表进行国际传播，对事件进行评价与互动。本文利用谷歌浏览器以“Mo Yan & sue”、“Mo Yan & accuse”为搜索词进行检索，剔除重复转载内容后，共获得 17 篇新闻报道（见表 2），构成第三方话语主体。

表 2 有关“莫言被起诉”一事英文媒体报道情况

来源	时间（UTC+8）	新闻报道标题
BNN Correspondents	2024.2.28	Nobel Laureate Mo Yan Accused of Insulting Chinese Heroes: Patriotism or Publicity Stunt?
China Daily	2024.2.29	“Fake patriotism” stunt wastes public resources
South China Morning	2024.3.10	China’s Nobel winning novelist Mo Yan targeted

Post		by growing band of online nationalists
South China Morning Post	2024.3.11	Nobel-winning writer targeted by nationalists
CNN Wire	2024.3.12	He was once hailed as the pride of China. Now nationalists are coming for this Nobel laureate
The Associated Press	2024.3.12	Nobel Literature laureate Mo Yan is accused in patriotism lawsuit of insulting China's heroes
ABC Online	2024.3.13	Chinese Nobel-winning author Mo Yan targeted in patriotic lawsuit
WebNews - English	2024.3.13	Mo Yan Faces Patriotism Lawsuit Amid Debate on Nationalism in China
CE Noticias Financieras English	2024.3.13	Nationalist fervor on Chinese social networks puts companies and prominent figures in check
BreakingNews.ie	2024.3.13	Nobel laureate Mo Yan accused of insulting China's heroes in lawsuit
KYODO NEWS	2024.3.13	Chinese Nobel laureate sued for "beautifying" wartime Japan soldiers
Macau Daily Times	2024.3.14	Nobel Literature laureate accused in patriotism lawsuit of insulting China's heroes
Mainichi JP	2024.3.14	Chinese Nobel laureate sued for "beautifying" wartime Japan soldiers
Global Voices	2024.3.15	In China, Nobel winner and writer Mo Yan accused of lacking patriotism
The Guardian	2024.3.15	China Nobel prize winner tarred as one of "three new evils" amid rise in nationalist fervour
New Delhi Times	2024.3.15	Chinese Cyber Nationalists Target Nobel Laureate, Water Company
NPR	2024.3.16	Nobel Prize-winning author Mo Yan is being sued in China for "distorting history"

4 话语互动分析

在网络平台中，每个人既是话语生产者，又是话语受众，两种角色交错，极大地促进了多方互动交流。本次网络舆情中的话语具有显著的互动性，不同话语主体借助不同话语渠道，围绕文学、莫言、被起诉等核心主题进行多轮次的话语互动，拆解对立方观点中的谬误，并合法化自身立场观点，增强自身话语的"合理性"，以此影响网友的态度和评价（吴鹏&黄澄澄，2013；刘立华&童可，2021）。本次事件发展阶段中，各话语主体分别采用了不同的话语策略，呈现出复杂的话语特征。

4.1. 第一阶段的话语互动："事实"论辩与文学定性

4.1.1 "断章取义"式罗列证据

事件一开始，博主向浙江信访局投诉举报，投诉未果后又转向法院提交起诉书，在一系列话语中，为凸显其投诉及起诉话语的合法性，博主采用论辩策略，通过从莫言作品中摘取的只言片语，罗列“证据”说服大众，使用惯用语句，引导群众对正义、爱国、益处等论题进行逻辑判断，试图刻画“莫言抹黑英雄先烈”的“事实”，从而论证自身观点的正面性或负面性（Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.94）。

[1] 所有的证据，都是我本人买了莫言的书，本人亲自看莫言的书，核实出来。

“第 189 页，涉嫌抹黑英雄先烈八路军。写抗日战争时期侵华日军进村庄时烧杀抢掠，八路军只躲在高粱地里放冷枪，不敢出来抗日保护百姓。”（来源微博 2024-2-2）

从例 1 可以看出，博主在投诉论证“莫言涉嫌抹黑英雄先烈”的命题时，引用了大量所谓的“客观事实”，通过引述多篇作品里的只言片语，表明自己说法的合理性，指责书中存在的问题，试图构建自己“嫉恶如仇”的正义形象，说明自己采取措施起诉作品是应该的、正义的。

在多轮会话当中，博主不断运用例证支撑，尤其在向法院提交的“起诉书”中，博主列举了 26 条选文内容，借用莫言自己的作品攻击莫言，试图增强博主自身的说服力。对于一些未读过莫言书籍的话语受众来说，博主成为知识传播的源头，由此在话语中构建了“知识和道德领导权”（Gramsci, 1971, p.57），从而收获了一大批不明真相的网友的支持，为后续舆情爆发造势。

4.1.2 官方媒体文学定性

在事件发酵的初期，官方媒体将该事件定性为“文学争议”，聚焦文学层面的评价与解释，对博主话语内容进行解构。主要语料包括浙江出版联合集团对投诉的官方回复，以及河南日报新媒体客户端顶端新闻发表的评论文章“莫言遭起诉，文学争议莫成法律闹剧”。

浙江出版联合集团在对信访件的处理回复中采用直接否认策略，开门见山点明“信访人反映的《红高粱家族》问题并不属实”，通过论述莫言同志的成就和认可度，以及对其作品《红高粱家族》客观评价和正名，表明信访件所述话语是“断章取义和误读”（如例 2）。

[2]只有把一部长篇小说当作一个整体，才能判断作家本人的思想倾向；对作品任何断章取义的理解，都容易造成对整部作品本身和作家本人的误读。因此，信访人所反映的《红高粱家族》一书的这些问题属于断章取义和误读，不存在导向问题。

在毛星火博主正式开始起诉莫言后，仅有一家官方主流媒体“顶端新闻”对其言语行为进行评论和驳斥，主要仍是以文学定性为主，认为该博主行为“把文学批评变成了一场法律闹剧”、“利用文学争议制造舆论热点”，评论核心仍然聚焦文学层面。面对博主摘取只言片语作为自己的论据，该阶段官方媒体也从博主话语内容入手，正面论述莫言作品的深刻和价值，表明“真正的文学应该是自由的、多元的、包容的”（见例 3），要“坚决捍卫文学创作的自由”，从而解构博主的话语来源。

[3]但真正的文学应该是自由的、多元的、包容的，能够反映人性的复杂性和社会的多样性。我们不能因为莫言的作品揭露了某些不为人知的真相或触动了某些人的敏感神经就对其进行打压或否定。

4.2 第二阶段的话语互动：政治化定性与情绪煽动

4.2.1 事件“政治化”定性

本次事件中话语互动第一阶段集中在文学作品层面的讨论，而第二阶段上升至个人和政治层面，使得此次舆论事件热度不降反升。2 月 27 日《环球时报》前任编辑胡锡进于微博发表评论反驳毛星火言论，其话语中对事件和人物采用了政治化定性策略，网络舆论骤然激化。

基于本次事件，以胡锡进为代表的批判者构成了另一话语主体，借助微博或微信公众号新媒体发表反驳言论，形成另一话语，并通过一系列话题及词汇修辞，将该事件性质上升至政治层面。首先，以胡锡进为代表的反对者将毛星火博主定义为“民粹主义”、“政治审查者”，搭配消极的评价性语言及明确的谓语动词或谓词性名词，如例 4 中使用“激进”、“找茬批斗”、“戾气”，赋予起诉者负面特征和属性，表明坚决反对的态度立场，并运用战争隐喻，如打、抓、扫描，营造危机感，强调本次事件的严重性。

[4]如今互联网上激进的东西不少，发出者为了自我安全，打出“爱国”“正能量”的旗号，在我们社会丰富多彩的现实中不断扫描，抓一个又一个可以找茬批斗的人与事情，“宰活鱼”，逐渐形成了一种破坏社会和谐与多元的戾气。（来源微博 2024-2-27）

此外，胡锡进等反对者基于效果导向（van Leeuwen, 2008）试图将毛星火行为去合理化，如例 5 中点明博主行为会加剧网络上恶意构陷的风波和倾向，并表示这些激进的声音会“让涉事地方和机构非常紧张”，存在事件“政治化”的风险，“不利于形成宪法秩序下匹配社会主义市场经济的宽松氛围”，通过一种幻想叙事中的恐怖维度（Howarth, 2010）来解构毛星火的观点。

[5]如果我们纵容这种做法，就形同打开了一个用严重政治定性打击、迫害文学创作者的新空间。虽然起诉者之前名不见经传，但是他的极端做法迅速得到一些人支持，聚拢了人气，它为社会上其他潜在投机分子做出一个用构陷、撕咬他人谋取个人成名之利的示范。（来源公众号 2024-3-2）

4.2.2 爱国情绪煽动与事件激化

面对官方媒体以及互联网上知名人士的批驳，毛星火博主迅速予以回应，通过频繁使用人称指示等命名策略，将话语与相关人物、事件在空间和时间中发生直接联系（陈辉、陈国华 2001），实现话语互动并产生广泛影响。在第二互动阶段反驳胡锡进话语时，博主于 2 月 27 日-29 日连续三天发表微博长文，共计 4297 字，其中人称代词统计如表 3 所示。相较于官方媒体及反对者话语中通常使用的模糊指代词“有人”、“那名起诉者”，毛星火博主话语中明显增加了第二人称代词“你”的使用，表明了博主与反对者之间的对话关系。如例 6 中博主话语不仅与胡锡进之前的话语（见例 4）产生互文关系，并通过反问、对比等修辞手法反驳他人、为自己狡辩，“你”的使用直指对方，直白表达自身情绪，产生一定的呼告效果，通过增强话语感染力，从而带动网友情绪。而且通过“你”“我”的对话，博主将胡锡进拉入自己的话语当中，借助其网络影响力，进一步扩大博主自身话语的传播和影响范围，不仅完成了对胡锡进的对话和互动，并且扩大了自己与其他网友的对话空间。

[6]试问，无视事实指责污蔑我的**你**，和实事求是说真话的**我**，究竟谁才是**戾气**？（来源微博 2024-2-27）

表 3 第二阶段博主话语中人称代词的数量与频次

	第一人称（单、复）		第二人称（单、复）		第三人称（单、复）	
人称代词	我	我们	你	你们	它们	他/他们
数量	98	35	25	16	12	4
频次（4297 字）	22.8‰	8.2‰	5.8‰	3.7‰	2.8‰	0.9‰

除多次使用个人指称“你”之外，毛星火博主又频繁使用集体指称“我们”，强调集体属性，从而试图增强自身话语的权威性和说服力。“我们”的使用又呈现“包含己方”和“排除异己”两种用法，一是博主将广大网友都包含进自己的话语当中，使旁观者都参与其中成为拥护者，扩大自己的话语联盟，“我们”后面通常紧跟着“爱国人民”，如例 7 中极力构建自己为“爱国人士”的形象和立场。不过效果反而呈现狐假虎威之势，刻意拉拢群众以证明自己的“爱国”，给部分网友造成“被强加了意志”的感受。二是将其反对者排除在话语之外，尤其结合第二人称“你”的使用，故意表明如果反对“我们”就不是爱国人民，从而疏远听话者中的反对者。

[7]因为要为所有爱国人民讨回公道。**我们爱国人民**，一直遵纪守法，依法行事，文明优秀，爱国爱民。（来源微博 2024-2-29）

除第一、二人称的频繁使用外，博主还故意使用了污名化的“它们”人称指称，运用隐喻对自己的批评对象进行人身攻击。另运用“洋奴”一类的词汇试图替代人们之前对诺贝尔文学奖获得者的印象，将获得西方奖项与背弃祖国概念相连，通过话语重新构建“莫言”这一符号的意义。名称并非因事物本身属性而对其进行指代，而是通过命名的过程，在历史和因果机制的轨迹下，将特定名称的使用与它所指代的事物联系起来（Kripke, 1980, p.83-85）。博主通过对“莫言”重新命名指称，构建了其话语中批评对象反面的社会及政治身份，借用人格污蔑，削弱名人光环和权威性，激发网友的厌恶和愤慨之情，并融入博主自己的情感评价，带动他人情绪，从而获得情感认同。博主作为话语生产者借助对指定他者的排斥，建构起己方的统一立场。

该阶段中人称指示词的综合使用，塑造了“我方”和“他方”两个鲜明对立的群体，博主通过反问否定、自夸、污名化策略等一系列话语手段，对两类社会活动参与者完成了动态身份建构，将博主己方建构为爱国人士，而将以胡锡进为代表的反对者及被起诉对象莫言划为“他方”，试图抹黑其形象，煽动网络情绪，再次完成一轮话语互动。

4.3 第三阶段的话语互动：商业化定性与国外报道

4.3.1 官方媒体商业化定性

事件在网络爆发一周后，官方媒体“浙江宣传”微信公众号发布一篇长篇推文“爱国情怀岂能这样消费”，对事情进行了客观公正的评价。整场事件中官方媒体回应极少，但与上述所分析的话语参与者相比呈现出不一样的话语风格。该阶段官媒重在对事件话语中社会道德逻辑进行批驳，解构其价值观前

提（Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018），对事件进行商业定性，将其“爱国”行为定义为商业化噱头。

面对毛星火此前建构的爱国话语，官方媒体此次并不直接从政治高度进行批判，而是侧面点明商业化属性，如例 8-9，把该行为定位在“爱国流量生意”，“赚得盆满钵满”，借用隐喻将该事件和金钱这两个概念联系起来，从而剥离爱国的性质，解构了博主所依赖的社会逻辑和道德价值。此外，文章中重新建构了“爱国”概念，“努力在自己的岗位上发光发热，就是最真切、最实在的爱国”、“爱国更多时候体现在踏踏实实地干好自己的工作，在岗位上多为社会作一点贡献”，提供了另一种社会价值、规范和期待为人们所接受并遵守。相比于前两阶段对事件文学层面与个人层面的批评否定，该阶段官方媒体将事件经济化、商业化，消解对立，事件降级处理，既缓解了舆论冲突，又起到批判和警示的作用。

[8]然而其真实目的根本不是抒发爱国之情，而是通过“碰瓷”爱国主义，博人眼球、赚取流量，把“爱国”当作一桩生意在做。（来源公众号 2024-3-5）

[9]编造着“爱国流量故事”，把爱国变成一场廉价的买卖，消费人们的爱国情怀。（来源公众号 2024-3-5）

纵观对毛星火言论驳斥的三轮话语互动，批评策略实现了由外部批评（external critique）到内部批评（internal critique）的转换（Herzog, 2016, p.23-29）。前两阶段是基于外部道德标准对当事人的行为进行评价与价值判断，而第三阶段的内部批评则是基于当事人自身话语和行为的不一致性和矛盾性，相较来说，内部批评在处理网络舆情事件中更能产生良好效果。

4.3.2 国外媒体负面引申

在事件发展后期，国内舆论热度已大幅下降，但国外媒体闻风而动，又对该事件进行了负面报道与引申。美国媒体 CNN Wire、澳大利亚媒体 ABC Online、日本媒体 Mainichi JP 等多家媒体相继进行了报道评论，其中“爱国主义/民族主义”概念的建构与词汇选择值得深入探讨。经统计语料，patriotic/ patriotism/ patriot 出现 64 次，而 nationalist/ nationalism/ nationalistic 出现频率高达 96 次。民族主义作为一种强烈的政治意识形态，通常与国家、文化和民族身份紧密相连。外媒运用该词汇对中国此次事件进行定性，可见瞄准了中国政治方向，试图借用此次事件对中国形象进行抹黑和污蔑。

围绕 nationalist 观察上下文语境，发现报道中使用了众多战争隐喻，统计结果如表 4 所示，由于人类社会本身具有的战争属性，战争已成为人们认知世界的基本图式之一（汪徽&辛斌，2019），在本次报道中，如例 10-11 将“网络民族主义者”和“受攻击人群”划分为两大敌对阵营，凸显此次事件博弈中的矛盾、冲突、对抗和竞争。本来只是属于国内网络舆情事件，但在外媒报道中已经勾画成一场政治战争和民族战役，刻意制造对抗，加强问题的严重性和紧迫性。

表 4 外媒报道中战争隐喻统计

类型	举例
战争行动	attack, launch, target, rally, wage, under fire
战争描述	campaign, crusade, outbreak, belligerent
战争武器	crosshair, protective shield

[10] Patriotic **campaigns** have become more common in recent years in China, as online nationalists **attack** journalists, writers or other public figures they say have offended the country's dignity, but it is unusual for a figure as prominent as Mo Yan to be **targeted**. (*BreakingNews*, 2024-3-13)

[11] Now, some of China's most zealous online nationalists have a new **target** in their **crosshairs**: the country's first officially recognized Nobel laureate. (*CNN Wire*, 2024-3-12)

在外媒报道中，毛星火博主形象被建构成“民族主义者”，并多与感情色彩强烈的词汇共现，如fervor、sentiment、mob、aggressive，最终定义成“草根狂热分子”（grassroots fanatic），引致极端性的情绪。而“莫言”除了与之多次共现的“诺贝尔文学奖获得者”称号外，还多次强调了不是“持不同政见者”（dissident），即使如此，该种说法都是把对文学作家的定义划分上升到政治层面。可见外国媒体一直在使用西方视野报道中国事件，并将国内网络舆情事件上升到国家政治高度，涉及到言论自由、不同政见等，从而误导舆论。

5 社会传播因素分析及启示

在本次事件中，毛星火博主一连串行为主要目的就是博取关注、吸引流量，从而为自己带来收益。直接选择名人作为攻击对象，话题影响度大，并选取文学作品进行讨论，标准界限模糊，易产生双方甚至多方的不同见解和争论，从而推动网络争议的产生与大规模互动，最终达成自身高额流量的目标。上述网络舆情事件呈现出类似事件的典型特征，即事件发展之初，某言论并非是以普遍看法出现，甚至普通民众毫不知情，但在有心之人借助举报、起诉等手段煽动大众情绪，又有新媒体或知名人士将该事件当作严肃问题严重处理时，期间产生话语互动，甚至形成话语对抗，会突然引爆网络舆论。话题在网络中被建构，成为一项网络议题，而社会被动承受了所有后果。

依据网络舆论传播规律，舆情传播动力机制包括议题引爆机制、情感触动机制、互动交流机制和叙事补充机制（廖卫民，2014），本次事件正好将四种机制囊括其中，造成了网络舆情的爆发。第一，毛星火博主一系列话语的选择都瞄准知名人士，从攻击莫言到攻击胡锡进，借助“法院、起诉”等鲜明字眼，选择容易引起公众热议的敏感词，使得该话题具有引爆潜力。第二，博主通过捕风捉影和煽风点火，将“言论是否真实”上升到“行为是否爱国”的话题，原本只是探究文学作品中言论是否得当、文学评判是否正确，但起诉者将其逐渐定义为爱国行动，构建自身及支持者的“爱国”形象，污蔑反对者为“卖国”形象，营造冲突对抗性的话语效应，触动了群众愤怒情感。上述两种机制使得话题具备了爆发的初始条件，而通过与话语对抗者的互动、交流乃至辩论，生成了舆论，加之国内外对该事件的叙事补充报道，完成了舆论的意义生成，在网络中形成了较大的影响力。

在一场社会事件、实践或行动中，并非简单描述其概念性的事件内容和行动便决定了事件的命名和性质，相反，正是通过不断辩论如何命名和定性本次事件或行动，造成了概念上的流转和改变（Howarth, 2010）。国内不同话语主体对话语的互动、建构和解构，造成事件的对抗升级与消解，同时

我们也要警醒外国媒体对事件的话语建构，避免在跨文化传播中的话语偏见。

经历此次舆论事件，对我国舆情治理也提供了相关借鉴与启示。首先，主流媒体要积极争夺舆论话语权，适时把控舆论走势，构建话语沟通体系。此次事件中官方媒体虽有回应，但体量少、互动相对不足，大多情况下呈现出消极回应而非积极沟通的状况。在多元网络环境中，政府及主流媒体需坚持积极交流互动，把握舆情发展规律，建立网络舆情监控预警与快速反应机制，强化网络舆论环境打造，形成以自身为主导的话语权体系。第二，新媒体及意见领袖等要主动适时发挥引领作用，坚持理性对话，实施有效互动，加大正面情感动员。在对具体网络舆情引导中关注对社会事件指称和命名的技巧，对事件做出精准定性与价值判断。命名或定性过程中使用的词汇和文本构建，都会影响受众的价值判断与情绪指向，对事件第一时间定义和价值赋予会决定在舆论场中话语权声量的高低（郑满宁，2016），在事件传播、舆论形成与引导中发挥巨大作用。

6 结语

网络舆情事件带来的社会后果，不仅会给部分人造成心理伤害，甚至会导致社会撕裂，不会产生任何正能量，最终也不会达成任何舆论成果，悄然散去。其中部分社会问题事实上是一种经由话语的社会建构的产物，特定概念、观念和价值立场的建构导致不同话语主体理解的冲突，在话语和意识形态层面产生对抗。

本次研究以具体网络舆论事件入手，探究其动态发展的三个阶段，关注不同话语群体之间的话语互动与对抗，在莫言被起诉事件中，话语参与者起初还是围绕文学事件进行讨论，起诉者采用论辩策略进行话语引导，官方媒体采用直接否认的话语策略，试图扼杀其发展苗头；但在舆论发展第二阶段，微博意见领袖等反对群体将其行为进行政治化定性，毛星火博主频繁采用人称指示等命名策略形成话语对抗，并通过构建自我爱国形象和抹黑他者形象，煽动网络情绪，致使事件激化；第三阶段在官方媒体重新对事件进行商业化定性之后，冲突缓和，舆论开始消退，但国外报道相对于国内舆论爆发具有滞后性，又在事件后期开始了政治化的抹黑和负面建构。研究实现了从单一语料走向多语料，关注多种话语体裁和多元话语主体，考察话语之间的动态阐释和概念流转，了解话语生产和抵制过程。不过本次研究并没有对涉及到的利益相关人、事件参与者进行深入采访、对网络民众进行问卷调研，缺乏民族志研究，也是未来话语研究进一步发展的方向。

该网络舆情事件的发生，一定程度上说明微博、公众号等网络新兴媒体的作用和力量，它们为普通公众提供发表意见的平台，从而赋予了社会民众进入公共话语场域的渠道，但同时作为舆情信息的集散中心，极易点燃舆论爆点、迅速激发用户情绪（祝兴平&张微，2019），我们应当关注不同群体之间的话语冲突与观点碰撞，以及由此隐含的意识形态的对抗，及时管理，避免专业媒体的失语与情绪化泛滥，对社会现象展开批评性反思，对相关社会问题及其处理方案进行动态、批判性审视，把握网络舆论运动规律，跟踪话语互动模式，提前研判可能的后果，并尽可能规避风险，针对性疏导，从而推动实现网络空间多元话语群体的良性互动。

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Does Nominalization Exist in Mandarin Chinese: *de* as the Morphological Marker

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Abstract. Nominalization, the process by which verbs are transformed into nominal expressions, is well-documented in morphologically rich languages like English through markers such as -ing or -al. However, its existence in Mandarin Chinese remains contentious due to the absence of overt morphological markers. This study investigates whether nominalization exists in Chinese, focusing on the particle de as a potential nominalizing marker. Prior analyses suggest that de functions similarly to Indo-European nominalizers, enabling verb phrases (VPs) to occupy noun phrase (NP) positions. Yet, scholars dispute this claim, arguing that Chinese verbs retain their lexical identity even when following de, with nominalization merely representing a verb-noun hybrid (Lu, 2022; Shen, 2015). A central challenge arises from the head feature extension principle, which posits that extended structures must align grammatically with their heads. Traditional nominalization frameworks fail here, as VPs modified by de do not fully adopt NP properties. For instance, verbs like chi *eat* or zou *walk* resist adjectival modification and cannot universally follow de, undermining claims of systematic nominalization. The super-noun category hypothesis, positing nouns as a superclass subsuming verbs, similarly falters, as it cannot explain why verbs retain distinct syntactic behaviors (e.g., modification by bu vs. mei for nouns). To reconcile these issues, this paper proposes a partial nominalization model. Under this approach, de introduces limited noun-like properties to verbs (e.g., referentiality) without erasing their verbal core. The structure $NP \times de \times VP$ is analyzed as a hybrid: the VP retains its syntactic identity (e.g., adverbial modification) while acquiring nominal features (e.g., occupying NP positions). This model adheres to head feature extension by treating de as a morphological marker that licenses partial category shift, as formalized in partial−nominalization VP. Crucially, it avoids overgeneralizing verb-to-noun conversion, accommodating exceptions like *renzhen de kan *serious seeing*, which resist nominalization. The study concludes that Chinese nominalization operates through de-mediated property addition, distinct from Indo-European morphological processes. This framework balances generative syntax principles with Chinese-specific phenomena, challenging the notion of strict noun-verb binarity while preserving lexical category distinctions. By integrating head feature constraints and cross-linguistic insights, it offers a nuanced account of how Mandarin achieves nominal functions without full morphological nominalization.

Keywords: online learning; quality assurance, student engagement, student satisfaction

1 Introduction

Nominalization, the process of transforming verbs or other elements into nouns or noun-like expressions, is a fundamental phenomenon observed across the world's languages. It plays a crucial role in syntax, morphology,

and the interface between them, allowing for the creation of complex referential expressions and enabling languages to convey abstract concepts, events, and states in a compact form. In morphological languages such as English, nominalization has been widely studied, with clear morphological markers distinguishing gerundive and derived nominals (Chomsky, 1970). However, whether nominalization exists in Mandarin Chinese remains a debated issue, primarily due to the absence of overt morphological nominal markers.

Mandarin Chinese presents an intriguing puzzle: while many constructions resemble nominalized forms on the surface, they lack the explicit affixation or derivational markers found in Indo-European languages. This raises important questions about the cross-linguistic universality of nominalization and the flexibility of syntactic categories. This study addresses the central research question: Does Mandarin Chinese exhibit nominalization, and if so, how should it be theoretically accounted for? By focusing on the role of the particle de as a potential morphological marker, I argue for a refined analysis that balances the syntactic behavior of verbs and nouns in Chinese. Drawing on the concept of partial nominalization, this paper contributes to the broader discussion of how morphologically unmarked languages handle nominalization, challenging both the transformationalist and lexicalist accounts developed in Indo-European contexts.

Moreover, this inquiry holds broader significance for our understanding of the interaction between syntax and morphology, as well as the typological variation across languages. By examining a non-inflectional language like Chinese, we can test the boundaries of generative grammar frameworks and explore how universal principles apply, or need to be adapted, in languages without rich morphology.

2 Literature Review

The study of nominalization has a long-standing history in generative grammar. In his seminal work, Chomsky (1970) draws a clear distinction between gerundive nominals (e.g., John's refusing the offer) and derived nominals (e.g., John's refusal of the offer), arguing that they arise from fundamentally different mechanisms: the former through syntactic derivation (transformationalist view), and the latter through lexical insertion (lexicalist view). These distinctions have significantly shaped subsequent studies of nominalization, especially in Indo-European languages, where rich morphological marking allows clear differentiation of verbal and nominal forms.

However, applying these frameworks to Mandarin Chinese has proven problematic, primarily due to the language's lack of overt inflectional morphology. For instance, Chinese verbs do not inflect for tense, aspect, or agreement, and there are no derivational affixes like -ation or -ing in English. This raises the core question of whether Chinese nominal-looking constructions are truly nominalized or merely appear so due to structural reanalysis. Several scholars have attempted to reconcile this issue. Larson (2009) argues that Chinese may be analyzed as a reverse ezafe language, drawing parallels with Persian constructions. In Larson's view, the particle de serves a role analogous to genitive or nominal markers, enabling nominalization through syntactic structure rather than morphological affixation. Under this framework, de constructions like:

(1) 张三的翻译 (Zhangsan de fanyi)
Zhangsan's translation

are treated as syntactic NP projections despite their verbal roots. He proposes that such structures instantiate an isomorphism of the type:

[NP de VP] ⇔ [NP de NP]

which blurs the line between derivation and phrase-structure configuration.

However, this view has been challenged by numerous Chinese linguists. Lu (2022) and Shi (1988) put forward the noun-verb inclusion hypothesis, claiming that Chinese does not undergo “true” nominalization. Instead, de-marked verbs simply acquire noun-like surface properties without undergoing genuine category shift. This model proposes that in Chinese, nouns form a superordinate class (super-noun category) that includes verbs as subordinate elements. Thus, all de-marked constructions are essentially noun-headed, even when they contain verbal components, as shown in (2) and (3).

(2) 吃饭的时间 (*chifan de shijian*)
time for eating
(3) 唱歌的女孩 (*changge de nühai*)
the girl who sings

(2) and (3)are treated as NP projections where the verb *chifan* and *changge* has not been formally nominalized, but incorporated as a modifier or embedded predicate.

Yet, this explanation is not without criticism. Shen (2015) argues that the super-noun hypothesis fails to account for selectional and distributional restrictions. Many verbs resist placement after de, especially in cases where no derived nominal counterpart exists in Indo-European languages. For example:

(4) 努力的看 (*nuli de kan*)
*struggling seeing
(5) 认真地跑 (*renzhen de pao*)
*serious running

These forms are ungrammatical or unnatural, suggesting that de nominalization is not freely productive across all verb classes. Moreover, the asymmetric modification behavior of verbs and nouns further undermines the idea of full noun-verb inclusiveness. While verbs can be modified by adverbs (e.g., *bu*, *hen*), nouns are typically modified by adjectives or quantifiers. Also, negative markers differ: bu negates verbs, while mei negates nouns, a syntactic contrast difficult to reconcile with the super-noun model. Building on these critiques, some researchers have introduced interface-based models. For instance, Paul (2010) explores how Chinese de-constructions may operate at the syntax-semantics interface, where verbal projections are interpreted referentially at LF (Logical Form) without morphological nominalization. Similarly, Pan and Hu (2013) argue that the nominalization in Chinese is better viewed as a syntactic re-categorization, where features like [+referentiality] and [+definiteness] are syntactically assigned rather than morphologically realized. Meanwhile, Baker and Vinokurova (2009), working on Sakha and other languages, propose a model of mixed category nominalization, where a nominalized verb retains verbal internal structure but is embedded in a noun-headed projection. This idea parallels the partial nominalization view advanced in the present study: the verb keeps its lexical and syntactic identity but is wrapped in a nominalizing context through functional projection (e.g., NP headed by de).

Empirically, support for this view comes from diagnostic tests of modifiability, argument structure, and syntactic substitution. For example, de-marked VPs in Mandarin can still take internal arguments and modifiers:

(6) 他认真地学习的态度令人感动。(*ta renzhen de xuexi de taidu*)
His serious studying attitude is touching.

Here, *xuexi* retains verbal properties (adverbial modification by *renzhen de*), even though it occurs within a nominal environment (*taidu*).

In summary, while traditional theories of nominalization assume categorical conversion supported by morphological cues, Chinese presents a counterexample where surface nominality coexists with underlying verbal identity. Existing models, whether transformationalist, lexicalist, or typological, each provide partial insight, but none fully account for the hybrid behavior of Chinese de-constructions. This study contributes to this ongoing debate by proposing partial nominalization as a principled explanation that captures both the limitations and productivity of Chinese nominalization structures.

3 Theoretical Background

The theoretical study of nominalization is deeply rooted in generative grammar, particularly within the frameworks of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), X-bar theory, and the theory of mixed categories. Understanding how syntactic categories project and interact is crucial to analyzing nominalization, especially in a language like Mandarin Chinese, where overt morphological cues are minimal. In languages with rich morphology, such as English, nominalization is marked by clear derivational affixes: for instance, -ing for gerundive forms and -ation, -ment, or -al for derived nominals. Chomsky (1970) argues that these two types of nominalizations arise from distinct mechanisms. Gerundive nominals are derived through transformational rules operating on sentential structures, while derived nominals are formed lexically, inserted from the lexicon with inherent nominal properties. This bifurcation has deeply influenced the debate on whether all languages process nominalization similarly or whether some rely more on syntax than morphology.

A key concept relevant here is the Head Feature Principle or Head Feature Extension (Grimshaw, 1990), which stipulates that the syntactic head determines the properties of the extended projection. For instance, a VP-headed projection should exhibit verbal properties, while an NP-headed projection should behave nominally. In English, morphological markers signal this shift, aligning the syntactic projection with morphological category. However, in Mandarin, the lack of such affixes raises the question: when a verb appears inside a de-marked structure, does the head shift from VP to NP, or does the projection remain fundamentally verbal despite the nominal frame? Further complicating the picture is the syntax-morphology interface. Scholars like Marantz (1997) and Harley & Noyer (1999) have argued that morphosyntactic operations can apply post-syntactically, meaning that the absence of visible morphology does not necessarily imply the absence of syntactic nominalization. This opens the possibility that Mandarin nominalization operates at an abstract level, without morphological realization. In addition, the concept of mixed categories (Baker & Vinokurova, 2009) becomes central. A mixed-category construction is one where the internal structure retains the features of one category (e.g., verbal argument structure) while externally functioning as another category (e.g., nominal reference). For example, in Sakha, agentive nominalizations retain internal verbal structure (including agent arguments) but are enclosed within NP projections. Applying this idea to Chinese suggests that de-constructions could be mixed, maintaining verbal identity internally while satisfying nominal external requirements.

Cross-linguistic studies further broaden the theoretical context. Languages like Japanese and Korean show similar behavior, using nominalizers like no and -ki respectively to embed verbal phrases into nominal frames. For instance, Japanese:

(7) 太郎の泳ぐの (*Tarō no oyogu no*)
Tarō's swimming

shows how a nominalizer (no) can create nominalized clauses without changing the internal verbal properties. Similarly, in Korean:

(8) 철수가 공부하는 것 (*Cheolsu-ga gongbu-haneun geot*)
the thing Cheolsu studies

the nominalizer -nun geot wraps a verb phrase into a nominal context. These cases reinforce the idea that nominalization does not require overt morphological change to operate syntactically, providing useful typological parallels for Chinese.

Specific to Mandarin, the role of de has long been debated. While often glossed as a genitive or nominal marker, it serves multiple syntactic functions: linking possessive NPs, connecting modifiers to heads, and arguably functioning as a nominalizer. The flexibility of de challenges simple categorial accounts and invites deeper investigation into how Mandarin handles category projections without morphological support. Moreover, the cartographic approach (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008) offers a useful lens, proposing that functional projections in the clause are richly structured and can host various features (tense, aspect, mood, etc.). Applying this framework to Mandarin suggests that de-marked constructions may occupy specific functional layers that introduce referential or nominal features without collapsing into pure NP projections.

In summary, the theoretical background for analyzing Mandarin nominalization brings together insights from transformational grammar, lexicalist models, mixed-category theory, the syntax–morphology interface, and cross-linguistic typology. This paper builds on these strands to argue that Mandarin de-constructions instantiate partial nominalization: a syntactic process where nominal features are layered onto a fundamentally verbal base, satisfying both internal argument structure and external referential requirements without full category shift.

4 Data Analysis

4.1 Internal Properties of *de*-Constructions

Mandarin de-constructions superficially resemble nominal phrases, but a careful syntactic examination reveals that their internal structures are fundamentally different from canonical derived nominals in morphological languages like English. To understand this, we must look beyond surface forms and analyze the syntactic projections, modification patterns, and argument structures involved. Take the commonly cited phrase:

(9) 张三的翻译 (*Zhangsan de fanyi*)
Zhangsan's translation

At first glance, this looks like a simple [Possessor 的 Nominal] structure. However, under the hood, fanyi *translation* behaves not as a true nominal head (N) but as a verb (V) embedded within a nominal projection. Structurally, the phrase can be represented as:

[DP [DP Zhangsan] de [VP fanyi]]

instead of the more expected:

[DP [DP Zhangsan] de [NP fanyi]]

This distinction is crucial because, under X-bar theory, if fanyi were projected as [N], it should no longer take internal arguments or allow adverbial modification. Yet empirical evidence shows otherwise. For example, in:

(10) 张三的翻译这本书 (*Zhangsan de fanyi zhe ben shu*)
Zhangsan's translation of this book

fanyi still selects a direct object (zhebenshu *this book*), a property typical of VPs, not NPs. This suggests that the verbal projection remains active inside the larger nominal envelope. Unlike English derived nominals (translation) that require prepositional complements (translation of the book) due to argument suppression, the Chinese verb retains its internal argument structure directly.

Furthermore, examining the types of modifiers allowed provides more evidence. While NPs in Chinese typically pair with adjectives, de-embedded verbs accept adverbs, just like in finite verbal clauses:

(11) 他认真地学习的态度 (*ta renzhen de xuexi de taidu*)
his serious studying attitude

Here, renzhen de *seriously* modifies xuexi *study*, and crucially, this adverbial relationship operates inside the de-phrase. If *xuexi* had been reanalyzed as an N, we would expect adjectival modification renzhen de xuexi, which is ungrammatical or semantically degraded. This shows that the internal projection is syntactically VP, and the nominalization effect introduced by de applies only at the higher functional level, yielding an NP or DP externally. In theoretical terms, this observation aligns with the mixed category model (Baker & Vinokurova, 2009), which proposes that some nominalizations maintain verbal internal structure while externally projecting as nouns. This contrasts sharply with lexicalist accounts (Chomsky, 1970), where nominalization is treated as a word-level derivational process that inherently suppresses verbal features. In Mandarin, however, de acts more like a syntactic nominalizer, introducing a nominal projection over an intact VP. This layered structure helps explain why such constructions can simultaneously serve referential functions at the sentence level while preserving predicate-like behaviors internally. It also explains why certain semantic roles (agents, patients) remain explicitly represented, unlike in morphological nominals where roles are often bundled into implicit event readings.

In sum, the internal properties of de-constructions reveal that they are best understood as partial nominalizations: syntactic configurations where a nominal outer layer coexists with a verbal inner projection, without full category conversion.

4.2 Diagnostic Tests and Constraints

To confirm the analysis of Mandarin de-constructions as partial nominalizations, we apply several fine-grained syntactic and morphological diagnostics, moving beyond surface patterns to probe the category status of internal constituents. First, negation patterns provide compelling evidence. Mandarin employs distinct negators depending on syntactic category: *bu* negates verbs and adjectives, while *mei* negates existential or nominal expressions. Inside de-phrases, the embedded predicate consistently pairs with bu, even when the entire phrase acts as a noun:

(12) 他不唱歌的行为很奇怪 (*ta bu changge de xingwei*)
his not-singing behavior is strange

Attempting to substitute mei leads to ungrammaticality:

(13) 他没有唱歌的行为 (*ta meiyou change de xingwei*)
intended: his non-singing behavior

This contrast reveals that the embedded change *sing* retains its verbal identity beneath the de-layer, otherwise it would pattern with nouns and accept mei. Importantly, this syntactic behavior cannot be explained if we treat the entire de-construction as a lexical NP; only a syntactic embedding account, where the verb phrase survives inside a nominal envelope, can capture this asymmetry.

Second, argument structure preservation strongly supports the partial nominalization hypothesis. Derived nominals in languages like English typically suppress or repackage arguments (the destruction of the city, the destroyer), but Mandarin de-phrases retain full argument realization:

(14) 张三的翻译那本书的能力 (*Zhangsan de fanyi na ben shu de nengli*)
Zhangsan's ability to translate that book

Here, both the agent (Zhangsan) and object (that book) remain explicitly projected, suggesting that the underlying VP's valency is maintained. This observation implies that de nominalization operates post-syntactically or at the functional level, rather than as a lexical transformation that erases argument structure.

Third, lexical and class constraints point to a selective, rather than universal, nominalization process. Certain verbs, particularly manner-of-motion or stative predicates, resist embedding behind de:

(15) 认真/努力的看 (*renzhen/nuli de kan*)
unnatural or marginal: serious/struggling seeing

This suggests that de-nominalization interacts with verb class and event structure, favoring predicates that denote actions or processes over those that resist event nominalization. Such selectivity indicates that nominalization is mediated not only by syntactic form but also by semantic compatibility, requiring theories to account for syntax-semantics interface effects.

Finally, modifier sensitivity further sharpens the analysis. Adjectival modifiers target nouns, while adverbial modifiers target verbs. Within de-phrases, internal modification patterns align with VP, not NP, behavior. For example,

(16) 他快速地跑步的样子 (*ta kuaisu de paobu de yangzi*)
the way he runs quickly

allows adverbial kuaisude *quickly* but resists adjectival forms like *kuaisu de paobu* when referring to the act itself, unless the adjective is lifted to modify the overall noun phrase.

Taken together, these diagnostics reveal that Mandarin de-nominalizations are structurally complex: they operate as outer nominal projections hosting inner verbal cores. This dual behavior challenges both strict transformationalist (syntax-driven) and strict lexicalist (morphology-driven) accounts, favoring a layered syntactic projection model that accounts for the coexistence of nominal reference and verbal internal structure. The theoretical implication is profound: languages like Mandarin show that nominalization does not require morphological affixation or lexical category shift; instead, they achieve nominal reference through functional projections over unchanged syntactic cores. This challenges traditional assumptions about the universality of morphological cues in determining category status and opens new pathways for understanding cross-linguistic variation in nominalization strategies.

5 Findings

The detailed data analysis presented above demonstrates that Mandarin de-constructions cannot be adequately explained by either the transformationalist account (which views nominalization as a purely syntactic process) or the lexicalist account (which treats nominalizations as lexical derivations accompanied by morphological change). Instead, the evidence points toward a layered syntactic structure that blends verbal and nominal properties, a configuration best described as partial nominalization. This partial nominalization framework posits that the de-construction operates as an external nominal functional projection (e.g., DP or NP), which hosts an internally verbal projection (e.g., VP). Crucially, the internal verbal core retains its argument structure, adverbial modification potential, and negation patterns, despite the entire phrase functioning referentially at the sentence level. This dual behavior challenges the simplistic dichotomy between verbal and nominal categories assumed in many classic syntactic theories. The implications of this finding are multi-layered. First, at the theory-internal level, this analysis aligns with the mixed-category models proposed in recent generative syntax research (Baker & Vinokurova, 2009), where certain nominalizations cross-classify, maintaining syntactic properties of both categories. It reinforces the idea that nominalization is not always an all-or-nothing shift but can involve layered or partial reanalysis, especially in languages with minimal morphological marking. Importantly, Mandarin offers a natural laboratory to test these ideas because it lacks the overt derivational morphology found in Indo-European languages, forcing us to rely solely on syntactic diagnostics.

Second, this analysis critically engages with the super-noun category hypothesis (Lu, 2022; Shi, 1988), which argues that Chinese nouns subsume verbs categorically, effectively eliminating the need for nominalization altogether. The data, however, show that this approach oversimplifies the situation: not all verbs behave as nouns, and their internal verbal properties persist even inside nominal frames. The fact that verbs within de-constructions selectively accept adverbial but not adjectival modification, retain verbal negation *bu* but reject nominal negation *mei*, and maintain direct argument projections, directly undermines the idea that they are simply reclassified as nouns. Instead, they exist in a syntactic overlay where the outer nominal layer does not erase the inner verbal structure.

Third, the typological perspective is crucial here. Similar partial nominalization patterns are attested in Japanese (no-nominalizations), Korean (-nun geot), and potentially Vietnamese (việc-nominalizations), suggesting that isolating languages commonly employ functional projections rather than morphological derivations to achieve nominalization. This raises the possibility that partial nominalization may represent an areal or typological tendency among East and Southeast Asian languages. Comparing how these languages license internal arguments, modifiers, and negation within nominalizing environments offers a fertile ground for future cross-linguistic research. Moreover, the Mandarin case challenges one of the key assumptions of generative grammar—that head projection uniformly determines category behavior (Grimshaw, 1990). If the head of the projection is nominal (e.g., NP), we expect the whole phrase to behave as a nominal; if verbal (VP), as a verb. However, de-constructions show that syntactic structures can host hybrid projections, where category features are distributed nonuniformly: verbal features dominate inside, while nominal features dominate at the periphery. This calls for refinements in how head-feature extension is theorized, particularly in relation to languages that lack overt morphological markers.

Finally, this study also has methodological implications. It underscores the importance of combining multiple diagnostics—negation, modification patterns, argument realization, verb class restrictions—to establish the true syntactic nature of contested constructions. Relying on surface similarity alone (e.g., treating *Zhangsan de fanyi* simply as *Zhangsan's translation*) obscures the rich internal structure and leads to misleading typological or theoretical conclusions. A multi-layered, detailed syntactic analysis is essential, particularly when investigating category flexibility in morphologically sparse languages.

Of course, there are limitations to this study. The analysis focuses primarily on canonical de-constructions and does not yet systematically address edge cases, such as idiomatic or lexicalized nominalizations (chifan as *eating meal*) or fixed compounds. Additionally, while the syntactic arguments presented here are robust, further empirical support from psycholinguistic experiments or corpus-based distributional studies could strengthen the claims, particularly regarding productivity and acceptability across different speaker groups. Looking forward, this partial nominalization model invites several exciting research directions. Cross-linguistic comparisons could reveal whether similar syntactic layering exists in typologically unrelated isolating languages (e.g., Yoruba or Tagalog). Additionally, formalizing how these layered structures are represented in minimalist syntax or distributed morphology frameworks could push the theoretical boundaries further. For instance, does the nominalizing head de instantiate a special type of functional projection (e.g., nP) that allows selective feature inheritance from its verbal complement? Exploring such questions could shed new light on how languages flexibly navigate the syntax-morphology interface.

In summary, Mandarin de-constructions provide a compelling case of partial nominalization: a layered syntactic configuration where verbal and nominal properties coexist, challenging classical categorial boundaries. This finding not only enriches our understanding of Chinese grammar but also contributes to the broader theoretical conversation on the nature of syntactic categories, the universality of head-feature projection, and the cross-linguistic diversity of nominalization strategies.

6 Conclusion

This paper has examined whether Mandarin Chinese exhibits true nominalization, focusing on the role of the de particle. Through detailed syntactic diagnostics and theoretical analysis, I have argued that Mandarin de-constructions instantiate partial nominalization: they project externally as nominal phrases while retaining internally verbal structure. This challenges models that assume categorical reclassification upon nominalization and supports a layered syntactic approach, where nominal heads overlay but do not erase verbal projections.

The broader implications of this analysis extend beyond Chinese. By demonstrating that nominalization can occur syntactically without morphological derivation, the study opens pathways for refining generative theories of category projection and head-feature inheritance. Furthermore, the typological parallels with Japanese and Korean suggest that partial nominalization may be a widespread cross-linguistic phenomenon deserving systematic comparative investigation. Future research should explore the formal representation of such layered structures, the semantic constraints governing verb compatibility in nominalizations, and the psycholinguistic processing of mixed-category constructions. By deepening our understanding of nominalization in Mandarin, we not only enrich Chinese linguistics but also contribute valuable insights to the broader field of theoretical syntax.

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普通话儿童形状量词习得特征及原因分析

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摘要：本研究利用儿童历时跟踪自发语料对两名 1;00-5;00 岁普通话儿童形状量词的习得进行详尽考察，发现儿童在频率驱动与认知发展的双重影响下，形状量词在习得顺序、功能掌握上存在个体差异。但在习得特征上仍表现出一定共性，即 2;00-3;00 岁为形状量词理解与产出的萌芽期，儿童主要习得了“数-量-名”结构并初步掌握计数与分类功能；3;00-4;00 岁为拓展期，儿童习得了较复杂的量名共现结构并开始掌握指称与部分语用功能；至 4;00-5;00 岁阶段，功能掌握趋于成熟，能产出较复杂的“数-形-量-名”结构，表现出主观评价与信息组织能力。本文从认知语言学和基于使用的语言学出发，进一步分析儿童习得形状量词特征的内在机制，并提出“语境—形式—功能”三位一体的输入模式是儿童实现功能内化的关键路径。研究结果为儿童形状量词的习得研究提供实证支持，也为普通话儿童形状量词的教学与语言干预提供理论参考。

关键词：普通话儿童、形状量词、习得特征

1 引言

1.1 研究背景

语言类型学自 20 世纪 70 年代开始关注语言的名词分类问题，将语言分为分类词语言（classifier languages）和非分类词语言（non-classifier languages），分类词在亚洲、非洲、大洋洲和美洲的一些语言中普遍存在（Allan, 1977）。汉语是分类词使用最广泛的语言之一，分类词也是汉语计数表达中不可缺少的成分，其命名先后经历了“群名、量词[1]、单位词、副名词、数量词、量词[2]”等阶段（马建忠, 1989; 黎锦熙, 1924; 王力, 1944; 吕叔湘, 1944; 张志公, 1957; 张公瑾, 1978），学界目前相对一致的命名是量词，但有关汉语量词的讨论从未停止。部分国内外学者主张汉语量词有分类功能，如邵敬敏（1993）从类别视角对量词和名词的选择限制进行分析，进而形成了量词与名词的语义选择系统，刘丹青（2008）和崔健（2010）认为汉语中部分名量词具有给名词分类的功能，并提出量词分类作用实际表现为人与所指对象在物理、功能和社会三个层面的关系，张赪（2009）提出汉语量词包含两类，为名词计量的词和为名词分类的词，陈满华（2021）在此基础上，提出了计量分类词的观点，强调个体量词往往具有分类功能。Erbaugh（2006）把普通话中的量词分为度量衡量词、集合量词、种类量词、事件量词和类别量词（sortal classifier），并指出前四类量词在所有语言中存在相应概念的词汇形式，而涵盖有生性、形状、功能等语义的类别量词在非量词型语言中相对罕见。其中，关注形状类别的量词（形状量词 shape classifier）具有感知凸显、语义复杂、计数分类等特征，这与儿童的语言能力和认知发展密切相关，因此，本文将就普通话儿童形状量词的习得情况进行研究。

有关普通话儿童形状量词的习得，部分学者认为儿童的理解能力随年龄增长总体呈上升趋势，儿童 4 岁前对大多数形状量词理解的正确率较低，4-6 岁稳步上升（应厚昌, 1993; Chien et al., 2003）。形状量词产出方面，儿童同样表现出随年龄上升的趋势，但直至 6 岁产出正确率仍然不高且低于同时期理解的正确率（Chien et al., 2003; Li et al., 2010）。通过实验发现，母亲受教育程度对儿童形状量词习得有影响，通常受教育程度高的母亲会尽力引导儿童说出完整含量名搭配的句子（杨晓岚和周兢, 2010，Hao et

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al., 2021）。儿童自身词汇知识有助于儿童对事物的归类，提高范畴化能力，进而有助于形状量词习得，监护人提供的儿向语（child-directed speech）也起到促进儿童词汇习得的作用（Naka, 1999; Ma et al., 2020）。通过自然语料和实验对儿童形状量词的习得顺序进行研究，但结论并不一致（Erbaugh, 1984; 方富熹, 1985; Ken 和 Harrison, 1986; Hu, 1993）。形状量词的范畴包含从原型成员到边缘成员的整个范围，边缘成员多指抽象名词，如“一条消息、一丝希望”，针对这种现象，输入在儿童形状量词习得中具有重要作用，形状量词习得是基于规则（rule-based）和基于项目（item-based）的结合（Tomasello, 2003; Hao, 2019; 宗守云, 2010）。Uchida 和 Imai（1999）提出儿童量词句法习得的三阶段，即儿童从最初对量词句法成分的无意识使用到感知量词句法角色，但过度使用通用量词，最后提取量词语义并与相应名词搭配使用的过程。

1.2 问题的提出

普通话儿童形状量词习得研究，前人做了大量探索，取得了一系列发现。如儿童形状量词习得理解早于产出，并随年龄增长逐渐趋近成人能力；儿童对量词在计数结构中的位置角色感知早于语义；影响儿童形状量词习得的因素包括母亲受教育程度、儿童自身词汇知识、儿向语的输入等。但以上研究未完全揭示儿童形状量词的习得机制且研究多是基于言语实验，实验样本的局限性和实验对象的不稳定性给实验结果的可靠性带来影响。基于自然语料的研究中，Erbaugh 的研究最具代表性，但其考察儿童的范围仅限于 1;02-3;01 岁，这不利于完全描写儿童的习得特征。因此，本文以儿童 1;00-5;00 岁的自然产出语料为研究对象，从自然语料的在线性和即时性出发，考察儿童形状量词的习得情况。

本文旨在深入探索普通话单语儿童形状量词的习得特征，从认知语言学和基于使用的语言学出发，观察两名普通话儿童 5 岁前的自然产出语料，重点考察以下问题：其一，儿童习得形状量词的发展阶段及习得顺序是否具有一致性？其二，考察儿童形状量词与名词共现情况的习得；其三，前人研究还未提及的儿童形状量词功能习得的具体表现。最后，对上述研究进行原因分析并提出有益于儿童形状量词学习的教学方法。

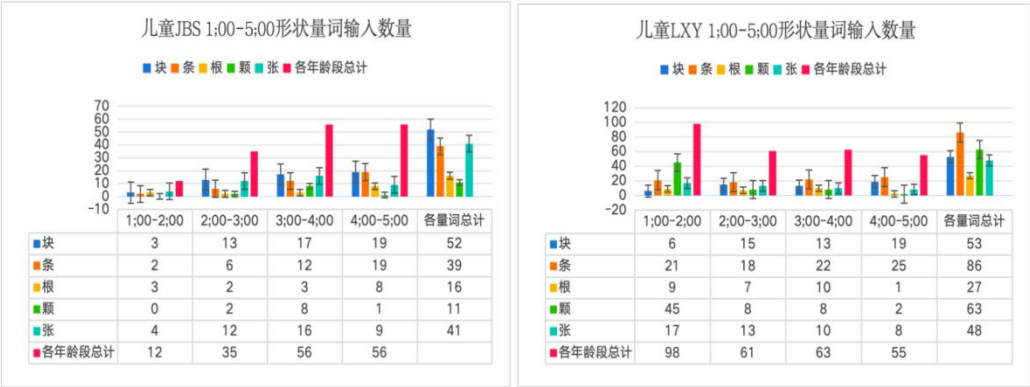
2 语料说明

本文语料来源于首都师范大学言语习得实验室的普通话儿童动态发展语料库（CNU-MCLDDC）。语料通过录像设备对儿童的日常生活进行采集，采集方式为每周 1 次、每次 1 个小时的录音或录像，全部语料按儿童语料库转换系统 CHILDES 中的 CHAT 标准进行文字转写和标注（MacWhinney, 2000），并对形状量词做人工处理和标注。本文数据来自语料库中两名发育正常的儿童（JBS 和 LXY），语料使用年龄为 1;00 岁至 5;00 岁，时长约 500 个小时，习得数量按例子（token）统计，但排除连续重复、儿歌、诗歌中的用例，习得时间以正确产出、表意明确并语境适用来确定。

3 儿童形状量词习得的基本情况

3.1 儿童形状量词习得的发展阶段

通过观察两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁的自然产出语料，基于每名儿童都有产出并有益于比较儿童习得异同的这一标准，我们选取“块”、“条”、“根”、“颗”、“张”五个形状量词对两名儿童的习得情况进行讨论。

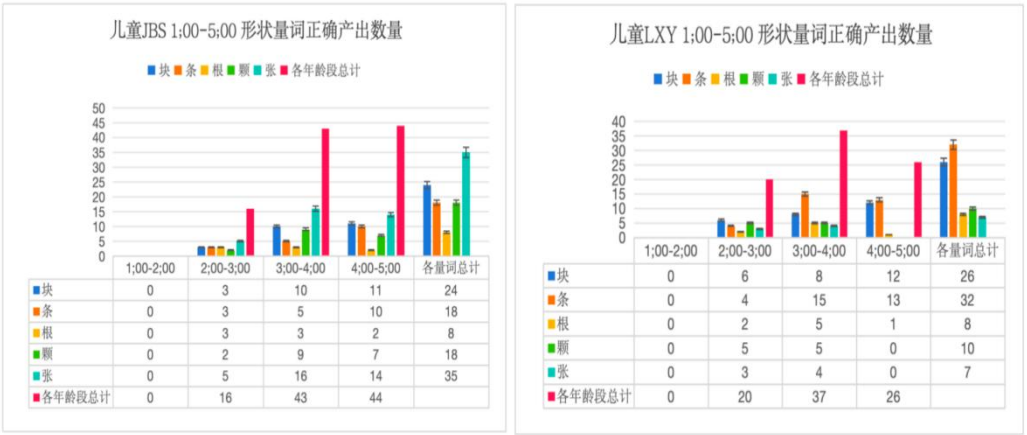


	1;00-2;00	2;00-3;00	3;00-4;00	4;00-5;00	各量词总计
块	3	13	17	19	52
条	2	6	12	19	39
根	3	2	3	8	16
颗	0	2	8	1	11
张	4	12	16	9	41
各年龄段总计	12	35	56	56	

	1;00-2;00	2;00-3;00	3;00-4;00	4;00-5;00	各量词总计
块	6	15	13	19	53
条	21	18	22	25	86
根	9	7	10	1	27
颗	45	8	8	2	63
张	17	13	10	8	48
各年龄段总计	98	61	63	55	

图 1 两名儿童 1;00-5;00 形状量词的输入数量

图 1 展示了两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁含有形状量词表达的输入数量，通过观察可知，JBS 的输入总量从 2;00 岁开始显著增长，4;00-5;00 岁达到高峰，五个量词中输入最多的是“块”、“条”和“张”。LXY 在 1;00-200 岁阶段即接收到高频输入，尤其是“颗”（45 次）和“条”（21 次），这在儿童早期语言习得阶段是相对罕见的高频输入，LXY 在早期（1;00-2;00 岁）接触到极为大量的“颗”和“条”，是由具体家庭语言环境决定的，表现出输入集中性和类别偏向性。JBS 的输入分布更为均衡，“块”、“条”、“张”在后期（3;00-5;00 岁）均达到高峰，反映语言输入来源更平均且更贴近日常实物经验。从两名儿童的输入情况来看，我们预测成人使用频率对其理解与产出及形状量词的习得顺序有潜在影响。



	1;00-2;00	2;00-3;00	3;00-4;00	4;00-5;00	各量词总计
块	0	3	10	11	24
条	0	3	5	10	18
根	0	3	3	2	8
颗	0	2	9	7	18
张	0	5	16	14	35
各年龄段总计	0	16	43	44	

	1;00-2;00	2;00-3;00	3;00-4;00	4;00-5;00	各量词总计
块	0	6	8	12	26
条	0	4	15	13	32
根	0	2	5	1	8
颗	0	5	5	0	10
张	0	3	4	0	7
各年龄段总计	0	20	37	26	

图 2 两名儿童 1;00-5;00 形状量词的产出数量

图 2 展示了两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁产出含有形状量词表达的数量。儿童 JBS 在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段所有形状量词产出为零，表明尚未开始产出使用，尽管有少量输入，但仍处于初步理解或未理解阶段；2;00-3;00 岁时，五个量词均有产出（均在 2-5 例之间），说明 JBS 在此阶段已从输入中形成初步理解，开始尝试初步产出；3;00-4;00 岁时，“块”、“条”、“张”的产出显著上升，表明儿童开始拓展量词的使用，“颗”的产出达到高峰（9 例），对应输入中“颗”也首次显著增多（8 次）；4;00-5;00 岁时，五个量词中“块”、“条”、“张”的产出均稳定在 10 例左右，显示对这些词的理解趋于稳定，“根”始终产出偏低，可能因输入总量有限（仅 16 次），使得习得受限。

儿童 LXY 在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段尽管“颗”的输入高达 45 次，但未有产出，说明高输入不一定直接带来早期产出，更直接表明此阶段儿童对形状量词没有理解和产出能力；2;00-3;00 岁，“块”、“条”、“张”、“颗”均出现较多产出（均在 4-6 例之间），显示已进入初步掌握阶段；“根”仅产出 2 例，理解可能尚不稳固；3;00-4;00 岁，“条”的产出激增至 15 例，成为主导量词，“块”、“颗”、“张”也均有中等产出，表明

LXY 广泛掌握并开始灵活运用；4;00-5;00 岁，“块”、“条”继续增加并趋于稳定，“颗”与“张”反而趋零，这是由于输入骤降且没有合适语境，导致使用频率下降。

就具体形状量词的习得而言，通过表 1 可知两名儿童最早产出五个形状量词的时间均在 3 岁前，这说明两名儿童在 3 岁前已具备初步的理解和产出能力，受成人输入的影响，各个量词的产出时间略有不同，结合图 2 儿童的产出数据，我们发现 JBS 的习得顺序为“块、张、条、颗、根”，而 LXY 则为“条、块、颗、根、张”，两名儿童的习得顺序不一致，这主要是受成人输入的影响，与上文的预测一致。同时，综合输入和产出数据我们发现高频量词的习得并非仅是输入频率驱动的结果，还需考虑物体特征与儿童认知能力的匹配程度，如“颗”在 LXY 的输入频次最高，但儿童在 1;00-2;00 岁时似乎并不具备对圆形三维立体事物的认知能力，故没有此量词的产出，因此儿童形状量词的习得受频率驱动和认知能力的双重影响。

形状量词	JBS 产出时间	形状量词	LXY 产出时间
块	2;02 两块（积木）	条	2;01 一条鱼
张	2;03 一张（纸币）	块	2;10 两块扁鱼
条	2;08 一条裤衩	颗	2;01 有几颗牙
颗	2;09 一颗糖	根	2;02 还有一根
根	2;07 两根筷子	张	2;09 拿一张纸

表 1 两名儿童形状量词最早产出时间

通过上述分析可知，两名儿童形状量词的习得过程存在差异，JBS 的习得路径呈现出输入积累——理解建立——稳定产出的递进模式，各形状量词的掌握程度与输入频率基本呈正相关；LXY 在更早阶段接触高频输入，但实际产出与输入之间存在一定滞后，习得更依赖输入持续性与分布广度，且在频率驱动和认知能力的双重影响下，两名儿童呈现出不同的形状量词具体习得顺序。但习得发展阶段具有一致性，我们在此总结如下：2;00-3;00 岁是儿童形状量词理解和产出的萌芽阶段，3;00-4;00 岁是儿童理解和产出的拓展阶段，4;00-5;00 岁为开始趋于稳定阶段。

3.2 儿童形状量词与名词共现的习得分析

使用普通话为名词计数需要在数词和名词之间添加量词，如 1(a)所示；若使用指示代词直指所指，需在指示代词和名词之间添加量词，如 1(b)所示。两名儿童在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段没有形状量词的产出，我们对于此阶段的量名共现，仅考察通用量词“个”。

1(a) ZLZ:几个瓶子?

JBS:三个瓶子。(1;10)

1(b) ZLZ:来我们来打球，典典，我们在这儿.

JBS:唔，这个球 x 好吧，这个球 x 好，这个球 x 好。(1;09)

两名儿童产出含“个”的形式表现为“这个”、“这-个-名词”、“数词-个”和“数词-个-名词”四类，两名儿童的部分产出语例，如 2(a)-2(e)所示。

2(a) JBS:带上它，妈妈带上这个。

ZLZ:妈妈带着，妈妈拿着好吗，戴在耳朵上，那边耳朵呢。(1;08)

2(b) JBS:这个花花。(1;08)　　HXT:你为什么不敢摸&a?

LXY:这个手。(1;08)

2(c) LYI:几个鸭鸭?　　HXT:&en#有几个&ya##有几个小宝宝?

JBS:三个。(1;09)　　LXY:七个。(1;09)

2(d) HXT:&en 小宝宝真可爱#有几个小宝宝告诉妈妈。

LXY:三个小宝宝。(1;09)

2(e) JBS:典典喝,这有一个熊熊,睡觉吧。(1;11)

表 2 两名儿童 1;00-2;00 岁含“个”表达的产出数量

	这个	这-个-名词	数词-个	数词-个-名词
JBS	84	26	5	11
LXY	135	17	14	20

通过表 2 我们发现，两名儿童在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段产出频率最高的形式为“这个”，原因在于儿童此时还未掌握事物的具体名称，而把“这个”当成一个固定的词使用，用以指某物，这与儿童表达上的犹豫有很大关系（Liu, 2008）。两名儿童之后产出了“这-个-名词”的形式，产出时间均在 1;08 岁，产出语例如 2(b)所示，这说明儿童此时已具有量词“个”在计数表达中初步的位置意识，两名儿童在 1;09 岁后出现了“数词-个”和“数词-个-名词”的形式，如 2(c)-2(e)所示，这足以说明儿童已经识别了量词的在数量结构中的位置，但由于儿童此时对数的概念及数词掌握之少，导致后两种形式产出较少（Li, 2010）。值得注意的是，儿童在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段，识别了通用量词“个”在计数结构中的位置，这对于探讨儿童习得形状量词与名词的共现有引导作用。

根据图 2 可知，两名儿童从 2 岁起产出形状量词，通过对两名儿童 2;00-5;00 岁自然产出语料的考察，发现儿童习得形状量词与名词共现结构呈现出由简单到复杂的顺序特征，本研究我们将重点考察儿童三类形状量词与名词共现结构的产出，即“数词-量词-名词、数词-量词-形容词-名词、数词-形容词-量词-名词”，以上三种形式简化为：数-量-名、数-量-形-名、数-形-量-名。考察这三类结构，原因有二：一是有助于分析儿童是否把形状量词与名词的共现视作固定单位，二是有益于观察儿童形状量词语义理解能力的提高对量名共现结构形式的影响。

两名儿童在 2;00-3;00 岁时，仅产出“数-量-名”结构，如 3(a)-3(g)所示。

3(a)JBS:看有两根筷子,看,有两根筷子。(2;07)

3(b)JBS:嗯,我,我我,我,我我,还,还要,还要一条裤衩。(2;08)

3(c)JBS:再吃一颗糖。(2;09)

3(d)ZZH:你钓了几条鱼？

JBS:钓了三条鱼。（2;10）

3(e)LZR2:那你喜欢什么？

LXY:喜欢##一颗星。(2;06)

3(f)LXY:我要拿一张纸 xxx。(2;09)

3(g)LXY:两块儿扁鱼。(2;10)

儿童 JBS 在 3;00-4;00 岁时除了有“数-量-名”形式的产出，还有“数-量-形-名”（如 4(a)-4(b)所示）形式的产出。值得注意的是，在产出含有形容词的结构时，儿童把形容词置于形状量词与名词之间，而没有出现把形容词置于形状量词之前，这表明儿童对形状量词语义的可数性（counting semantic），以及名词的可数与否有区分能力，这是儿童对形状量词语义理解深入的表现，但儿童 2 岁时还未完全具备此能力，出现了错误用法，如儿童 JBS 产出“两个水（2;10）”的错误用法。

4(a)JBS:又给它一张小贴画儿。(3;06)

4(b)JBS:嗯，我，有一次我，屁股上长了一，一条小虫虫。(3;07）

儿童 LXY 在 3;00-4;00 岁阶段，含形状量词的此结构虽未有产出，但在 2;10 岁时产出语例 4(c)，此

语例反映了儿童对形状量词语义的理解能力及对名词可数与否的区分能力。

4(c)LXY:我要拿根小棍#0[=!laughing]。(2;10)

两名儿童在 4;00-5;00 岁阶段除了上述两种结构均有产出外，还产出了“数-形-量-名”的形式，如 5(a)-5(b)所示。此结构具有评价和比较的语义，表达了说话人在相应语境下的主观性。但进入该结构的形容词和量词受到一定限制，形容词通常为尺寸类形容词（size adjective），量词多为不可数量词（mass-classifier），但部分个体量词和可数名词也能进入此结构（Lu, 1987; Tang, 2005; Hsieh, 2008; Zhang, 2011），但需满足单调维度（monotonic dimension）和部分关系（part-of relation）两个特征，才能受尺寸类形容词修饰，且具有评价和比较的语义（Luo et al., 2017）。儿童 JBS 在 3 岁时产出过此结构，如 5(c)所示，但使用的是通用量词，之所以在习得形状量词的过程中产出此结构，是因为形状量词与其适配的名词更符合单调维度和部分关系的要求，因此更容易进入该结构，而其所具有的评价语义，可看做儿童主观化语用能力的表现。

5(a)XWE:我怎么猜不出来呀?

JBS:都是这么一大块。(4;03)

5(b)LXY:你为什么老给我一点点这太大块了。(4;00)

5(c)JBS:哇，有有一大个蟑螂。(3;01)

本研究发现儿童 1;08 岁左右识别了通用量词“个”在数量结构中的位置，这对于儿童习得形状量词与名词共现具有引导作用，在本节讨论的三类共现结构中，儿童 2 岁后产出了“数-量-名”结构，随着对形状量词语义理解的深入及普通话词汇可数与否区分能力的提高，儿童又产出了“数-量-形-名、数-形-量-名”两种结构，而“数-形-量-名”结构的出现是儿童主观化能力发展和形状量词习得的共同结果，这表明儿童对形状量词可数语义的理解影响其结构的掌握。根据 Goldberg(1995)的构式语法理论，儿童习得的不是抽象语法规则，而是具体、意义明确的“构式”，因此，儿童在积累构式的同时，也逐步内化了这些构式所具备的语言功能。尽管两名儿童在这三类结构的具体产出时间上不完全一致，但表现出一致的由简单到复杂的习得特征。

3.3 儿童习得形状量词的功能分类

通过对两名儿童自然产出语料的考察，可知两名儿童从 2;00 岁起产出形状量词，但通用量词“个”的使用频率仍然很高，儿童存在用“个”代替形状量词的现象。儿童在何种语境下使用形状量词是需要探讨的问题，这与形状量词的功能密切相关。探讨儿童对形状量词功能的习得，一是为语言本体研究提供外部论证，二是有助于观察儿童语言习得规律。

有关汉语个体量词功能的探索，前人从语言本体出发做了大量研究，吕叔湘（1980）认为计数功能体现于其与数词构成的“数+量+名”结构，该结构是汉语中数目表达的核心模式，具有高度的语法化特征。李先银（2002）指出，个体量词对名词实施分类，这种分类与名词的语义特征密切相关。吴雅云（2014）认为，计数和分类是个体量词的核心功能。Bisang（1999）指出，部分东亚语言中量词具有确定化的指称作用，即通过量词实现特指。Song（2011）认为，量词短语常用于构建句子信息流，尤其在叙述性语境中，通过“一个一个地”、“一件一件地”等形式增强信息的层次感和条理性。语用功能方面，Chao（1968）曾指出，个体量词在特定语境中可用以加强语气、表达强调或对比，如“一个真正的朋友”中，“一个”已超越计数，转向语义强调。

计数指使用形状形状量词为相应可数名词计数，这是形状量词的基本功能之一，上节有关儿童习得形状量词与名词共现结构的讨论，可知儿童计数功能习得的特征。儿童最初使用形状量词为名词计数，表现出较强的原型性，纵观两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁形状量词的习得，可知随着年龄增长，儿童产出与形状量词搭配的名词越多，这表现为儿童范畴化能力的提高，即习得了形状量词的分类功能，我们以被试 JBS 为例，看其习得形状量词“条”分类功能的表现，产出语例如 6(a)-6(d)所示。结合之前对形状量词理

解与产出的讨论，可知儿童对形状量词分类功能的习得与年龄呈正相关，即随着年龄增长儿童对形状量词所分类成员的数量掌握越多，表现为由原型成员向边缘成员的拓展。

6(a)JBS:嗯,我,我我,我,我我,还,还要,还要一条裤衩。(2;08)

6(b)JBS:嗯,我,有一次我,屁股上长了一,一条小虫虫。(3;07)

6(c)JBS:喜欢呀，那个我网了好几条鱼，那个阿姨就给我了一个就是，甘家口大厦。(3;11)

6(d)JBS:然后,xx,好,出去,站成一条线。(4;02)

就儿童习得形状量词的功能而言，计数功能习得最早，这是受儿童 2 岁前对通用量词“个”计数习得的影响，分类功能的习得不是一蹴而就的，而是伴随儿童范畴化能力的提高逐渐趋于完善，在此过程中，儿童还表现出其他功能的习得，包括指称、信息组织和语用三类功能。图 3 详细记录了两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁习得形状量词功能的数据。

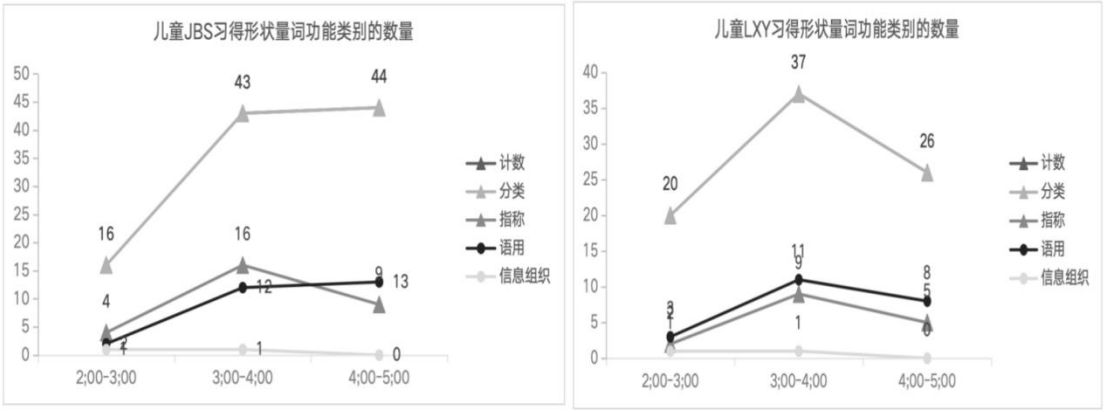


图 3 两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁习得形状量词功能类别的数量

通过图 3，可知两名儿童 1;00–5;00 岁习得形状量词的功能类别涵盖计数、分类、指称、信息组织与语用五类功能，我们重点观察指称、信息组织与语用三类功能的使用特点。在指称功能方面，两名儿童的习得中均占据显著比重（JBS 为 29 次，LXY 为 16 次），且出现较早，均在 2;00-3;00 岁阶段即开始使用该功能（部分产出语例如 6(e)-6(f)所示），并随着年龄增长不断加强，其中 JBS 在 4;00-5;00 岁阶段的使用频率为 9 次，LXY 亦达到 5 次。该结果显示，儿童倾向于优先掌握形状量词的指称功能，借以实现具体实体的标识与识别，这与 Clark（1972）关于儿童以实体命名为导向的语言习得观点相一致。

6(e)JBS:这块（糖）。(2;06)

6(f)LXY:这个是谁的恐龙&ya#是界龙#这条龙是界龙。(2;07)

语用功能主要指使用量词表达引入新事物、对比强调、主观评价等功能，两名儿童在此方面均表现出逐步发展的趋势。JBS 的语用功能使用共 27 次，LXY 为 22 次，且 3;00-4;00 岁阶段为关键增长期，JBS 在该阶段语用功能使用达 12 次（如“块”5 次，“条”4 次），LXY 则为 11 次，部分产出实例如 6(g)-6(j)。两人均在 4;00-5;00 岁阶段持续使用语用功能，此类使用支持了 Chao（1968）关于量词语用功能延展性的观点。

6(g)ZLZ:穿背心和牛仔裤啊?

JBS:嗯。

ZLZ:我看看。

JBS:嗯,我,我我,我,我我,还,还要,还要一条裤衩。(2;08 引入新事物)

6(h)JBS:嗯,我,有一次,屁股上长了一,一条小虫虫。

XWE: 屁股上长了一条小虫虫?(3;07 引入新事物)

6(i)XWE:我怎么猜不出来呀?

JBS:都是这么一大块。(4;03 主观评价)

6(j)LXY:不许超过这个线#不许超过这条线。(4;08 对比强调)

相比之下，信息组织功能的总数极少，JBS 和 LXY 均为 2 次，产出实例如 6(j)-6(l)所示，JBS 在 2;00-3;00 岁和 3;00-4;00 岁各出现一次，LXY 亦分别在两个阶段各使用一次，均无 4;00–5;00 岁阶段的使用。这表明儿童较晚才将形状量词用于篇章结构组织或层级信息表达，该功能的发展可能受限于认知加工负荷和语篇能力的成熟度（Zhang et al., 2015）。

6(j)JBS:熊熊一根一根地吃。(2;10)

6(k)LXY:<不切>[x2]一小块一小块的。(3;07)

6(l)JBS:小黑熊说,我要搭,嗯,嗯,我要搭自己的房子,嗯,一块一块往上搭,搭，嗯。(3;08)

结合两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁形状量词功能类别习得的数量（如图 3 所示）及具体形状量词功能习得的数量（如图 4 所示），发现两名儿童在功能习得上表现出一定共性，即两名儿童在 2;00-5;00 岁期间习得形状量词的功能呈现出明显的阶段性增长趋势。具体而言，在 2;00-3;00 岁阶段，儿童初步掌握了计数与分类功能，总体使用数量相对较低，JBS 与 LXY 分别使用形状量词 16 次与 20 次，其中指称功能使用尚属起步阶段，JBS 共计 4 次，LXY 共计 2 次，而信息组织和语用功能使用数量极为有限，这一阶段反映出儿童首先将量词作为实物计数与认知分类的工具，语用层面尚未形成充分发展。3;00-4;00 岁阶段，两名儿童对量词功能的运用明显增强，除分类功能继续稳步提升外，指称、语用和信息组织三类功能均有所增长，JBS 在语用功能上表现突出，数量达 12 次；LXY 亦在此阶段出现指称功能的稳定使用及语用功能的明显增加（共使用 20 次），这一阶段显示出儿童开始将量词从认知工具扩展至更复杂的交际功能，反映出语言功能的多元发展。4;00-5;00 岁阶段，两名儿童对量词功能的掌握趋于成熟，在 JBS 的数据中，分类、计数功能继续维持高频，指称功能增至 9 次，语用功能则达到了 10 次，显示出量词在句法和语用层面的高度融合；LXY 在该阶段的分类功能达到顶峰（如“条”达 13 次、“块”达 12 次），语用功能亦使用 8 次，指称则保持相对稳定，儿童在此阶段不仅能够准确选用形状量词与名词搭配，还能够在语境中根据交际目的恰当使用量词，表现出较高的语义-语用能力。在具体形状量词功能的习得上，两名儿童均表现出计数和分类功能压倒性习得的优势，每个形状量词在五类功能的习得上具有一致性，表现出语言使用从词汇识记向基本语义功能过渡再到语用功能发展的趋势。

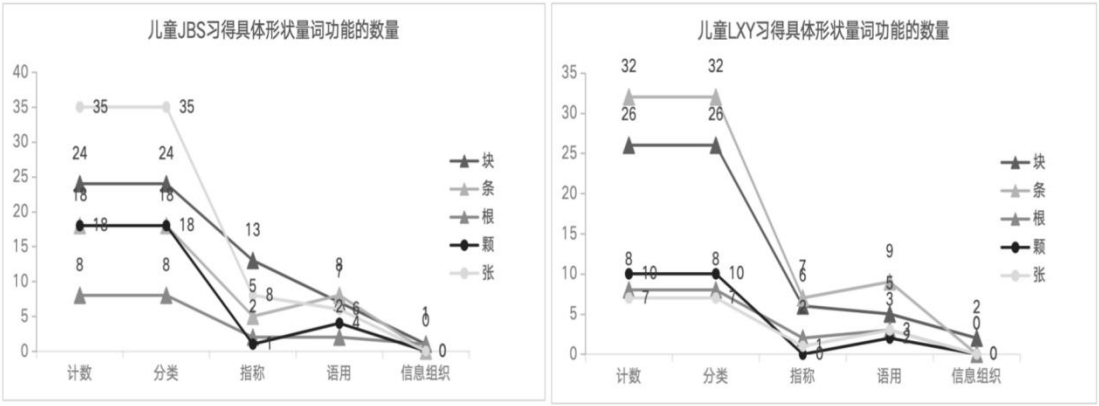


图 4 两名儿童 1;00-5;00 岁习得具体形状量词功能的数量

但儿童在具体形状量词的习得上仍具有个性特征，通过图 4 可知两名儿童的在具体形状量词的习得上存在差异，JBS 在量词“块、条、张”的习得上表现较好，LXY 在“条、块”的习得上表现较好，这与儿童的输入产出数据呈正相关，输入频率高的量词，功能习得相对完善。

总之，两名儿童在习得形状量词功能方面呈现出“从计数分类起步，逐步发展指称功能，最终拓展

至语用与信息组织”的共性发展轨迹。这种顺序性的发展支持了 Slobin（1985）提出的“功能优先”假说，即儿童语言习得过程中，最先发展的是形式与功能对应最为紧密的语言单位。该结果也进一步验证了量词习得与认知发展、交际需求之间的密切关系。

4 儿童形状量词习得特征的原因分析及教学启示

儿童形状量词的习得是一个复杂的语言与认知交互过程，受到多种因素的共同影响。本研究基于两名普通话儿童（JBS 和 LXY）1;00-5;00 岁的自然产出语料，从认知语言学和基于使用的语言学视角出发，分析儿童形状量词习得特征的原因，并探讨其对教学的启示。以下从语言接触、年龄、范畴化能力、“数”认知能力和词汇知识五个方面进行原因分析，并结合研究发现提出教学建议。

4.1 原因分析

语言接触是形状量词习得的外部驱动因素。Tomasello（2003）强调，儿童通过观察成人语言和参与互动构建语言理解。本研究发现，两名儿童的形状量词习得顺序与输入频率密切相关。JBS 的输入中，“块、条、张”在 3;00-5;00 岁高频出现，促使其优先掌握这些量词；LXY 在 1;00-2;00 岁接触大量“颗、条”，但早期产出滞后，表明输入需与认知能力匹配。儿童的语言环境也影响量词的习得，在儿童语言习得过程中，语言形式并非孤立地被掌握，而是始终嵌入具体的交际语境之中，由此形成了“语境-形式-功能三位一体”的输入模式。这种输入模式为儿童提供了丰富的语义线索，使其在获得语言形式的同时，也自然地内化了该形式所承载的功能。例如，形状量词“条”通常出现在诸如“那条蛇”、“一条毛巾”这类表达中。在这些表达中，“条”这一形式并非孤立使用，而是嵌入在完整的量词短语中，并服务于具体的交际目的，如计数、分类、指称等，更重要的是，这一输入往往同时承担着明确的交际功能。这种具象语境中的量词使用实例，使儿童在接收语言形式的同时，直观体验其交际功能，从而加速功能意义的归纳与掌握。从基于使用的语言学角度看，语言习得的核心机制是形式和功能的共现频率。也就是说，当某一语言形式频繁出现在特定的语义场景与交际目的中时，儿童更容易将这一形式的结构形态、语义属性和交际功能统合为一个整体表征（entrenched representation）。

年龄是儿童语言和认知发展的关键因素。Sinclair 和 Marchellus（1971）指出，儿童的认知成熟度与语言技能的进步密切相关。本研究发现，两名儿童的形状量词习得呈现出明显的阶段性特征。2;00-3;00 岁是理解和产出的萌芽阶段，儿童开始尝试使用形状量词，如“块、条”，但多限于原型名词，以计数和分类功能为主。3;00-4;00 岁进入拓展阶段，儿童能够使用更多形状量词，并逐渐搭配边缘名词，量名共现也从简单的“数-量-名”扩展到“数-量-形-名”，功能习得上也出现了拓展。4;00-5;00 岁，儿童形状量词的使用趋于稳定，产出复杂结构如“数-形-量-名”，并表现出主观化表达能力，例如“一大块肉”带有评价语义，五类功能的习得持续稳定。这表明，随着年龄增长，儿童的认知能力逐步提高，能够处理更复杂的语义和句法关系，从而灵活运用形状量词以适应多样化的交际需求。

范畴化能力是儿童理解和使用形状量词的基础。Pinker（1984）的语义启动假说认为，儿童通过感知现实世界的语义特征，将词汇与其显著属性关联。Clark（1972）的缺失语义特征假说进一步指出，儿童在早期因未完全掌握词汇的语义特征，常使用语义简单的词替代复杂词。本研究中，儿童在 1;00-2;00 岁阶段频繁使用通用量词“个”，反映出其范畴化能力的局限。此时，儿童尚未能准确区分形状量词的细化语义，如“条”适用的“长、细、灵活”特征。到 2;00-3;00 岁，儿童开始产出形状量词，如 JBS 的“一条裤衩”和 LXY 的“一块儿扁鱼”，表明其能够识别物体的基本形状特征。随着年龄增长，儿童的范畴化能力进一步提升，逐渐掌握形状量词的边缘成员，如 JBS 在 4;02 岁产出“站成一条线”，显示出抽象范畴的理解。这种从原型到边缘的扩展反映了儿童通过经验积累逐步完善语义范畴的过程。

“数”认知能力对形状量词的习得至关重要，特别是在量名共现结构和语义的掌握上。形状量词在普通话中主要用于可数名词的计数，儿童需要区分可数与不可数名词，并理解数词、量词与名词之间的关

系。本研究发现，两名儿童在 1;09 岁左右已能使用“数词-个-名词”结构，表明其初步掌握了量词在计数结构中的位置。儿童 2;00 岁起，开始产出形状量词与名词的共现结构“数-量-名”，显示出对可数性的初步认知。然而，早期儿童常出现错误，如 JBS 在 2;10 岁的“两个水”，反映出其对不可数名词的误用。3;00-4;00 岁后，儿童逐渐区分可数与不可数名词，产出更复杂的“数-量-形-名”结构，并在 4;00-5;00 岁产出“数-形-量-名”结构，这需要更高的数认知能力和对量词语义的精准把握。数词、量词与可数性的交互促进了儿童量名结构的复杂化，进而推动了形状量词功能的习得。

词汇知识对儿童形状量词的语义提取和功能习得具有显著影响。词汇量越丰富，儿童越能通过提取共性语义特征进行范畴化。本研究发现，许多形状量词与名词共享语义特征，这有助于儿童理解量词的适用范围。例如，JBS 在 2;00-3;00 岁接触到“面条、虾条”，3;00-4;00 岁增加“油条、苗条”，到 4;00-5;00 岁扩展至“线条、竖条”。这些词汇的积累帮助儿童将“条”的语义特征概括为“长、细、灵活”，从而促进了分类功能的习得，进而有助于其他功能类别的习得。

通过观察儿童实际产出，我们发现在儿童形状量词的习得中，不是某一原因单独起作用，而是多个因素共同发挥作用促进儿童的习得。

4.2 教学启示

强输入，丰富语境化的语言暴露。儿童形状量词的习得高度依赖输入频率和语境适用性。教师和家长应在日常互动中增加高频、语境化的量词输入，强化儿童对量词与物体特征的关联。此外，可利用儿向语（child-directed speech），以简洁、重复的方式呈现量词，如“这是两张纸、这是一颗珠子”，帮助儿童在自然语境中感知量词的语义和句法角色。输入内容应从原型名词逐步扩展到边缘名词，以支持儿童范畴化的渐进发展。

强引导，分阶段引导结构和功能发展。儿童的结构和功能习得呈现由简单到复杂的顺序，教学应分阶段引导。2;00-3;00 岁可重点训练“数-量-名”结构，强化计数功能。3;00-4;00 岁可引入“数-量-形-名”结构，通过描述性任务帮助儿童理解形容词与量词的搭配，同时培养分类意识。4;00-5;00 岁可引导“数-形-量-名”结构，如通过评价性表达（如“一块大蛋糕”）激发主观化表达，增强语用能力。教师应提供明确反馈，纠正错误用法，并通过问答强化数认知与量词的关联。

认知导向，结合实物与多感官教学。认知语言学强调儿童通过感知构建语义，教学应利用实物和多感官刺激强化形状量词的习得。可设计分类活动，让儿童将物体按形状归类，通过触摸、观察和命名增强语义连接。结合视觉和听觉输入，帮助儿童将抽象概念与具体形象关联。此外，教师可通过角色扮演或情境模拟，将量词学习嵌入真实交际，激发儿童的认知参与和语用表达。

个性化教学——因材施教。儿童的习得顺序和偏好因语言接触和认知能力差异而异，教学应注重个性化。例如，对于输入“条”较多的儿童，可强化其与多样名词的搭配（如“绳子、鱼、消息”），逐步扩展语义范围；对于偏好“块”的儿童，可通过积木拼搭等活动巩固其计数和分类功能。教师应观察儿童的词汇知识水平，优先教授与已有词汇相关的量词（如“面条”后引入“条”），以降低学习难度。此外，可通过家校合作，了解儿童的语言环境，设计有针对性的输入和练习，确保教学与生活经验衔接。

5 结语

本文考察了两名普通话儿童形状量词的习得情况，发现儿童形状量词的习得呈现出明显的阶段性规律：2;00-3;00 岁为理解和产出的萌芽阶段，儿童开始尝试使用形状量词，主要表现为简单的“数-量-名”结构和计数功能；3;00-4;00 岁为拓展阶段，儿童的量词使用范围扩大，产出“数-量-形-名”结构，并逐渐掌握分类和指称功能；4;00-5;00 岁为趋于稳定阶段，儿童能够产出复杂的“数-形-量-名”结构，表现出语用和信息组织功能，语义和句法能力进一步成熟。尽管两名儿童在具体量词的习得顺序上因输入差异而有所不同，但整体发展轨迹一致，验证了形状量词习得受频率驱动和认知能力双重影响的结论。由上述

儿童的习得特征可知，语言接触、年龄、范畴化能力、“数”认知能力和词汇知识共同作用于形状量词习得，这些因素交互作用揭示了儿童语言习得的动态机制，并提出“强输入、强引导、认知导向和个性化教学”的儿童形状量词教学启示。此外，形状量词作为语言发展和认知能力的重要标志，其习得研究对识别儿童语言发展障碍具有潜在临床价值（Erbaugh, 2006; Hao et al., 2018），可为语言干预提供参考。

本研究通过自然语料的细致分析，揭示了普通话儿童形状量词习得的阶段性特征、结构与功能发展规律及其多重影响因素，为语言习得理论和教育实践提供实证支持，也为后续研究指明方向。但本研究的局限在于仅考察两名儿童的语料，样本规模较小，未能全面反映普通话儿童的形状量词习得特征。此外，研究聚焦于形状量词，未涉及其他类别量词的习得情况。未来研究可扩大样本量，进行多儿童横向对比，探讨不同类型量词的习得规律，以进一步揭示普通话量词系统的习得机制。

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传信范畴下模糊性话语标记的共时类型及历时演变研究

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摘要：模糊性话语标记作为言语交际中的重要组成部分，在言语互动过程中逐渐浮现出传信功能。具体而言，这些标记能够指示信息的来源，并通过弱断言机制调节信息的可信度。传信范畴为研究模糊性话语标记提供了新视角。此外，这些标记在多个方面展现出差异性和共性特征。基于此，我们选取了“X 地说类”，包括“笼统地说、广义地说”等及“个人认为类”和“在某种程度上类”这三类模糊性话语标记作为研究对象。研究以传信范畴理论为框架，采用共时与历时的双重分析视角，对这些标记的性质、类型、特征、差异以及功能表现和固化过程进行深入探讨。通过对 BCC、CCL 和 MLC 等语料库收集的 700 余条自然口语与书面语语料的描写与解释，我们发现，这三类模糊性话语标记可根据信息处理焦点的差异，划分为信息来源模糊和认知立场模糊两大类，前者偏重免责而后者偏重示弱。它们的共性主要表现在句法环境和语义模式方面，而差异主要体现在共现倾向和语体表现等方面，这些差异与交互主观化、认知隐喻及高频使用等因素密切相关。

关键词：传信范畴；模糊性话语标记；共时类型；互动交际；历时演变

1. 引言

语言交际的核心目标在于有效传递信息并维护社会关系，而话语标记作为语言交际的重要工具，在传信范畴研究中占据重要地位。传信范畴不仅涉及信息来源及获取方式，也与言者对信息可信度的态度有关。汉语作为高语境语言，其传信系统高度依赖词汇化手段，模糊性话语标记作为一种词汇化手段，通过弱化断言强度、调控信息范围或标记主观立场，成为平衡信息精确性与交际风险的核心策略。

学界目前虽然对“模糊性话语标记”有一定的研究，但大多局限于对个别或一类成员的句法结构、及功能的孤立分析，如胡清国（2011）比较了“在 X 看来”与“依 X 看”的差异特征与其机制，杨才英,赵春利（2013）将言说类自述式话语标记以 X 的语义为根据划分了四种语义类型，并分别阐释了各类的语义功能，但对其在传信范畴中的分类机制与功能分化仍存在不足。

我们认为，所选取的三类模糊性话语标记可根据信息处理焦点的差异划分为信息来源模糊和认知立场模糊两大类，其中，信息来源模糊类话语标记偏重免责，而认知立场模糊类偏重示弱。本文将以传信范畴为理论框架，从语义、语用、固化过程等多个方面对“X 地说类”“个人认为类”及“在某种程度上类”进行探讨。

2. 理论基础

2.1 传信范畴的定义

传信范畴是对于术语“evidentiality”的翻译，由于国内外学者在研究方法、研究理论和研究角度上的不同，因此对传信范畴的称名、定义以及分类都有所不同，现将多数国内文献对这对术语的译法整理如下：

表 1 evidentiality 及 evidential 的中文译法

	evidentiality	evidential
胡壮麟（1992）	可证性	证素
梅广（1996）	示证范畴	——
张伯江（1997）	传信范畴	——
严辰松（2000）	传信范畴	传信语
张成福，余光武（2003）	传信范畴	传信项目
江荻（2005）	示证性	——
朱保义（2005）	实据性	实据性成分
房红梅（2006）	言据性	据素

从学界对于“evidentiality”的定义来看，有广义与狭义之分。狭义的传信范畴是指说话人向对方传递信息时所表达的信息来源和获取方式，而广义的传信范畴还包括说话人对信息可信度的态度。本文采取的是广义的传信范畴，即言语交际中说话人为了取得听话人的信任，促进交际的有序进行，传达说话者对信息“信”的程度。因此，在本文中，我们采取了张伯江（1997）对“evidentiality”的译法，即“传信范畴”，“evidential”则是按照严辰松（2000）译为传信语。

2.2 传信语

传信范畴的语法表现就是我们所说的“传信语”。“传信语”种类丰富，听话人能够据此来判断其所说的话语是否可信、话语的来源是否可靠，以及说话人对自己所述话语的确信程度。对于汉语中的传信语的分类，我们采取了 Willett 和陈颖的观点，将汉语传信语分为直接传信语和间接传信语两类。

直接传信语指的是说话人通过直接获取信息的方式向听话人传达命题事件，由于是说话人亲身经历感知或言说出的证据，因此可信度高，直接传信语又可分为感官型和言语型；间接传信语是说话人通过间接手段获取信息的表现形式，这类传信语指明说话人所得信息并不是亲身经历的，而是通过他人转述、传闻听说或根据信息进行归纳推理得出，因此可信度不高。间接传信语又可分为引述型和推测型。下图详细显示了本文对传信语的分类情况：

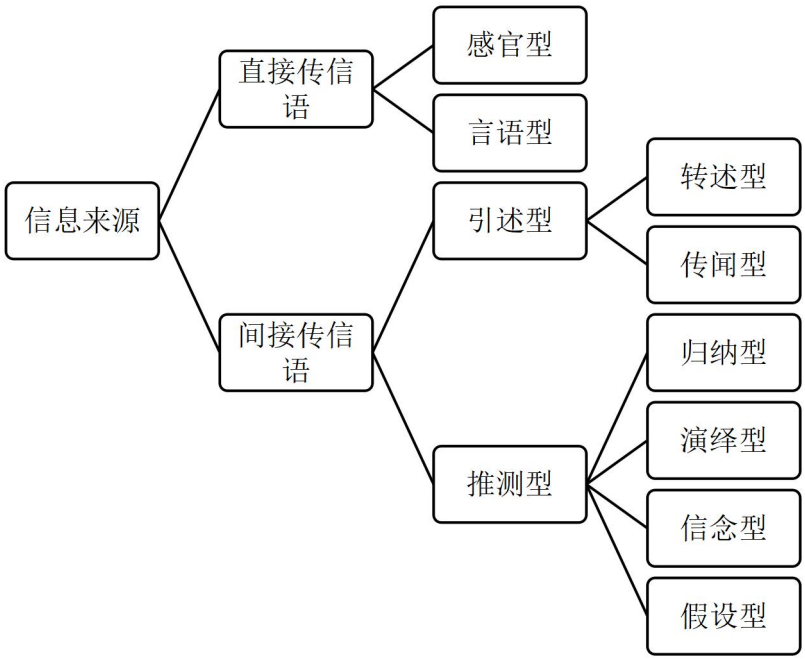


图 1 传信语类型

2.3 模糊性传信标记

在互动的交际过程中，说话人一方面需要传递必要的信息以维系话语的有效性，另一方面又需规避因过度确定化及绝对化表述可能引发的认知冲突或责任风险，为此，言者会选择“模糊性话语标记”这一策略，在信息保真度与交际适宜性之间寻求平衡。如：

（1）笼统地说，取消利息税这个做法值得斟酌。利息税，目前我们从 20%降为 5%已经很低了，再一个，利息税完全取消以后，可能会有负面效应。

（2）近日，看到一则新闻，深圳多名人大代表建议将“农民工”改为“援建者”。有感而发，个人认为，“援建者”虽然有一定新意，但仍有排斥感和距离感。

（3）性格本身有助于决定教育和命运，这一假设意味着，在某种程度上说，它是一种原因的结果。

首先，从言者对于信息的确信程度来看。例（1）通过“笼统地说”进一步弱化命题的确定性，降低断言风险；例（2）以“个人认为”明示主观立场，弱化客观权威性，预留出了可能变化的解释空间；例（3）言者通过“在某种程度上”限定命题适用范围，避免过度简化复杂问题。

以上“模糊性话语标记”均是言者调节信息确定性与交际风险的策略。这类标记既可能基于言者对信息可靠度的不完全确信，也可能源于对听者认知接受度的策略性考量，均通过弱化断言力度或模糊信息来源，为话语互动预留协商空间。因此可将模糊性话语标记的语义特征归纳如下：

[+推测]、[+协商性]、[+概括]、[-确定]、[-绝对化]、[-强加]

其次，从言者所传递的信息来源来看。例（4）中说话人基于自身的专业知识进行断言，结论具有专业真实性，但“广义地说”承认例外存在，避免了绝对化的争议。例（5）中“依我看”所传递的信息来源是社会达成的共识，身体不适会增加事故风险并且健康是第一位的，基于这一前提条件，言者演绎推理

出对司机的建议。例（6）言者基于个人生活体验，对这一事件对生活节奏改变的意义进行主观评价。这一结论依赖于主观经验，但“在某种程度上说”承认视角局限性，力图提高这一观点的说服力。

（4）每一个具体案件审理过程中都存在着不同程度的对法律解释的问题，广义地说，无论哪一层级的审判都存在司法解释，这些解释对法律适用者所面对的案件具有实在的法律。

（5）身体不好，长时间开车就容易出事，依我看，不舒服就别出来拉活了，歇两天，钱永远挣不完。

（6）在某种程度上说，它既不重要，也不浪漫，又不有趣。但它却标志着单调乏味的生活有了一个小时的变化。

综上所述，“模糊性话语标记”属于推测型传信标记，这类传信标记传递的信息来源既包括言者的主观经验与知识，也涵盖社会共识或现状。获取信息的途径是言者的信念、常识逻辑及合理性推测等，明示信息的非绝对性，同时表明言者对所言信息的确信态度。根据调节目标的不同，言者既可弱化断言风险，也可通过凸显共识或专业背景等方式提升话语可接受度，最终在传信范畴中实现“确定性”与“协商性”的动态平衡。

2.4 模糊性话语标记研究概况

模糊性话语标记是语言交际中普遍存在的现象，通过弱化断言、调节人际互动或体现认知不确定性，服务于信息传递与关系维护的双重目标。学界对其研究主要围绕语义、语用、认知范畴等方面扩展展开，形成了多维度的理论框架。

首先在语义方面，学者认为模糊性话语标记的核心语义功能在于降低命题的绝对性，通过量化、限定或视角调节实现信息精确性与灵活性的平衡。“在某种程度上”“大致说来”等标记，通过程度限定（陈林华、李福印，1994）或范围调控（孙利萍，2015），暗示命题的非全称性，避免武断印象（何自然、冉永平，2009）。“严格地说”“广义地说”等“X 地说”类标记，通过副词修饰明示言者的立场或标准，引导听者聚焦特定视角（安琪，2023），同时预设例外存在的可能性（曹秀玲、杜可风，2018）。杨才英、赵春利（2013）认为“X 地说”类标记在句法上多呈现为状中结构，兼具语义简括性与话题前景化功能。

在语用功能方面，现有成果认为模糊性话语标记的语用功能集中体现为对交际关系的动态调控。姚晶，张琳，肖丽（2014）认为阐发型话语标记是一种委婉的礼貌策略工具，可以降低对听话人面子的威胁。陈柳蓓、乔艳红（2022）研究了“依我说”，认为其兼具建议与弱断言功能，既传递观点又预留协商空间。此外，也有学者提出了不同标记在立场表达强度上存在梯度差异。“在 X 看来”侧重客观评价，而“依 X 看”则更倾向主观建言（胡清国，2011）；“从某种程度说”通过虚化视角补偿命题可信度（胡建刚、邵敬敏，2023），而“反正”则以[+概括]语义制造含糊解释（周玉、暴丽颖，2014）。

贺静，王钢（2014）进行了跨语言对比研究，文章认为汉语标记的主观性显化特征如“个人认为”与英语“I think”的隐性融合形成对比，反映文化差异对传信策略的影响。

学者对“模糊性话语标记”的研究也扩展至认知范畴方面。赵彧、陈昌来（2024）认为“模糊性话语标记”通过弱化范畴边界，允许非典型成员进入认知范畴，体现语言与思维的互动。叶子萱（2012）提出“某种意义”依托中庸思维，规避绝对化表达。

3. 研究对象与方法

3.1 研究对象

根据“模糊性话语标记”的语义内涵和语用功能，我们选取了“X 地说类”“个人认为类”和“在某种程度上类”这三类模糊性话语标记作为研究对象，其内部成员均有[-确定]、[-绝对化]等语义特征。因考虑到结论准确性问题，下文中对“X 地说类”的描写与解释主要选取使用频率较高的三个典型成员“广义地说”“笼统地说”及“一般地说”；“个人认为类”选取的代表对象则是“依我看”“在我看来”及“个人认为”。

3.1.1 “X 地说类”

“X 地说类”模糊性话语标记的核心功能在于对信息的范围边界进行界定或修饰，通过限定表达内容的涵盖面实现模糊性。具体而言，该类模糊性话语标记对于信息范围边界的模糊可以根据“X”的语义分为两类，分别是视角类和简括类。

视角类“X 地说”用于表明说话者的言说视角，即提示该话语标记右边的话语所叙述的事件或命题是从 X 角度进行阐述的，如“广泛地说”“广义地说”等。

（7）一般地说，人越到晚年，他的文字越趋简朴，这不只与文字修养有关，也与把握现实、洞察世情有关。

（8）广义地说，当前的方便食品、仿制食品，甚至疗效食品等，都渗透着工程食品的内容。

例（7）“一般地说”表明言者是从普遍视角对“人到晚年”的写作特征与原因进行陈述的，暗示常规情况的同时隐含例外存在的可能性。例（8）向听者强调“当前的一些食品都渗透着工程食品的内容”这一结论是从广义的视角得出的，“广义地说”通过扩大信息范围来简化细节，模糊了具体的边界。

简括类“X 地说”是简单直白地表明对某人、物、事件的描写和评价在信息量上是简约的，以便于听话者准确地把握命题信息。常见的有“笼统地说”“泛泛地说”等。

（9）笼统地说，网络营销就是以互联网为主要手段开展的营销活动。

言者或作者用“笼统地说”来标注其后续命题信息量的简约性主要是指从广泛或整体角度对话语信息处理的简约，“笼统地说”后面的话语信息不具体、不明确。

“一般地说”“广义地说”等作为“X 地说”类模糊性话语标记，通过范围限定策略调节信息精确度，其模糊性本质在于对信息边界的策略性开放，而非语义的含混不清。

3.1.2 “个人认为类”

“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记表明言者或作者不能对某个命题信息做出完全肯定的表达或评价，其核心功能在于标记言者的主观立场与认知权威，通过表明言者认知立场的局限实现其模糊性。

（10）依我看，她回家先把身体养好、精神恢复是主要的。

（11）个人认为，书法作为中华民族独特的文字书写艺术，确有“妙门”需要探究。

“依我看”及“个人认为”都能够突出个人视角，明示观点来源的个体性，同时也暗示了视角受限，弱化客观性。其模糊性是通过标记言者视角的局限性，为听者预留质疑或补充的空间，最终服务于高语境文化中“以和为贵”的交际伦理。

3.1.3 “在某种程度上类”

“在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记的核心功能在于限定信息的确定性程度，通过设定隐性边界实现模糊性。常见的该类话语标记有“在某种程度上说”“在某种意义上说”等。

（12）学生干部作为班主任的助手，在某种程度上说是“领导者”和“管理者”。

例（12）“在某种程度上说”的后续话语是断言句，使用该话语标记就会对这种直接断言起到一种模糊缓和作用，使断言留有余地，避免留下过于武断的印象。

3.2 语料来源

本文所使用的语料主要选自北京大学 CCL 语料库、北京语言大学 BCC 语料库以及中国传媒大学有声媒体文本 MLC 语料库。因有些语料过长，本文在保持句子原义的基础上，对部分句子有轻微改动。

3.3 研究方法

本文拟从共时层面对模糊性传信语进行界定，针对其类型划分和语义特征及共性、差异进行分类并加以细致描写，探讨差异形成的原因。从历时的角度考察模糊性话语标记词汇化、语法化的形成历程与动因。

4.“模糊性话语标记”的分类体系及功能分化

4.1 分类体系

模糊性传信标记的分类需兼顾其传信功能与模糊性策略的双重属性。基于传信范畴理论及何自然（1988）根据是否改变话题内容对模糊限制语的分类，同时我们也参考了张伯江（1997）将传信语分为表信息来源、表说话人对事实真实性态度以及说话人传达确信程度的分类，本研究将“X 地说类”“个人认为类”及“在某种程度上类”三类标记基于信息处理焦点的差异划分为信息来源模糊类与认知立场模糊类。

4.1.1 信息来源模糊型

在传信范畴框架下，信息来源模糊型话语标记属于典型的间接传信策略。此类标记传递的信息并非源自可验证的直接证据，而是基于言者的逻辑推理、专业知识或社会共识等间接途径。其核心功能在于，通过明示信息的加工方式，主动揭示信息来源的非直接性，从而调节命题的可信度，这既避免因证据不足导致的绝对化断言，又借助共享知识框架提升话语的可接受度。

“X 地说类”模糊型话语标记是信息来源模糊型的典型成员。具体而言，标记中的“X”直接指向信息加工的逻辑起点，暗示当前结论的得出依赖于特定前提或未明示的推理过程。这种“部分隐藏、部分揭示”的策略，既削弱了命题的绝对性，又将结论归于听者的常识认知，从而实现传信效果的最大化。

（13）从创作题材来看，宽泛地说，也许并非只有写现实题材才能称为现实主义，但毫无疑问，反映现实生活应当是现实主义的首要任务。

（14）广义地说，我们的目标是一致的，虽然以不同情况为基础的具体政策有时是不同的。

两个例子都没有指明信息的具体来源，只表明言者对信息的确信程度。例（13）中，言者使用“宽泛地说”对现实主义这一题材进行了一个模糊的界定，说明了言者所传递的信息本身就是非绝对化的；例（14）说话者不仅在结论后进行了一个补充，而且话语本身已经说明了“目标一致”这个结论是从广义

上来讲的，言者通过标记主动揭示了信息的“加工痕迹”，弱化了具体分歧对结论的冲击。

4.1.2 认知立场模糊型

在传信范畴研究中，认知立场模糊型传信标记的核心作用在于直接体现言者的主观态度，通过调节断言的确定性和范围，平衡话语的权威性与开放性。这类标记聚焦于言者对命题可能性的主观评价，这样既承认个体经验的局限性，又为多元解释预留空间。其本质是通过语言形式的模糊化包装，将“断言事实”转化为“有限真实”，从而在复杂交际场景中兼顾观点表达与关系维护。

“个人认为类”与“从/在某种程度上类”这两类模糊性话语标记是认知立场模糊型的典型成员。具体而言，“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记通过明示立场归属，弱化断言的强加性，降低面子威胁风险；“从/在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记通过划定命题的适用范围，承认结论的非绝对性，同时引导听者关注核心观点。两类标记的共性在于，它们都通过自我暴露认知局限的策略，将言者的主观性从“隐性预设”转为“显性声明”，从而既避免因绝对化表达引发争议，又通过坦诚态度增强说服力。

（15）张大嘴道：“这种酒，依我看，并不便宜。”

（16）当罪犯被送上人民的法庭之后，在某种程度上说，人们更关心的是对庇护者的错误是否认真追究，是严肃处理，还是不痛不痒地批评几句了事？

例（15）中的评价是说话人基于自身的经验得出的，主观性较强，因此言者使用“窃以为”既能表达自身的立场，也避免了非绝对化表述；例（16）言者基于对公众心理的推测，将个人观察上升为群体态度，使用“在某种程度上说”暗示了结论的得出存在视角选择性，为听者预留出讨论空间。

以上基于传信路径与模糊策略的互动，将三类标记划分为信息来源导向型与认知立场导向型，但是两类标记的界限并非绝对的，需结合具体语境判断主导功能。

4.2 功能分化

“X 地说类”“个人认为类”与“在某种程度上类”三类模糊性话语标记均通过弱化断言强度实现交际策略，但其语用功能存在显著差异。上文我们将“X 地说类”“个人认为类”及“在某种程度上类”三类标记划分为信息来源模糊标记与认知立场模糊标记，经过对语料的分析整理后发现，信息来源模糊标记在功能上侧重免责，而认知立场模糊标记则是侧重示弱。

“X 地说类”模糊性话语标记属于限制信息来源模糊标记，通过模糊信息范围或视角限定，规避细节真实性责任，从而实现免责功能。

（17）广义地说，“一图胜千”是对新闻照片形象报道新闻的比喻；也是对优秀新闻摄影作品的评价。

（18）笼统地说，大部分肉类都属于酸性食物，而大部分的蔬菜、水果等，都属于碱性食物。

例（17）通过“广义”扩展“一图胜千”的含义，暗示了个人表达立场的灵活性，试图避免争议；例（18）言者对肉类与蔬菜类的酸碱性进行了分类，用“笼统地说”来提出观点，避免了具体例子的列举，规避因个例引发争议。

总体来说，“X 地说类”模糊性话语标记具有概括内容，避免过于具体导致的争议，为后续讨论留下空间，同时，该类话语标记可以促进听者理解，提醒听者所表述的内容是大致的说法，并非准确描述。“X 地说类”模糊性话语标记通过信息抽象化转移责任，将具体事实转化为概括性陈述，使言者免于对细

节真实性的直接承诺。

“个人认为类”及“从/在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记属于强调认知立场模糊标记，这两类话语标记在功能上侧重于示弱，但二者实现该功能的途径不同，“个人认为类”话语标记是通过标记主观性或弱化权威性，降低言者的认知权威，减少人际对抗，而“从/在某种程度上类”话语标记是通过量化确定性，实现立场软化。

（19）个人认为，做好自己的事情就是对自己最大的尊重，别人如何思考如何作为那是别人的事情，你没有必要更没有资格去干涉别人。

（20）在某种程度上说，政治文明的发展要比物质文明的发展缓慢得多。

例（19）言者使用“个人认为”明确表示后续话语是自己的观点，不具有权威性，以此促进对话和谐。例（20）言者认为“政治文明的发展比物质文明发展慢”，用“某种程度”暗示该观点并不是在任何情况下都绝对成立，承认结论的局部性。

“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记通过明确标注观点的主观性，提示听者/读者当前的陈述仅代表个人看法而不是客观事实，为言者/作者提供了回旋余地，。“在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记通过“程度”的不确定性限定，表明观点存在条件性或局部适用性，提示听者当前的论述为局部视角或阶段性结论，引导其关注核心逻辑框架而非细节准确性。两类话语标记既能表达自身立场，又避免观点被证伪陷入被动，二者都能通过示弱实现断言软化，这也体现了模糊性话语标记的自我保护功能。

5. 共性特征与差异分析

5.1 共性

5.1.1 句法环境

我们观察所搜集的语料可知，三类模糊性话语标记在句法环境的分布中表现出共同的特征，具体而言，这三类话语标记主要出现于以下两类话语环境（为了行文的简便，我们将模糊性话语标记简称为“DM模”）：

1）“DM 模”+实言句

2）“DM 模”+假言句

在以上两种句法环境中，实言句所表述的内容或是客观存在的事实，或是已实际发生的事件，主要构成为陈述句式，具有现实性和可信性；假言句所表述的内容是基于言者主观认知的假设情境，或是现实世界不存在的情况，或是尚未发生的事件，具有虚拟性和非现实性，主要构成为假设条件句。

5.1.1.1 “DM 模”+实言句

“模糊性话语标记”通常位于句首的位置，标记言者即将展开论述，也有一部分位于话轮中间，一般用于补充说明或修正观点，引出说话人的主观立场，后续语句常表达说话人对现实情况的说明或对交谈对象的主观评价，从而形成了“DM 模”＋陈述句式的话语结构，如：

（21）笼统地说，我们将乐是个山区，各地方气候、物质条件各不相同。

（22）个人认为，悬空寺非常上相，在照片上给人一种很险的感觉，实际登上去后并没有太惊险的

体会。

（23）提倡专人负责机械设备，在某种程度上说可以延长机械设备的寿命。

上述例子都是言者对现实情况的说明，所述信息的来源或是言者自身亲历，或是言者的理论知识。通过使用“模糊性话语标记”标注认知边界，建立更稳固的信任基础，也就是说，当听者感知到言者对信息局限性的自觉时，反而更易接受其核心命题的合理性。

5.1.1.2 “DM 模”+假言句

“模糊性话语标记”可以用来表述符合现实的情况，或者表达符合内心所认为的实情说出符合现实情况的话。但在实际使用过程中“X 地说”类、“个人认为类”以及“在某种程度上类”的后续语句并不是都在陈述现实情况，也有部分被用来表述现实中尚未发生的情况，但为了发表个人的看法以达到某些交际目的而虚构了某些条件，构成了“DM 模+假言句”。

（24）广义地说，如果把联邦住房贷款银行看作是住房贷款一级市场上的“公共住房银行”，那么美国的“三房”（房利美、房地美和吉利美）则是二级市场上的“公共住房银行”。

（25）个人认为，如果小的时候能适当地让孩子们习惯与对手们进行对抗，感受一下冲撞后的感觉，之后受伤的几率反而会有所降低。

（26）在我看来，与其为那些我甚至不会见面的将来的姐妹们牺牲，还不如为那个爱我而又为我所爱的母亲牺牲更踏实一点。

（27）如果我们不看到农村的实际需要，贫下中农的迫切要求，把当前农业中学一般的办成普通中学（情况特殊的例外），在某种程度上说，就要脱离生产、脱离实际，脱离群众。

以上例子中有三例使用了“DM 模+如果 p+（那么）q”的形式，该结构表示“如果实现 p 的条件，就会产生 q 的结果”。言者通过构建假设情景，表达自身的观点。此外，例（27）预设会在“姐妹”与“母亲”的进行选择，言者用“在我看来”来标示自己的态度。

言者通过“DM 模”+假言句的表达形式声明话语的“非现实性”特质，并且在虚拟情境中植入观点，利用假设推演的逻辑力量增强说服力，最终通过模糊标记的”去绝对化“缓冲，在降低观点对抗性的同时实现交际意图。

5.1.2 语义模式

“模糊性话语标记”通常出现于动态的会话语境中，前后项语义关系的不同，其传达的意义也不尽相同。该类话语标记在语义关系上也呈现出一定的共性特征，为了考察的便利，我们将“模糊性话语标记”仍记为“DM 模”，前项话语记为“S1”，后项话语记为“S2”，“模糊性话语标记”主要呈现为以下三种语义模式：“现实情况+DM 模+补充说明”“评价对象+DM 模+评价内容”与“前提条件+DM 模+推理结论”。

5.1.2.1 现实情况+DM 模+补充说明

“S1”为客观存在的人物或事实，或是人们所达成的共时；“DM 模”作为过渡衔接语引出后项对前项话语的补充；“S2”是对前项话语所述事件的解释说明，也可以是对个人情感的补充强调。

（28）创新要有宽松的外部环境。笼统地说，这是指政治的、文化的、社会的。

（29）当初提出从六个方面判定艺术品价值的标准，目的实为抛砖引玉，吸引更多资深业内人士来

参与讨论。个人认为，不管是持批评性的，还是持肯定性的观点，都必定有助于进一步完善这一标准，为刚入门的收藏者增加更有价值的审美视觉和参考意见。

（30）一大部分科研机构、科技人员的能量远未充分释放，在某种程度上说，只是被“放风”，尚未真正被放活。

例（28）前项话语提及了人们所共知的常理，即创新要在宽松的环境下进行，后续话语在“笼统地说”的引导下，进一步说明了所谓宽松的外部环境应从政治、文化和社会来进行界定。例（29）上文介绍了提出“从六个方面判定艺术品价值的标准”的目的是为了吸引更多的资深人士来讨论得到一些意见，“个人认为”对想要获得资深人士观点的意图进行了说明。例（30）前文是社会目前共同的认知，“在某种程度上说”作为过渡项引出言者对前文这一情况的补充说明，也就是目前一部分科研机构与科技人员尚未真正放活。

5.1.2.2 评价对象+DM 模+评价内容

在这种语义环境中，“S1”为评述对象，主要是当前会话所涉及到的现象、事件、人物、行为或问题等方面，“DM”作为“S1”和“S2”之间的连接成分，帮助听者正确理解言者的话语，表明后续话语是言者对命题的评价态度。“S2”是对前述话语的评述性行为，表达说话人对所涉及对象的真实评价，向听话人传达其对所述话语的态度。

（31）这些新的或经过改造的节目的内容，一般地说，都是比较进步的，在听众和观众中，也的确发生了一些好影响。

（32）地方戏，依我看，不会失传，现在的年轻人不适应，将来他们老了也会喜欢的。

（33）在我国研究区域经济，在某种程度上说，相当于世界上其它许多国家的国民经济研究，可见研究意义之重大。

例（31）“S1”涉及的评价对象是“新的或经过改造的节目的内容”，言者针对这一事件发表看法，后续话语中言者的态度较为明显，并且用“的确”进行强调，可信度较高。例（32）言者针对“地方戏”这一具体对象进行评价，“依我看”说明后续话语中对“地方戏”的看法是个人的、主观的。例（33）评价对象是“在我国研究区域经济”这一行为，“在某种程度上说”暗示评价的得出具有局限性，言者认为这一行为的意义重大。

5.1.2.3 前提条件+DM 模+推理结论

“S1”为前提条件，可以是社会规约化的情理知识，或是符合人们主观推断的常理，“DM”提示听者“S2”是说话人基于已知信息或常理知识进行演绎归纳推理得出的结论，这一结论有现实性证据或符合人们的常理，因此具有一定的可信度。

（34）一切决定于条件、地点和时间。广义地说，地点和时间也是条件，所以也可以说：一切决定于条件。

（35）灵感其实就在你的周围，有时就是一个小小的物件，在我看来，一个懂得生活的人，是不会缺乏灵感的。

（36）任何企业都不可能长期保持这样的高速增长。在某种程度上说，这意味着距离下滑阶段已经

不远了。

例（34）前项话语是人们认可的一个哲学命题，“广义地说”后续话语在此基础上进行演绎，根据大前提“一切决定于条件、地点和时间”和小前提“地点和时间也是条件”推断出结论“一切决定于条件”。例（35）大前提是“灵感其实就在你的周围”，小前提则是“预设了一个懂得生活的人”，根据这两个前提推断出结论。例（36）的前提条件是“任何企业都不可能长期保持这样的高速增长”，这属于人们的常理知识，因此这个企业长期高速增长，很有可能要到下滑阶段了。

5.2 个性

“模糊性话语标记”在于标示信息来源的不确定性或有限性，并通过这种标示调节言者对命题的责任归属与听者对信息的接受预期。但作为一类话语标记中的内部成员，他们又会存在一些细微差异，能够帮助语言使用者实现不同的交际目的。

5.2.1 共现倾向

经过考察三类“模糊性话语标记”的部分用例后，我们发现“模糊性话语标记”在话语环境中通常位于话轮起始位置，后续话语在与动词、副词等词类的共现情况上既有相同之处，也有差异之处。

首先这三类话语标记后续语句中都大量出现了判断动词，如“是”“在于”等等，此外，后续句中也常出现一些能愿动词，如“应该”“应当”等，我们认为这是因为“模糊性话语标记”具有弱断言的功能，因此其后续句都可以是断言性质的语句，言者在进行断言的同时，会借助一些能愿动词，进一步弱化断言，以此来避免引发争议。

其次，三类模糊性话语标记都可以与“凡是”“都”“所有”这种表示总括性的副词的共现，但是在共现频率上有所差别，“在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记与总括性副词共现的频率低于其他两类。这种现象主要与语义模式和语用功能相关。其一，在语义上，总括性副词通过全称量化表达命题的周遍性，而“在某种程度上”则通过部分量化对命题进行范围限定，二者在语义层级上具有冲突性；其二，在语用上，“个人认为类”及“X 地说类”因模糊性指向信息来源或讨论框架，能与总括性副词形成“主观弱化+客观强化”及“条件限定+全称判断”的互补结构，符合逻辑一致性原则。

（37）广义地说，所有的上市公司都存在着被收购的可能。

（38）那么你们三人，依我看，功夫都是不错的。

（39）在某种程度上说，他们都是独一无二的。

最后，“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记常与表示肯定性的副词连用，如“一定”“必”“必定”等副词，并且共现的频率远远高于其他两类模糊性话语标记。

（40）个人认为，在群面中过分低调是没必要的，需要的时候一定要把自己的亮点展现出来，但是切记拿捏好措辞和语气，不可让大家闻到骄傲自夸的味道。

我们认为，“个人认为类”这种话语标记与表肯定性的副词共现时，形成“主观立场+强确定性”的表达形式，这种表达是在借助这类话语标记弱化断言，避免直接冲突，在这种保护下，言者加上肯定性副词强调观点可信度，既维持了交际礼貌，又强化了论证力度。相比而言，“X 地说类”或“在某种程度上类”模糊性话语标记更侧重客观限制条件的说明，与肯定副词共现容易造成语义冲突。

5.2.2 语体表现

在模糊性话语标记的语体分布研究中，“X 地说类”“个人认为类”与“在某种程度上类”呈现出显著的适用性差异，这种差异本质上源于其互动性特征与语体功能需求的动态匹配。

就“X 地说类”而言，常出现于报刊、学术论文及科普文章等正式书面语体，本质上源于该类标记通过“X+地+说”结构限制命题的来源角度与低互动性特征的协同作用。作为语法化程度较高的结构，“广义地说”“一般地说”等表达既限定了论述边界，又规避了即时反馈需求，言者或作者仅需单向构建权威论述体系。此类模糊性话语标记暗含学科共同体共识，其低互动性特征恰好适配学术文献等强调客观权威的交际场景。

相较之下，“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记在口语对话、网络评论及座谈访谈中的高频分布，则凸显了高互动性语体对主体立场标记的强烈需求。“个人认为”等表达通过第一人称介入直接激活主体间协商机制，既明示个体认知责任，又通过主观性标记降低断言力度，符合平等对话场景中的面子维护原则。这种高互动性征与即时交际的反馈机制形成动态适配，故在需规避主观渗透的法律文书或实验报告中呈现明显的语用回避。

而“在某种程度上类”的互动性低于“个人认为类”，但高于“X 地说类”，该类模糊性话语标记既能满足书面论证的严谨性，也能达到口语协商的灵活性需求，因此在语体呈现出跨越性。该类表达在科技文献、政策声明及正式访谈中的活跃使用，实质是量化确定性功能的外化，既维持了命题有效性，又为后续修正预留接口，这种协商性模糊策略正是其跨越书面与口语语体的功能基础。

总之，“X 地说类”模糊性话语标记依托低互动性特征，通过“X+地+说”结构限制命题的角度适配高规约性语体；“个人认为类”凭借主体介入性，在高互动场景中实现立场协商；而“在某种程度上类”则通过量化确定性调节机制，在中等互动层级上平衡精确性与灵活性。

6. 历时演变与动因解释

目前学界对于话语标记的演变途径尚未达成共识。董秀芳（2007）认为话语标记既可以是词汇化的结果，也可以是语法化的结果，还可以是词汇化与语法化同时作用的结果。殷树林（2012）认为话语标记的演变过程到最后都会有语用化的过程。李思旭（2012）将话语标记的演变路径分为两种：一是短语或小句在词汇化和语法化的同时作用下演变为话语标记；二是在语境和语用的影响下，有些短语临时作话语标记。

6.1 历时演变

6.1.1 “X 地说类”

关于“X 地说”类模糊性话语标记的演变机制，现有研究可从词汇化与语法化的双重作用视角展开阐释。从历时演变路径来看，这类结构既符合词汇化进程中形式固化、语义专化的普遍规律，更与言说动词“说”的语法化进程密切相关。

具体而言，以“广泛地说”“笼统地说”为代表的“X 地说”结构，其词汇化特征主要体现在三方面：结构凝固、音节趋简以及语义融合，即整体表达认知限定功能而非字面组合义。但这一演变过程的主要驱

动力在于“说”的语法化。例（41）中，“说”就是指的言说这一行为义，例（42）中，“科学地说”应该认为是一个固化习语，“说”不再是言说义，而是认知义，例（43）中“笼统地说”已经彻底成为话语标记。因此，我们认为，话语标记“X 地说”的演变过程是“X 地说”从作谓语到固化为习语再到话语标记。

（41）魏征直截了当地说：“陆家其所以否认此事，是害怕陛下以后藉此加害于他。其中缘故十分清楚。不足为怪。”

（42）但是我们可以科学地说，这个梦是有物质基础的。

（43）笼统地说，英国铁路分为三大部分。

本文认为，“X 地说”类模糊性标记的形成是言说动词“说”经历词汇化和语法化的结果，其语义演化遵循行域>知域>言域的三阶路径。当“说”最终固化为元话语标记时，整个结构便从自由短语升格为具有特定语用功能的话语单元。

6.1.2 “个人认为类”

“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记起初并不具备话语标记的功能，他们源于实义词，曾经具备词汇意义，他们均经历了一个语法化的历程，失去了原有的概念意义，成为了某种具有主观化色彩的话语标记。

殷树林（2012）提出了内部组成成分语法化引发话语标记的演变，我们认为这一观点为“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记提供了解释框架，其内部组成成分在语义上经历了语法化，从而形成了如今的“个人认为类”模糊性话语标记。

“依我看”“在我看来”等话语标记的形成主要是因为其中的“看”经历了语法化的历程。邹燕（2017）认为“看”本身是一个视觉动词，在中古时期产生了心理观察、心理评价等心理动词的意义，融入了言者主观的思考和分析，表示对事物的主观认识或看法。此后，这种心理动词“看”与其他话语成分组合，经历词汇化的过程后，这个结构成为一种认知情态的固定语，最后经历语法化的过程成为了我们所使用的话语标记。

至于“认为”，在现代汉语中只有“对人或事物确定某种看法，做出某种判断”这一个义项。

在清朝时期，“认为”一词与人称代词开始组合，表示“认知情态义”，例（44）中是言者对自身能力的评价，与后续内容的结合较为紧密；在例（45）作为应答语，在形式上用逗号与后续内容隔开，此时已经呈现出向话语标记发展的趋势。由此，我们认为，“认为”一词本身就带有认知义，“个人认为”“我认为”等话语标记的演化路径是知域>言域。

（44）霍金章哈哈一笑说：“洒家自出世以来在西夏未遇见过敌手，我认为自己的能为天下无二，焉想到今天得遇二位，总算是道义上的朋友。”

（45）大人一听，说：“依你之见，该当如何？”马玉龙说：“我认为，不但应放了他，还要以酒筵相送。”

6.1.3 “在某种程度上类”

（46）在某种程度上说，这些新闻电讯里的一部分原始资料，比前面“军队心理专家”立特尔的观察，要直接得多了。

（47）其实，求职在某种程度上说是一种能力和运气的结合。

“在某种程度上”这个组合形式产生于现代汉语发展阶段，其初始功能在于对现象、行为或结论的合理性范畴做出限定性表述。当该结构完成向视角话语标记的转型后，其核心语义仍保留着条件限定特征，例（46）视角标记的后续话语具有部分性的特征，与该标记的条件性特征契合，这种条件性特征通过对话语命题施加范围约束，客观上产生了弱化言者断言的语用效果。整理该标记的发展可见，当“从某种程度上说类”话语标记脱离对比性视角标记的共现环境，转而与单一断言句形成组配关系时，其原有的条件限定功能逐渐消失。这种句法分布的改变促使该标记的语义重心发生转移，原本对命题意义的辅助性限定作用逐渐消解，如例（47），转而强化了其在元话语层面的互动调节功能。目前学界对“语用化”较为公认的定义是，一个词汇-语法序列或词汇形式在特定的语境中，丧失其命题意义而具有本质上的元交际话语互动意义的过程。我们认为“在某种程度上类”话语标记在句法层面摆脱强制性组合关系，语义层面脱离命题内容贡献，语用层面实现功能的显性化。因此，我们认为该话语标记的形成是语用化的结果。

6.2 演变动因

6.2.1 交互主观化

主观性体现言者的自我关注，交互主观性则强调对听者立场的认同。交际过程中，言者通过话语标记、限制语等显性手段引导听者理解隐含语义，动态调节互动强度以维持对话和谐。当语言单位在历时演变中获得这种调控功能时，即实现交互主观化。这一过程本质上是言者为适应交际需求，将自我关注转向他者立场的功能重构，因而成为话语标记演化的重要动因。

Brown & Levinson（1987）提出“面子学说”，包括“积极面子”和“消极”面子。所谓的“消极面子”是指有自主的自由，希望自己的行动自由不受干预，注意力不受干扰，不因迁就别人或受到干预、妨碍而使自己感到丢面子。例（48）中，言者使用了“依我看”这个话语标记，表明自身对于“是否可以逮住贼”这一事件持肯定态度，虽然与对方的意见相左，但是该标记又使这种肯定的语气得到了缓和，从而也较好地维护了对方的消极面子。在交际过程中使用模糊性话语标记不仅能表达主观的感情或态度，还表明其对互动回应的期待，同时也可以维护交际双方甚至是第三方的“消极面子”。

（48）“我的看法跟您相反，”高杰·弱夫说，“我想我们会逮住这个贼的。警察厅已经在美洲欧洲所有重要的进出港口布置了许多十分机警能干的侦探。依我看，这位梁上君子要想逃脱侦探的手掌，那是很困难的。”

6.2.2 认知隐喻

汉语言说动词的语义演化遵循从具体到抽象的语义变化（董秀芳，2003），这与人类从具体到抽象的认知规律密不可分。“模糊性话语标记”的形成与认知因素中的隐喻密切相关。隐喻，指从具体概念域投射到抽象概念域，各种认知域之间的投射构成了隐喻模式，促成了语言形式的词汇化及语法化。“X地说类”最初是表示具体动作的言说动词，在句中充当谓语，属于“行域”；当“X地说类”的主语逐渐脱落，后续语句是凸显焦点信息时，兼具“行域”和“知域”；当其进一步虚化为话语标记，表达说话人的主观态度、情感和立场时，属于“言域”。“个人认为类”中“依我看”“在我看来”等含有具体动作词的标记经隐喻扩展至心理认知域，最终固化为立场标记。而“个人认为”因“认为”具有认知情态义，所以经历了知域>

言域的演变。此时“模糊性话语标记”的语义弱化，在句中并不表真值语义而是起到衔接话语，提示受话人注意以及表达说话人所言为真的坦诚态度的功能。“模糊性话语标记”由行域到知域再到言域的投射，反映了认知隐喻的作用，由具体到抽象的认知规律。

6.2.3 使用频率

吴福祥（2004）指出，高频使用是触发语法化的关键条件。言说动词“说”因其在交际中的核心地位，构成的语言形式使用频率显著偏高。随着使用频次增加，其实词义逐渐磨损，语用功能持续强化，最终从松散组合固化为兼具人际调节与语篇衔接功能的话语标记。实词的使用频率越高，就越容易虚化，虚化的结果又提高了使用频率。语言单位通过重复使用完成从具体到抽象的功能转型。例如：

（49）一般地说，创新不是教而得之的，只有在积极的实践中，创新才能逐渐成为他自身品质的一部分。

（50）在某种程度上说，田径基础的薄弱，也影响了其他体育项目的快速发展。

上述例句中的“一般地说”“在某种程度上说”已经不单纯具备原本的概念意义，字面含义已经消减，即使删去也不会影响整个话语所表达的含义。因此它们位于句中可以有效帮助说话人进行表达，通过调节说话的节奏，改进说话的方式，更好地交流。

7. 结语

本研究以传信范畴为理论框架，系统分析了汉语中“X 地说类”“个人认为类”以及“在某种程度上类”三类模糊性话语标记的共时功能与历时演变。研究发现，这些标记通过弱化断言强度，可分为信息来源模糊型与认知立场模糊型，在句法分布、语义模式及语体适配性上呈现显著共性与差异。其形成机制涉及交互主观化、认知隐喻及高频使用等多重动因：言说动词“说”与认知动词“看”通过隐喻从行域向言域投射，语法化过程中高频使用加速语义虚化，最终实现从命题限定到元话语调节的功能转型。研究构建的“免责-示弱”二元功能模型，不仅深化了汉语传信系统的理论阐释，也为语言教学中的模糊策略教学及汉英传信类型学对比提供了参考。未来可结合认知实验，或拓展多模态语料，进一步揭示其动态交际机制。

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Corpus-based Research on the Verb of Chinese Ba-construction in News Text

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Abstract: It is widely acknowledged that Ba-construction is a special sentence pattern in Mandarin Chinese. It has been discussed by different scholars from different perspectives. In terms of semantics, there are about two different but representative standpoints. One is "Dispose Theory" and the other one is "Cause Theory". In terms of syntax, previous research focused on the verb, object and other features of Ba-construction. From the perspective of Valence Theory, Fan (2001) pointed out that monovalent, divalent and trivalent verbs can be used as central verbs in Ba-construction. Accordingly, most of the previous research focused on semantics, syntax, pragmatics and other aspects. However, the distribution of Ba-construction in non-literary fields has not been fully examined. News text, as one of the representatives of non-literary texts, is renowned for its accuracy, standardization and objectivity in information expression and delivery. Studying the use of Ba-construction in news text can not only reveal the grammatical functions and pragmatic features of this structure in formal contexts but also provide empirical support for understanding the practical application of Ba-construction in modern Chinese. Therefore, this paper uses CLL Corpus to further analyze verbs of Ba-construction in *People's Daily* since 2020s, with Valency Theory and argument structure as its theoretical basis. In accordance with the objectives of this research, the following two questions will be raised: 1) What are the distribution characteristics of verbs in Ba-construction? 2) What are the reasons for such distribution? The results show that: in Ba-construction within news text, bivalent verbs are used most frequently, followed by trivalent verbs, with monovalent verbs being the least common. Such distribution reveals that the valency and argument structure of verbs are significant factors influencing the syntactic structure and semantic expression of Ba-construction. Bivalent verbs are the most numerous in Ba-construction due to their clear syntactic structures and well-defined semantic functions. Trivalent verbs adapt to syntactic requirements of Ba-construction through flexible argument alternations, while monovalent verbs are subject to greater restrictions in Ba-construction because of their limited argument structures.

Keywords: Ba-construction, verbs, news text, Valence Theory, argument structure

1 Introduction

As a special sentence pattern in Mandarin Chinese, Ba-construction has remained one of the heated topics in linguistic research since the 1920s. Starting from Li's (1924) "Object-Promotion Theory", scholars have conducted in-depth investigations from multiple perspectives. In terms of semantics, academic discussions have primarily revolved around two dominant theories. One is "Dispose Theory" (Wang 1943; Lü 1942) and the other one is "Cause Theory" (Hsueh 1994; Ye 2004). In terms of structural composition, researchers have systematically examined various components including the verbs, objects, and syntactic features of Ba-construction. Wang (1943) observed that the primary function of Ba-construction lies in expressing disposal of the object, consequently requiring transitive verbs as predicates. However, he also noted exceptional uses with intransitive verbs, proposing the concept of "Successive-event Constructions". Lü (1942) emphasized that verbs in Ba-construction must denote "action" and "disposal". Cui (1995) classified verbs into dynamic and static categories, maintaining that only dynamic verbs can enter Ba-construction. Fan (2001), adopting a valency grammar approach, demonstrated that monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent verbs can all serve as predicate nuclei in Ba-construction.

While previous studies have yielded substantial achievements in syntax, semantics, and pragmatic functions of Ba-construction, two notable limitations remain. First, most corpus evidence derives from literary texts, with insufficient investigation into their distribution in non-literary domains, particularly news text. Second, critical questions remain unresolved, regarding verb selection constraints. Fro example, "Which verbs can or cannot exactly enter Ba-construction?" "What underlying principles govern these restrictions?" In order to address these problems, this study employs methods from corpus linguistics grounded in Valency Theory and argument structure. Through systematic analysis of authentic data extracted from *People's Daily* (since 2020s), it aims to uncover the distribution characteristics of verbs in Ba-construction, identify restrictive conditions on verb selection, and explore the linguistic motivations behind these constraints.

2 Literature Review

From the perspective of the syntactic functions of verbs in Ba-construction, Li (1924) proposed the "Object-Promotion Theory", which requires the verb to be transitive. However, he identified special usages of "Ba", such as in the sentence "驴把我跌下来了 (Lv ba wo diexialaile)", where "跌 (die)" is an intransitive verb. Wang (1943) argued that verbs in Ba-construction exhibit kind of "disposal". Later, Wang (1944) noted numerous instances of intransitive verbs in such constructions, as seen in "偏又把凤丫头病了 (Pian you ba Fengyatou bingle)", where "病 (bing)" is also intransitive. Building on this observation, he proposed "successive construction", derived from "disposal construction", to denote events arising as consequences of prior actions. However, Wang's "successive construction" has not been widely accepted in academia (Zhang

2019). Lü and Zhu (1979) focused on the functional role of Ba-construction, asserting that its verbs must be transitive. Zhao (1979), conversely, argued that intransitive verbs could also appear in ordinary disposal construction, exemplified by the verb "坐 (zuo)" in "把椅子坐塌了(ba yizi zuo tale)". Song (1991) further refined this view, positing that verbs in Ba-construction must either be transitive or with transitive verbal structures. All in all, Song advanced the understanding of transitivity and intransitivity of verbs in Ba-construction.

From the semantic perspective of verbs in Ba-construction, Jin (1997) argued that any verb capable of entering the "V-*de*" structure can be used in Ba-construction, and that most verbs in Ba-construction are "volitional verbs". Cui (1995) asserted that verbs in Ba-construction are exclusively dynamic verbs. Fan (2001) not only proposed classification criteria for verbs but also analyzed verbs in Ba-construction through the lens of verb valency. He contended that verbs in Ba-construction may be monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent. Based on this, Liu and Zhao (2006) integrated the valency and semantic features of verbs in Ba-construction to analyze their characteristics. They emphasized that the classification of verbs can be approached through two dimensions: syntax and semantics. Since the eligibility of verbs to enter Ba-construction is closely tied to their semantic features, this study focuses primarily on the latter dimension, omitting further discussion of syntactic classifications. Semantically, verbs in Ba-construction can be categorized by two criteria: according to semantic features, verbs can be classified as action verbs, experiential verbs or state verbs; according to valency, verbs can be classified as monovalent verbs, bivalent verbs and trivalent verbs. In Ba-construction, monovalent verbs are mostly intransitive, such as "跑 (pao)", "哭 (ku)". Bivalent verbs are transitive and volitional verbs like "批评 (piping)", "打 (da)", which constitute the vast majority of verbs in Ba-construction. Trivalent verbs can be further divided into six subcategories (Fan 2001).

In a nutshell, previous scholars have conducted extensive research on verbs in Ba-construction from different perspectives such as syntactic functions, semantic features, and verb valency, yielding divergent findings. These varying results indirectly demonstrate the necessity of studying verbs in Ba-construction, as such research can further advance the analysis of the generative mechanisms or underlying principles of Ba-construction. This study primarily adopts the classification criteria proposed by Fan (2001) as well as Liu and Zhao (2006).

3 Research Design

3.1 Research Questions

Based on Valency Theory and argument structure, this research uses CCL corpus to analyze different types of verbs of Ba-construction in news text and finds out the reasons. In accordance with the objectives of this

research, the following two questions will be raised:

(1) What are the distribution characteristics of verbs in Ba-construction?

(2) What are the reasons for such distribution?

3.2 Research Subject

The research material (sentences with Ba-construction) is selected from the CCL (Center for Chinese Linguistics) Corpus, which covers a wide range of words, phrases and sentences in Modern Chinese and Ancient Chinese and various fields including literature, news, social media and so on. The CCL Corpus provides comprehensive and in-depth language resource for linguistic research.

Verbs can be categorized into different types. There are mainly three kinds of categorization: syntactic function, semantic features and the number of arguments, i.e., the valency of verbs. In this research, the central verbs in Ba-construction are classified into monovalent, bivalent and trivalent verbs based on the three types of central verbs in Ba-construction classified by Fan (2001). In Ba-construction, monovalent verbs are mainly intransitive verbs like“跑 (pao)”，state verbs like“醉 (zui)” and adjectives like “累 (lei)”. Bivalent verbs are mainly transitive and volitional verbs like “批评 (piping)”, and some transitive and mental verbs like “恨 (hen)”. Trivalent verbs are mainly transitive and volitional verbs, which carry the meaning of giving like “给 (gei)”, declaration like “告诉 (gaosu)”, mutuality like “商量 (shangliang)”, command like “派 (pai)”, identification like “称作 (chenzuo)” and putting like “放 (fang)”.

3.3 Research Procedures

The research procedures are divided into three parts:

Firstly, material selection. Keyword research is used to search for research material. In CCL Corpus, the researcher will use “把 path: 人民日报” as order and “2020s”as selection range in order to collect sentences with Ba-construction in *People's Daily* since 2020s. 79,061 sentences are obtained, with 24,742 sentences from 2020, 29,232 sentences from 2021 and 25,187 sentences from 2022. Since the corpus does not cover those from 2023 and 2024, the sentences with Ba-construction are not included in this research. Given the time limit, this research will randomly select 200 sentences from 2020, 2021 and 2022 respectively.

Secondly, material sampling. The researcher will remove irrelevant sentences from the selected materials, such as “门把手 (menbashou)”, “把握 (bawo)”, which are not Ba-construction. And the researcher will select 100 sentences respectively in a random way from the remaining materials.

Thirdly, material analysis. The distribution characteristics of verbs of Ba-construction in news text and the underlying reasons will be analyzed in terms of Valency Theory and argument structure.

4 Results and Discussion

According to the statistics, the frequency and proportion of the three types of verbs of Ba-construction in CCL Corpus were calculated, revealing significant differences. The results (see Table 1) indicate that the predicates of Ba-construction in news text are primarily bivalent and trivalent verbs, with monovalent verbs being relatively rare. Therefore, further analysis will focus on the semantic and argument structure of the verbs to examine the distributional characteristics of the predicate in Ba-construction.

Table 1. The frequency and percentage of verbs in Ba-construction

Type	Frequency	Percentage
Monovalent Verb	20	6.67%
Bivalent Verb	162	54.00%
Trivalent Verb	118	39.33%
Total	300	100%

4.1 Monovalent Verbs

According to the results, the frequency of monovalent verbs in Ba-construction in news text is the lowest, approximately 6.67%. In terms of the semantic features of Ba-construction, it generally emphasizes the influence or result of an action on the object, conveying a sense of disposal. Monovalent verbs are typically intransitive, describing the subject's own actions or changes in state, such as "笑 (xiao)" in "他笑了 (Ta xiaole)" or "开 (kai)" in "花儿开了 (Huaer kaile)". These actions do not involve the disposal of an object. In contrast, the semantic features of Ba-construction require a patient to undergo the action's effect, as in the sentence "老太太一直把我们送到村口 (Laotaitai yizhi ba women songdao cunkou)". Here, "老太太 (laotaitai)" is the agent, "我们 (women)" is the patient, and "村口 (cunkou)" is the location. The action "送 (song) acts upon the patient "我们 (women)", causing a change in location. Most monovalent verbs lack the semantic feature of governing or disposing of an object, which is why they are relatively rare in Ba-construction.

In terms of the argument structure, monovalent verbs only involve one argument, whose thematic role is either agent or theme, forming the basic structure of S+V. However, due to the disposal or causative meaning of Ba-construction, they must include both the disposer and the disposed one, requiring the verb to involve at least two arguments. Therefore, most monovalent verbs cannot appear in Ba-construction. According to Fan (2001), the condition for monovalent verbs to enter Ba-construction is their ability to take a causative object (i.e., having a causative usage). For example, in the sentence "小吴把头摔破了 (Xiaowu ba tou shuaipole)", the verb "摔 (shuai)" has a causative meaning. However, not all monovalent verbs have causative usage, such as

“叫 (jiao)” or “来 (lai)”. This requires the reader or listener to judge whether the verb carries a causative or disposal meaning. As a result, Ba-construction containing monovalent verbs is subject to certain restrictions, making them relatively few in number.

4.2 Bivalent Verbs

According to the results, the frequency of bivalent verbs in Ba-construction in news text is the highest, approximately 54.00%. This finding aligns with Fan’s research. Fan (2001) pointed out through investigation that the predicate heads in Ba-construction are most commonly bivalent verbs, primarily transitive volitional action verbs. From the perspective of the semantic features of Ba-construction, there are two obligatory components: the agent (the doer of the action) and the patient (the receiver of the action). For example, in the sentence “我们一定要把洱海保护好” (Women yiding yao ba erhai baohuhao)”, “我们 (women)” is the agent, and “洱海 (erhai)” is the patient. This reflects the requirement of bivalent verbs for two semantic roles, satisfying the need for the disposal meaning in Ba-construction. That is to say, an object (the patient) is acted upon by the agent, resulting in some outcome or change. In Ba-construction, the agent is typically the executor of the action and is volitional. The patient is the entity directly affected by the action and is one of the core semantic components of the Ba-construction. It is governed by the verb and undergoes changes in state, position, or nature due to the action. For example, in “我们尽量把地扫干净 (Women jinliang ba di saoganjing)”, “地 (di)” is the patient, and after the action of “扫 (sao)”, its state changes to “干净 (ganjing)”.

From the argument structure of Ba-construction, bivalent verbs govern two arguments: the agent and the patient. In Ba-construction, the basic sentence pattern is NP1 + Ba + NP2 + V, which determines that the arguments related to the verb are the causer (or disposer) and the causee (or disposed entity). The constructional meaning of Ba-construction requires a structure that expresses causation or disposal. Therefore, in Ba-construction with bivalent verbs, there are often words indicating changes of state or results. For example, in “小明把他打了 (Xiaoming ba ta dale)”, the Chinese character “了 (le)” indicates the completion of the event. Another example is “弟弟把花瓶打碎了 (Didi ba huaping dasuile)”, where “碎 (sui)” serves as the verb complement, specifying the result of the action, i.e., “The vase is broken”. Since bivalent verbs involve two arguments, and the causative meaning of Ba-construction requires the presence of a causer and a causee, the characteristics of bivalent verbs align well with the semantic features of Ba-construction, imposing fewer restrictions. As a result, in news text, bivalent verbs appear most frequently in Ba-construction.

4.3 Trivalent Verbs

According to the results, the frequency of trivalent verbs in Ba-construction in news text is approximately 39.33%. In terms of semantic features, Ba-construction involves not only an agent and a patient but also a

dative (e.g., an experiencer or beneficiary). For example, in the sentence “他把自己的想法分享给大家 (Ta ba zijidexiangfa fenxiang geidajia)”, “他 (ta)” is the agent, “想法 (xiangfa)” is the patient, and “大家 (dajia)” is the beneficiary. These three semantic components are closely linked to the trivalent verb and are indispensable, fully reflecting the objects involved in the action and their interrelationships. The agent argument in Ba-construction with trivalent verbs is consistent with that in bivalent Ba-construction, serving as the initiator of the action, which is characterized by initiative and control. The patient is the direct object of the action, appearing after “ba”, and its state, location, or ownership may change due to the action. The dative represents the indirect object of the action and it is often introduced by prepositions (e.g., “给 (gei)”, “向 (xiang)”, “在 (zai)”). The presence of the dative makes the semantics of the action more complex and specific. Trivalent verbs clearly indicate how the agent handles the patient, and this handling is related to the dative—that is, the action establishes some connection between the patient and the dative. Verbs like “分享 (fenxiang) and “送 (song)” involve the agent acting on the patient, thereby affecting the dative.

In terms of argument structure, trivalent verbs connect three arguments, with the basic sentence pattern being: NP1 + Ba + NP2 + V + NP3. This structure is the most complex, where NP1 and NP2 primarily serve as the agent and patient, respectively, while NP3 can take on a variety of thematic roles. For instance, it can be a recipient, as in “我把那本书给小明了 (Wo ba nabenshu gei xiaoming le)”, where “小明 (xiaoming)” is the recipient; a complement, as in “公司派他去广州 (Gongsi pai ta quguangzhou)”, where “去广州 (quguangzhou)” serves as the complement (Liu & Zhao 2006); and a locative, as in “你把书放到桌子上 (Ni ba shu fangdao zhuozishang)”, where “桌子 (zhuozi)” indicates location. Thus, trivalent verbs entering the Ba-construction are also subject to certain semantic constraints.

4.4 Summary

Through an investigation of verbs in Ba-construction in news text, this study found that within Ba-construction, bivalent verbs are used most frequently, followed by trivalent verbs, while monovalent verbs have the lowest usage frequency. This distribution pattern reveals that the valency of verbs is an important factor influencing the syntactic structure and semantic expression of Ba-construction. Bivalent verbs dominate in Ba-construction due to their clear syntactic structure and definite semantic function; trivalent verbs adapt to syntactic requirements through flexible argument alternation; whereas monovalent verbs face significant constraints in Ba-construction due to their limited argument structure.

5 Conclusion

This paper endeavors to expand the research scope of Ba-construction from traditional literary domains to non-literary fields, specifically journalistic discourse. Through a detailed analysis of the distributional

characteristics of Ba-construction in news text, it not only opens new perspectives for the ontological study of Ba-construction , highlighting the richness of modern Chinese sentence pattern research and the diversity of its usage patterns across contexts, but also contributes, to some extent, to a deeper understanding of the acquisition mechanisms of Ba-construction, offering valuable examples and insights for language learners and researchers.

However, this study has certain limitations. Due to constraints in the author's research capacity and time, the exploration of Ba-construction remains at a relatively superficial level, lacking in-depth investigation into its underlying mechanisms and deeper features. Future studies could employ generative grammar theory or cognitive linguistics frameworks to delve into the formation mechanisms of Ba-construction, the dynamic processes of its syntactic structure, as well as the semantic and syntactic features of verbs that can enter Ba-construction, thereby achieving a more comprehensive and profound understanding of Ba-construction and its related elements. Additionally, this study is limited in its corpus selection, with a relatively narrow range of news text in terms of quantity and variety, which somewhat affects the generality and persuasiveness of the findings. Therefore, further research should enhance corpus collection efforts, broaden sources of textual data, and increase the sample size of Ba-construction across different types and themes of news text. More exhaustive data analysis would improve the accuracy and reliability of the conclusions.

In summary, while this study has achieved preliminary results, further refinement and optimization are necessary to achieve more significant progress in the field of Ba-construction.

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人机与人际对话的会话宏观结构对比分析研究

——以豆包 AI 和自然语言对话为例

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摘要：随着人工智能和自然语言处理技术的普及发展，人机对话已出现在越来越多的生活场景中，但目前我国有关人工智能和语言学的结合的研究基本上处于较为浅层的应用阶段，少有研究能揭示人工智能语言与人类自然语言的区别。 在此背景下，本文基于自建语料库展开研究，使用豆包的语音通话模式作为开展人机对话的聊天对象，并以设计对照实验的方式规范语料的收集过程，收录了十位大四本科生（001 至 010）的人机和人际对话语料。研究过程主要使用了会话分析方法并参考了社会语言学和语用学理论，从会话宏观角度对比分析了人机对话与人际对话在会话开端、主体及结尾部分的异同。

研究发现，人机对话开端更多地采用问候式、询问式和称呼式，对答结构固定且礼貌性强；人类之间则呈现更加多样的开端类型，坦率直接、不拘礼仪；并在此基础上揭示了会话关系对开端方式选择的影响。会话主体围绕话题研究，AI在选择话题时表达范围更为有限但主题目标明确，人类的话题范围更广且多富含感情；人类有着更强的话题发起能力，在人机对话中占据主动，二者存在建议引导与陈述分享的话题发起差异；在整个话题的讨论过程中，超过41%的AI话轮内容可以被分割为共情、分析和建议三大固定的话语功能模块，人际对话相较之下则具有结构复杂、话题细拆和详略适应的差异性特征。最后的会话结尾部分，人机对话多使用有标记的序列结构进行告别，而人际对话多以无标记沉默自然终结。本文通过对话轮、相邻对及对话模式等组成结构的定量与定性分析，揭示人机对话与人际对话的结构性差异，并尝试分析语言互动的内在规律。研究阐明了人机交互的固定程式化特征和人际交互的动态灵活性特点，有助于开展人工智能语言与人类自然语言的对比研究工作。

关键词：人工智能语言；会话分析；会话宏观结构；人机对话；人际对话

引言

近年来，伴随生成式人工智能(如 ChatGPT 、Deepseek 、豆包等)的大范围应用，证明 AI 对于自然语言处理（NLP）已有了里程碑式的突破。它们通过大量的数据训练，不仅能够生 成结构规范、内容严谨的文章，甚至可以在实际交流互动中模拟人类语言的思维模式和情绪 表达。目前，我国有关人工智能和语言学的结合的研究基本上还处于较为浅层的阶段，多数关注的是使用人工智能解决教育问题或者翻译问题（例如：任文 2024；吴戈 2020），或者是分析人工智能对语言学未来的影响和可能的发展趋势（例如：袁毓林 2023；陆俭明 2024；吴礼权 2023）。但却少有研究揭示人工智能语言与人类自然语言的区别。

会话（conversation）是口头语言表达的一种常见形式，是人们传达信息，表达思想的重要手段和途径。[①]那么人机对话作为会话交互的新模式，它和我们日常生活中的人际对话有怎样的不同呢？为了解决这一问题，本文基于自建语料库展开研究，使用豆包的语音通话模式作为开展人机对话的聊天对象，

① 黄国文.语篇分析概要[M].湖南：湖南教育出版社，1988 ，161.

并以设计对照实验的方式规范语料的收集过程，收录了十位大四本科生（001 至 010）的人机和人际对话语料：要求测试者结合自身经历、围绕相同的求职抱怨类话题分别与人类（熟人关系）和豆包展开十分钟左右的对话，此话题是他们当下的共同经历，并且通常涉及更多的情绪化表达，便于凸显对话特征差异。笔者以现场录音的方式进行语料收集，使用 ELAN 和 Praat 工具进行语料标记，并参照 Jefferson（1984）发明的转写系统进行语料转写。

在研究方向上，本文主要基于 Schegloff（1978）、Sacks（1984）、刘虹（2004）和于国栋（2008）等人的会话分析方法，选择从会话宏观结构（semantic macro structure）的角度对人机对话和人际对话进行对比分析。当前会话分析大多关注会话微观结构[①]，在会话宏观结构上的研究成果较为欠缺，仅有少数学者如 Jefferson＆Lee（1992）总结了会话具有的特定形态（shape），这一发现也证实了会话分析与语篇研究存在关联。会话的宏观结构也被何兆熊（2000）称为整体结构，它是指会话根据语篇功能结构进行抽象划分，在整体上所采用的组织和框架模式，具体包括开端（opening）、本体（body）和结尾（closing）三个部分[②]，邵敬敏（2001:285）也在《现代汉语通论》 中对会话语篇进行了相同的整体结构划分。马靓婧（2020）、褚晓迪（2024）等人依据此标准对电视剧和访谈类节目进行了会话宏观结构的分析研究，证明了研究方向的可行性。

通过上述学者对会话宏观结构的研究和介定，本文认为，围绕求职抱怨类话题所开展的人机对话和人际对话都是可以完整描述事件发展过程的语篇结构。下文将从会话宏观结构的角度，描写并对比人机对话和人际对话在开端、本体和结尾部分的模式特征，发现其与众不 同的会话整体结构特点。

一、预设规约与随机自然的会话开端

会话开端是关注对话如何开启的，对开端的研究，其目的是为了表明交际者在交谈的开始部分意识到或合作完成了一系列的任务，推动会话的进展。[③]好的会话开端会给接下来的会话过程带来良好的氛围，还将直接影响话题选择和对话方式。Schegloff（1978）在其电话会话开端研究中指出，“召唤—回答”模式是会话开端的普遍原则，即当一方想发起会话时，总会以某种方式进行召唤。[④]这意味着出于不同的会话目的、面对不同的会话对象，在开端位置的召唤方式也多种多样。

（一）礼貌固定的人机对话会话开端

人机之间多以寒暄、客套的方式展开对话，参照何珺（2007）所作的自然会话实证研究结果，人机对话主要包含问候式、询问式和称呼式三种开端类型。这些方式使用礼貌色彩较浓的用语，且具有固定通用的对答结构和会话引发语。

1.问候式开端

问候式以打招呼的方式开启对话，它是由问候语和称谓构成的简单形式，一般以“问候—问候“的对答类型出现，对答形式结构多为双部毗邻式（adjacency pair）。

（1）由豆包发起：

例 1：

① 于晖.功能语篇体裁分析理论与实践[M].北京：外语教学与研究出版社，2018 ，p16.

② 王丕承.汉语初级口语教材语篇结构研究[M].北京：知识产权出版社，2015 ，p108.

③ 刘虹.会话结构分析[M].北京：北京大学出版社，2004，p31.

④ 沈芮妃.谈话节目《圆桌派》的会话结构[J]，青年记者，2017(18).

豆包：你好呀？ （问候）
010：你好，豆包。 （问候）

“你来啦”和“你好呀”是豆包常用的会话引发语，在句末加入语气词“呀”和“啦”，同时以升调“？”结尾，有助于形成热情友好的交际氛围。人类通常会遵照相邻对规范 (Heritage，1984)，选择相同的方式进行问候，构成问候-问候序列。

（2）由人类发起：

例 2：

004：你好豆包。 （问候 $_1$）
豆包：hello 呀，之前说的公费师范生的事儿， （问候 $_1$）（询问 $_2$）
你有没有去网上看看其他学校的情况呢？

与豆包不同，人类发起的问候式通常以降调“。”结尾，在感情色彩上趋于平淡。这种简洁通用的方式能快速衔接各种话题进行引入。

2.询问式开端

询问式以提问的方式展开对话，一般使用“询问—回答”的对答类型，形式结构多为双部毗邻式。我们主要关注会话引发语，从句法层面总结询问的方式，从语义层面对比询问的内容。

（1）由豆包发起

例 3：

豆包：今天过的怎么样？ （询问）
006：今天遇到了不少难题。 （回答）

“今天过的怎么样”，“最近怎么样”是豆包常用的会话引发语，有时也会和问候式相结合，如“你好呀，今天过的怎么样？”豆包多以特指问句发起询问，询问的内容也十分固定，以当下或近期发生的事作为话题引入。这种通用性和时效性强的会话策略，可以适配各种对话情景并缩短时间带来的疏离感，但重复出现也可能使用户感到单调。

（2）由人类发起

例 4:

003 ：嗨？你是叫豆包吗？ （询问 $_1$）
豆包：对啊，我是豆包，今天过得怎么样？ （回答 $_1$）（询问 $_2$）

例 5：

007：你好，能听到我说话吗？ （问候 $_1$）（询问 $_2$）
豆包：能听到呀。今天有啥事想和我说说不？ （回答 $_2$）（询问 $_3$）

例 6：

001：喂，豆包，你觉得现在教师工作求职情况怎么样呀？ （召唤 $_1$）（询问 $_2$）
豆包：你是想找教师相关的工作吗？ （确认 $_2$）（回答 $_2$）
那你得先考个教师资格证才行啊。

由人类发起的询问式开头形式更为多样，大多数由是非问句构成，少数由特指问句构成。是非问句（例 4 例 5）常被用来确认对方的身份和状态，这反映了人类与豆包之间陌生疏离的关系，以及人类对于这种新式对话形式的不确定性，会话开启需要一定的条件支撑；豆包也会在简短回应后补充询问，鼓励人类继续表达。特指问句则围绕具体话题进行发问，如上例 001 想要了解教师求职情况。

3.称呼式开端

称呼式是最符合 Schegloff（1978）“召唤—回答”模式的开端类型，一般由称呼作为开头语，然后再引出对话的主题，常常和其他开端模式共同使用。不仅可以吸引对方注意力，向对方发出与之对话的信号；还可以向对方表示尊重和客气，具有很强的礼貌色彩[①]。

例 7：

002：豆包，我感觉对比我朋友们的求职经历，（召唤 $_1$）（陈述 $_1$）
我感觉我的可能不是焦虑，但是我真正处于焦虑的那段时间，
我自己特别的难受，求职的时候好焦虑。
豆包：求职时焦虑挺正常的，每个人情况不同，焦虑程度和时长也有差别呢。（回答 $_1$）
不过那段难受的时光已经过去了，就好，重要的是现在顺利就行。

豆包并未使用称呼式发起对话，因为人机对话的身份和语境信息较为薄弱，豆包只能用“你”来进行一般称呼。语料中人类呼唤豆包的现象十分常见，这一方面体现了人机对话较强的礼貌色彩，另一方面也和人类以往的人机对话经验有关：目前嵌入 AI 服务的产品几乎都有自己的名字，比如“小爱”、“siri”等，使用这些名称进行呼唤，是开启对话和获取服务的常见方式，如“小爱小爱，打开音响”，这种对话习惯已经被广泛迁移至各类人机交互情景中。

4.AI 对开端进行优化的尝试

上述语料展示了 AI 在会话开端的程式化特征，但豆包 AI 也正在不断优化，尝试规避上述固定模式所造成的死板和僵硬。在实际测试中，绝大多数情况下，豆包发起的会话可以选择不回应，如果始终保持沉默，豆包将持续显示“正在听”来等待人类获取话轮；而在少数情况下，豆包会重复先前进行的发起方式，或者通过变换措辞、增加互动元素引导用户回应。

例 8:

豆包：你好呀？（问候 $_1$）
笔者：（3.1）
豆包：哈喽呀，感觉你好像有点犹豫要不要和我说话。（问候 $_2$）

如上例豆包没有接收到笔者的回应信息，选择重新以问候式发起会话，并通过幽默的措辞缓解沉默带来的尴尬。这种多次发起和打趣幽默的方式让豆包的语言表达显得更加灵活自然，是未来值得推广的发展方向，有助于提升人机对话的交互体验。

（二）直白自然的人际对话会话开端

与人机对话不同，人际对话的会话开端更为自由灵活。在同处情景下，人们习惯于以开门见山的方式直接进入会话，如直陈式和无标记；或者通过提问、标记的方式自然引入会话，如共识式、提示式和询问式。

这些开端类型通常没有固定的对答结构，它们直白简洁、随感而发，没有更多寒暄、客套和过渡的语言，因此呈现出较强的随意性，且礼貌色彩较弱。人际对话的会话引入语也更加丰富具体，包括个人情绪、身体状态和具体事件等内容都可以被作为引入的话题，并不存在一般固定模式。由于本语料在人际之间的身份差异并不明显，因此将不再根据发起者进行继续划分。

① 刘虹.会话结构分析[M].北京：北京大学出版社，2004，p146.

1.共识式开端

共识式是指对话发起者基于双方已知的信息（如共同经历、熟人、当前环境）来打破沉默的会话开端类型，它没有固定的对答结构，可以帮助对话找到合适的话题并促进互动。

例 9：

002：就感觉对比莹莹那个经历，我（.）她找工作很愁，（陈述）
但是我感觉我当时很愁，这会儿不是特别愁了。我们当时是九月底，
朋友：29 号。（补充）
002 通过谈论双方的相识好友和共同经历自然引入话题，还在谈论过程中分享了自己的心情变化，为对话补充了更多信息背景。

2.提示式开端

提示式是在共识式的基础上，添加带有标记性质的短语来引起听话人注意，进而发起会话。常用的提示标记语包括“对了”、“话说”、“我说”、“你说”等，通过这种简洁的方式，可以快速高效地衔接各种话题。

例 10：

008：对了，之前不是第一个月的时候说：是，不是，第一个礼拜，（陈述）
第一个礼拜我们是一直在那叫干体力活么。
舍友：嗯嗯，你一直说办公室给他们体力活，一直搬东西，然后呢。（补充）
上例 008 使用“对了”引起对话，引入过去实习经历的话题。“不是说……么”作为先导语，表明接下来的对话将关联双方以往的谈话内容。舍友顺着 008 的思路对先前对话内容进行了回顾，表现出对话题的兴趣，并鼓励 008 继续讲述。

3.询问式开端

和上文人机对话中的询问式开端不同，人际对话的会话引发语形式多样、内容丰富。因为人类对现实环境有着更强的感知能力，所以总能从当下实际寻找发起话题的机会，进而主动发出询问。这种结合现实的询问方式灵活多变，自然不会局限于“今天过的怎么样”这样固定生硬的开端发起。

例 11：

006：你蹲那腿不麻么？（询问）
朋友：没关系。（回答）
在上例中，006 发现朋友正处于一种不舒服的姿势，以是非问句开启了对话，表达了对朋友的关心。

4.直陈式开端

直陈式是指说话人直接陈述观点、事实和感受作为对话的开端，在引入话题之前不加任何表示客气礼貌委婉的用语，而是直接进入自己想谈论的话题，通常使用“要求/宣布—接受”对答结构。

例 12：

005：我最近遇到个糟心的事。（宣布 $_1$）
舍友：请讲。（接受 $_1$）（邀请 $_2$）

005： 就那个三方协议呀↑，我跟你说，他不给我回执。 （陈述 $_2$）

相较于一般的陈述，直陈式更加简洁高效，能够快速切入主题，对话题内容有着更强的概括和宣告作用。相较于无标记开端，直陈式一般建立在对方已经做好会话准备、等待说话人开启对话的前提下，因此并不显得唐突。通过上例，直陈式不仅适用于陈述事实，也适用于表达情感和引入话题，是一种非常实用高效的对话开端方式。

5.无标记开端

无标记是指会话发起一方的语句中并没有笔者所归纳的明显的标记，而是彻底跳过开头。这种类型通常发生在同处场景中，由一方突然进行毫无预兆的发言，唐突的方式可能会使听话人一方无法及时响应，导致会话开端出现冷场现象。因此无标记在语料中出现的次数较少。

例 13：

001： 我现在想着要是去应聘，去找学校的话， （陈述）
我就不找那种假期给我扣特别少的，也不找晚自习给我老拖拖的，太痛苦了。
（2.1）
同学：那种学校，要不然就是那种特别好的学校， （补充）
比如说各个市一中，要不然就是那种（0.6）普高吧。

在上例中，001 在和同学同处的场景中突然发起话题介绍自己的择业标准，面对突入其来的对话，同学在最开始并未反应过来，经过 2.1s 的沉默之后才对 001 进行了应答。

下表统计了上述会话开端方式在人机和人际对话中的使用情况：

表 1.1 人机对话的开端方式选择

人机对话开端	出现次数
问候式	4
询问式	5
称呼式	1

表 1.2 人际对话的开端方式选择

人际对话开端	出现次数
共识式	1
提示式	3
询问式	2
直陈式	3
无标记	1

通过表中数据可知，人际对话所使用的开端类型更加丰富多样。具体来看，询问式是两种对话共有的开端方式，问候式与称呼式则只在人机对话中出现，而共识式、直陈式、提示式和无标记情况则只在人际对话中出现。

（三）开端方式选择归因

会话开展方式的选择与会话关系的亲密程度密切相关。刘虹（2008）根据参与会话的角色关系进行划分，将会话开头分为熟人之间和陌生人之间两种。对此她还提供了一些分类标准作为参考，可概括出

以下六点：①熟人会话开头并不包含陌生人的试探过程；②陌生人会话开头常用称呼引起对方注意；③熟人会话以维持交际为目的，开头包括了更多寒暄性话语；④陌生人会话开头的对答结构类型有限，熟人之间则多样；⑤相较于陌生人之间，熟人会话开头使用更少的礼貌用语；⑥使用强制性较弱的引发语（如“评论”）做会话开头时，陌生人可以选择不应答，而熟人则应该应答。

1.熟悉的人际关系引起开端自然化

本文人际对话是在朋友、同学、舍友等熟人关系之间进行，结合上文人际语料中这些直白的发起方式、简洁的过渡、丰富具体的话题内容、称呼的缺失，还有较弱的礼貌色彩，都符合上文①②④⑤对于熟人关系区分和判定。

熟人会话首先通过空间关系和交际关系促进开端方式的自然化。熟人会话开头可根据会话参与者所处位置分为同处型、相遇型和拜访型。本文的人际对话语料都发生在同处型情境中，即双方在交谈前后处于同一空间，因此双方可以使用像提示式那样，通过“预示会话信号＋直接引入话题”[①]进行简洁的会话开端。亲密的交际关系意味着双方已经确认了彼此身份，并建立了一定的交际习惯，双方无需重复介绍内容或试探对方状态，可以省略寒暄表达，选择直奔主题的简洁开端。因此同处情景下的自然化趋势尤为明显，而在相遇型或拜访型情境中，熟人之间虽然仍可能有寒暄，但也远不及陌生人之间的程式化和固定化。

除了开端方式的简洁，熟人关系带来的自然化还体现在其共享的语境信息。由于对话双方往往处于相同的环境中，彼此的行为、情绪和关注点存在重叠，因此会话的衔接更为顺畅，语境推理能力更强。例如，一方可能直接评论对方的动作或状态，甚至无须铺垫即可进入核心话题，如“你蹲那腿不麻么”或“莹莹，你不要焦虑啦”等。

2.陌生的人机关系引起开端程式化

礼貌色彩是介定陌生人关系的常见标准，刘虹认为“与陌生人会话的开头，一般使用礼貌色彩较浓的用语”[②]。人机对话的开端呈现出更强的礼貌色彩，并且人机对话所使用的问候式、询问式和称呼式开端的语料，都满足刘虹在上文①②④⑤对于陌生人关系的判定标准。

如果说熟人关系带来了开端方式的自然化，那么陌生的人机关系则使得会话开端趋于程式化。信息交换是会话的主要目的之一（Tracy＆Robles，2013），陌生关系首先带来了身份信息的未知性，人机双方需要称呼和问候的寒暄方式确认对方的互动意愿，建立基本的会话合作基础（Grice,1967）。人际之间的陌生交流往往伴随着对会话目的（会话需求）的确认环节[③]，人类可以依靠经验预测一些程式化会话的目的（如点餐、问路），但 AI 显然面临更复杂交际场景。AI 大多并不具备长期记忆能力，因此每次通过都是新的互动，缺乏上下文承接能力，这使得它必须通过固定化的询问方式来确认交际目的。例如，传统的 AI 的开端语“你好，请问有什么可以帮忙的？”就是一种程式化表达，其作用就是填补对话前的陌生感，使用户能够顺畅进入话题。

陌生关系使对话的语境背景信息严重缺失，这在人机对话中尤为明显。人机双方无法共享语境，AI 也不具备对现实的感知能力，不能像人类一样通过观察对方的表情、语气或行为判断对方的交际意图，因此只能依赖既定的对话模板进行互动，以期达到最大限度的适配性。人机关系中 AI 的服务性定位也

① 刘虹.会话结构分析[M].北京：北京大学出版社，2004，p161.
② 刘虹.会话结构分析[M].北京：北京大学出版社, 2004，p150.
③ 赵忠德, 张琳.从关联理论看话语冲突[J]，外语教学，2005(01).

决定了其开端方式更倾向于礼貌性表达，需要减少直白随意的日常化开端使用。上述人机关系特点使得人机对话的开端方式呈现出固定化、标准化的趋势，与自然人际交流存在较大区别。

下表概括了人际对话与人机对话的会话关系特点，并分析了会话关系如何对开端方式选择产生影响。

表 1.3 会话关系对开端方式的影响

会话关系	会话关系特点	对开端方式的影响
人际对话（熟人关系）	**身份已确认，无需试探：** 熟人对彼此的身份、关系有稳定认知。	**省略称呼和寒暄：** 无需通过礼貌方式进行互动建立。
	共享语境，同处型关系： 交谈双方共享大量环境信息、过往经历，对现实交际语境有较强感知能力。	**省略背景铺垫：** 可以使用直陈式、无标记等直接引入话题，而不必进行详细的背景说明。
	交际目标明确，重内容轻仪式： 对话通常围绕共同话题展开，注重内容本身而非社交礼仪。	**自由选择开端方式：** 直陈式、共识式、询问式、提示式等方式均可使用，交际灵活性高，不需要通过固定表达增强互动氛围。
人机对话（陌生关系）	**身份不确定，需要建立互动关系：** AI 不能确定用户的身份、个性，因此必须通过称呼或通用问候建立会话关系。	**依赖称呼和寒暄：** “你好呀”“豆包，能听到我说话吗”，会话开端用来寒暄问候，确认身份和互动意图。
	非共享语境，缺乏对用户状态的感知： AI 无法感知用户的即时情绪或背景，缺乏会话背景信息	**通用适配的程式化开端：** “今天过的怎么样”，使用问候式、询问式的通用表达，确保交互流畅，不因个别用户语境不同而出错。
	服务型定位，注重用户体验： AI 的交互模式基于服务，强调友好、正式的交际方式，以保证用户体验。	**固定化的礼貌表达：** 豆包坚持用上扬的热情语调主动发起问候或询问，增强用户体验，但缺乏灵活性。

不同的会话关系直接塑造了不同的开端方式，身份认同、语境共享、交际目标的明确性，决定了熟人会话的直白自然，而身份不确定、信息不共享和礼貌性要求则使人机交互的开端方式趋向固定的程式化。

3.人机关系演化对未来会话开端的影响

尽管 AI 的开端方式长期以来保持程式化特征，但随着技术的发展，新型人机关系正在发生不断变化，并对开端方式造成潜在影响。过去的 AI 并不具备记忆能力，每次开启聊天都将基于新的数据和背景信息，换句话说，AI 不能调动、也不能关联以往的对话内容，因此 AI 无论何时对于我们来说都可以算作一个知识丰富的“陌生人”。然而随着 2024 年谷歌 Gemini AI 推出“全局记忆”功能，OpenAI 实现了跨对话回忆用户过往交流，包括豆包在内的新一代 AI 在实际对话中可以轻松调取以往和用户的对话内容，作为开展新会话时的背景信息。

例 14：

T1 豆包：你来啦？ （问候 $_1$）

T2 009：豆包。 （召唤 $_1$）

→T3 豆包：我在呢，有什么想聊的？是关于上次面试的事吗？ → **记忆关联**

→T4 009：是的，你还有记忆，哼哼，我打过去你就知道我干啥。→**肯定 AI 记忆能力**

T5 豆包：哈哈，看来我们沟通挺顺利呀，快跟我说说面试有啥新进展？ （提问 $_3$）

在上例的 T3 中，豆包主动关联了“上次面试”作为话题引入，009 敏锐地发现了这一现象，并在 T4 中表达了惊讶。笔者向 009 证实，他确实在两天前和豆包探讨过面试的话题。在随后自主进行的对话测试中，豆包 AI“拥有记忆”的现象频繁出现，已成为其开启会话的主要手段。

因此，新一代的 AI 已无法将其固定作为陌生人来对待。AI 与人的关系存在动态发展的特性：随着聊天次数的增多和内容的深入，AI 会进行更多私人化的回复，人机关系将会同人际关系发展一样，从陌生人关系逐渐向熟人关系转变。

会话关系转变将在未来进一步影响开端方式选择，用户不再需要每次开启对话时重新解释背景，AI 也可以跳过冗余的寒暄和一成不变的问候语，根据用户的历史对话选择更合适的开端方式，交互模式可能从“问候-询问”模式转向“回忆-延续”模式，使对话更加延续和亲近。

在新的研究背景下，一个尚未与 AI 对话过的人类，他在第 1 次进行人机对话，以及第 2 次、第 n 次进行人机对话之后，人类的会话方式和用语习惯是否会发生转变，AI 又能基于往期记忆开发出哪些更为丰富的会话内容，这些问题都值得继续思考和追问。

二、聚焦应答与多向互动的会话主体

会话主体部分是谈话的核心，从宏观结构来说，言语交际是围绕着某个或某些话题展开的[①]。孙国军（1993）认为会话话题（conversation topic）是统驭会话中若干或所有话轮意义的“主脑”[②]；杨惠元（2002）也强调“话题反映交际者的动机，规定和制约谈话的内容、范围和重点”，它是“使交谈顺利进行，并取得良好效果的重要保证”[③]。因此在分析会话主体时，话题是一个至关重要的切入点。本文从话题的选择、话题的发起以及话题的讨论三个维度展开，系统对比人机对话与人际对话在会话主体内容上的特点。

（一）理性任务导向与感性互动拓展的话题选择

话题选择包含话题的内容和数量，前者可以反映会话所包含的主体信息，后者可以反映会话的丰富程度。下表展示了 001 至 005 对话语料的话题及数量：

表 2.1 人机对话与人际对话话题选择比较（001 至 005）

	人机对话		人际对话	
	话题数量	话题内容	话题数量	话题内容
001	6	（1）公费师范生求职现状 （2）地域选择和生活舒适度	9	（1）择业选择和工作条件 （2）衡水模式的教育理念

① 于国栋.会话分析[M].上海：上海外语教育出版社，2008，p191.

② 孙国君.论会话话题[J].外语研究，1993（01）.

③ 杨惠元.汉语听力说话教学法[M].北京：北京语言大学出版社，2002，p287.

		（3）对未来工作条件的要求 （4）梦想成为漫画家 （5）比较公立和私立学校 （6）关于中西部地区的考虑		（3）公费师范生就业去向 （4）理想的生活状态 （5）家庭影响和生育观念 （6）教师性别比例和影响 （7）学校食堂伙食 （8）教师的素质和学历 （9）高中生活经历
002	6	（1）求职焦虑 （2）求职波折 （3）情绪崩溃 （4）求职期间被安排大量任务 （5）初高中选择及家人的不理解 （6）签约情况和心态变化	8	（1）求职焦虑 （2）面试失败 （3）简历被漏删 （4）面试表现 （5）面试策略 （6）吐槽招聘政策 （7）签约情况和心态变化 （8）人际交往策略
003	7	（1）时间冲突 （2）入党转正材料 （3）面试准备焦虑 （4）家庭对职业选择的影响和冲突 （5）求职市场的竞争压力 （6）有关情绪疏导建议 （7)有关时间管理和任务安排的建议	10	（1）求职焦虑和自身优势 （2）研究生和本科生的竞争 （3）名校毕业生的竞争力 （4）求职市场严峻 （5）分配还是自主选择 （6）面试准备的压力 （7）朋友的情绪支持和鼓励 （8）对其他求职竞争者的评价和比较 （9）家庭对职业选择的影响和冲突 （10）对体制内工作的看法
004	6	（1）签约后的不配得感和自我怀疑 （2）对自身能力水平定位的困惑 （3)纠结于努力还是放松的矛盾心态 （4）初高中的选择及认知偏见 （5）对人际交往的担忧 （6）对未来职场环境的焦虑	8	（1）提前招聘带来的焦虑和准备不足 （2）与优秀同伴的比较和不配得感 （3）比赛经验和实战经验的不同 （4）对初中和高中教学的认知 （5）对未来教学能力的担忧和职场竞争的恐惧 （6）当下是否应该努力的矛盾心态 （7）过度比较带来的焦虑和自身怀疑 （8）对享受生活的渴望与内疚
005	6	（1）实习刚开始的体力劳动 （2）如何与领导沟通 （3）如何提高工作效率 （4）幼儿园教师的工作负担 （5）如何应对非必要性工作	7	（1）实习刚开始的体力劳动 （2）吐槽领导的管理风格 （3）实习生地位低下 （4）领导和同事的关系 （5）不同幼儿园的晋升机会

		（6）如何完成实习总结报告		（6）面试中遇到的天赋型选手 （7）实习中的工作负担和压力

结合上表信息发现，人机对话与人际对话在话题选择上存在明显差异。从话题数量上看，在相近的对话时间内，人际对话通常会比人机对话涉及更多的话题，这意味着人际之间在交流过程中更容易发散，对话内容更为丰富。

从话题内容上对比，人机对话更多关注个人实际问题，有着很强的目的导向性。比如 005 向豆包寻求如何应对非必要工作、如何完成实习报告的方法建议。而人际对话的话题并不具有很强的目的性，会探讨更多的理论性或社会性问题。比如 001 讨论衡水模式、家庭影响、生育观念、教师性别比例等话题，这些话题更加主观和深刻，往往需要结合自身社会生活的经历才能够发表自己的见解。

话题同样能反映对话的语言风格，相比之下，人机对话更加理性和正式，侧重于对问题、现状的介绍和解决；而人际对话则更加感性和随意，侧重于情感交流和情绪表达。如 005 在人机对话中谈论的话题“如何与领导沟通”和 005 在人际对话中谈论的话题“吐槽领导的管理风格”，这两个话题都基于 005 和领导相处的同一段经历展开，但后续的话题导向却有所不同，这正反映了理性寻求建议和感性情绪宣泄两种不同的对话风格。

（二）建议引导与陈述分享的话题发起

话题发起是指在特定的交流场景中，由一方提出某个主题、问题或事件，从而开启一段交流和讨论的过程，它是引发双方参与互动、表达观点和分享信息的起点。Button＆Casey（1984）认为，话题发起可以分割会话，并为交际对方创造一个开放的空间[①]。

1.建议引导的人机对话话题发起方式

人机对话中不同角色的话题发起方式不同。人类多以陈述经历的方式进行，而豆包通常以建议或询问的方式发起话题，话题内容的发起并不围绕自身经历或感受，而是基于一定的社会共识，这种方式减少了主观情绪化的影响，使得后续对话往往更加客观公正，但是也一定程度上减少了对话的趣味性和亲和力。

（1）由人类发起：

例 15：

005：在我们实习第一周的时候就遇上了开园，需要大扫除，（陈述）
　　所以领导就让我们搬了一个礼拜的东西，非常累。
豆包：那确实挺辛苦的，不过刚实习可能会遇到这种（回应）
　　体力活比较多的情况呢。……（此处省略 74 字）

上例中 005 向豆包分享了自己在实习初期进行体力劳动的经历，开启了这一话题，引出了后文豆包的建议和双方对工作管理的看法。

（2）由豆包发起：

例 16：

豆包：我觉得你可以考虑一些中西部地区的学校，内地的教育水平相对较低，（建议）

① Button,G.&Casey,N.(1984)*Structures of Social Action:Studies in Conversation Analysis*.Cambridge:Cambridge University ,Press:170.

竞争压力也比较小，而且生活成本也比较低。

001：那确实是有点太低了。生活成本并且基础设施不太好，（拒绝）
我觉得再者离家太远了吧？

语料中由豆包主动发起话题的情况出现的比较少，一般是出于引导和建议的回应目的。如上例中，豆包对 001 的就业选择提供建议，并由此引发关于中西部地区看法的讨论。

2.陈述分享的人际对话话题发起方式

不同于人机对话，人际对话在话题发起时并没有明显的角色差异。求职者和对话人都多以陈述的方式发起话题，无论是表达自己的内心感受，还是回忆自己的过往经历，这种娓娓道来的方式可以提供充足的信息背景，将对话人很好地带入到话题语境中去。

（1）由求职者发起

例 17：

004：但是当时你处在那么多优秀的环境下的时候，你就会感觉。（陈述 $_1$）
奥，我到底凭什么呀。就可能，这不是凡尔赛，
同学：对（肯定 $_1$）
004：就是感觉就很慌张和焦虑，就有不配得感，包括像前几天，（补充 $_1$）
前几天那个女生（0.3）发(0.2)朋友圈，又拿了一次国奖，
然后田家炳比赛获得了一等奖，我在咱村就很焦虑=

在上例中，004 向同学坦白了自己内心焦虑的原因，由此发起了关于这种负面情绪的讨论。

（2）由对话人发起

例 18：

朋友：他有的时候也有可能是为了防止学生暴动。（陈述 $_1$）
我们高中那个校长是校长总裁，特意雇了一个那个退役的炮兵。
001：我的天。（感叹 $_1$）
朋友：一米九快两米了，又：高又大。说为啥子平时啥也不是，啥也不干，他也不教课，就搁那看。（补充 $_1$）

在上例中，朋友向 001 分享了自己高中校长雇退役炮兵来防止学生暴动的事情，由此开启并引发了后续关于高中生活经历的回忆和讨论。

话题发起方式可以影响后续的话题讨论过程，话题发起的次数也可以反映会话中的主导身份，在上文话题选择的基础上，下表统计了上文 001 至 005 对话语料的话题发起情况：

表 2.2 人机对话与人际对话话题发起比较（001 至 005）

	人机对话		人际对话	
	人类发起次数	豆包 AI 发起次数	求职者发起次数	对话人发起次数

001	5	1	6	3
002	6	0	7	1
003	6	1	8	2
004	6	0	5	3
005	9	0	5	2

通过上表可知，在人机对话中，人类发起话题的次数远远多于豆包 AI；在人机对话和人际对话的横向对比中，同样作为主要倾听者身份的豆包 AI 和对话人，对话人发起话题的次数也要明显多于豆包 AI，因此人类相比豆包 AI 有着更强的话题发起能力。

具体来看，人类在人机对话中占据主导地位，在发起话题的过程中表现出较强的主动性，希望通过与豆包的对话寻求建议或安慰。而豆包 AI 在对话中几乎完全处于从属地位，发起的话题通常是为了引导对话，用于帮助人类解决问题或缓解情绪，豆包在话题中表现出更强的同理心，但却不具备自主意识来决定话题的最终走向。

人际对话则和日常对话模式一样，尽管也有对话身份的主次之分，但这种身份却不是绝对的：会话参与者也保留一定的话题发起能力，还可以决定一些话题的走向（是否开启、继续和终结）；在一些特定话题的讨论中会发生身份转换的情况，如在上文 001 的人机对话语料中，朋友在回忆高中经历时成为了会话主导者，而原先主导会话的 001 成为了回应和支持一方的会话参与者。

（三）单一固定与复杂灵活的话题讨论

话题讨论是对话题的开展过程，主要由话轮和相邻对组成，可以根据主题内容将会话划分成几个长度不等的片段，其组成由具体的交互类型决定[①]，因其篇幅较长，通常更能体现会话的整体特征。

1.人机对话单一固定的话题讨论模式

人机对话的讨论过程比较单一，具有较为固定的开展模式，笔者选择从不同角度分析人机对话的讨论模式。

（1）人类角度：与 AI 合作的互动模式

人类在主导对话时并不是孤立存在的，豆包也会对人类的话题决策和讨论进程产生影响，具体表现为：豆包在回应时建议的内容可能会被人类确立为接下来讨论的新话题。

例 19：

004：没有呀↑问题是（0.8）哎呀，他们不能毁约吧，你说？ （询问 $_1$）

（2.0）

→豆包：一般不会毁约的，学校也是经过考量才选你的嘛。 （回答 $_1$）（陈述 $_2$）

你就放心好好提升自己。到时候让他们 觉得选你是超级正确的决定。

→004：说起提升自己，就是感觉没有签约之前我大学的学习， （陈述 $_2$）

工作，社交往都是奔着找工作去的……（省略 141 字）

在上例中，豆包所建议的“提升自己”被 004 确立为下一话题。人机会话讨论是双向合作的关系，人类需要依靠豆包的回应和启发，这保证了讨论的可持续性，同时对于语篇衔接也有一定的帮助。

（2）豆包 AI 角度：基于特定功能模块的回应形式

豆包在整个求职过程中是借助一定的语言表达形式来缓解他人消极情绪的，我们可以从话语的功能构造来分析，其含有较为固定的“共情模块”、“分析模块”以及“建议模块”。

① 徐烈炯, 刘丹青.话题的结构与功能[M].上海：上海教育出版社，2007，p143.

在共情模块，豆包主要采用复述以及具有特殊语言标记的结构实现其同理心的目的。其中，复述是指豆包对人述说的事情进行重新组织和总结；特殊的语言标记包括“……确实……（评价）”、“这也太……/这真的太……”、“真是……/可真是……”、“是的/是这样的/也是”等，豆包会通过这种方式表达自己的评判观点并体现其理解和支持的态度。

在分析模块，主要是豆包对于问题根源及所致结果的分析，同时也涉及到对于人类心理情绪的研判。在分析问题时，豆包大多将错误归因于外在环境，但有时也能纠正人类行为规范，呈现出它作为解剖家的辨证思维与适应能力。

对于建议模块，豆包会给人们所面临的困境或问题提出意见或劝告安慰。当豆包提出意见时，多用一种婉约方式使得人们更容易接受和执行，常用标记语包括“要不……”，“说不定……呢”等。而在进行劝告和安慰时，豆包常常语气坚定，并给予人们积极正面的支持。

例 20：

002：我当时就想，我看身边所有的人，他们都签了第一梯队的。（陈述）
……（此处省略 413 字）
因为学校面试的失败，告诉了我所有河北高中，我都不行了。
→豆包：这一路也太坎坷了，大老远跑去面试，结果还没面上被指出这些不足，（回应）
确实挺打击人的。→共情模块
不过可不能因为这一个学校的结果，就觉得所有高中都不行了，谁还没个发挥失常的时候呢？→分析模块
别太伤心，后面肯定还有别的机会在等着你，调整好心态再试试。→建议模块

在此例中，豆包的共情模块由事件共情“这一路也太坎坷了”、重述内容“大老远跑去面试……”和心理共情“确实挺打击人的”三部分组成。豆包的分析模块出现在第二句，在分析情绪的同时企图纠正 002 的错误认知“我都不行了”。建议模块是话轮的最后一句，豆包首先劝慰和安抚 002 的情绪，然后用坚定积极的语气给予 002 信心并提出建议。

例 21：

003：而且：我就是最近：心情就不是特别好，因为我：（陈述）
就是家里面不想让我去很远的……（此处省略 208 字）
然后其实我放弃成那个学校之后，我觉得就是心里面有一点点可惜。
→豆包：放弃学校确实挺可惜的，→共情模块（回应）
家人的想法也得考虑，→分析模块
那现在就先把眼前的面试准备好。说不定能有个好结果呢？→建议模块

在上例中，003 谈到了家庭对自己就业选择的影响，豆包进行继续回应。首先是共情模块，豆包回复“放弃学校确实挺可惜的”，这里使用了重述和话语标记的方法来达成共情理解的目的。接着是对事件原因的整体分析，“家人的想法也得考虑”。最后是建议模块，“那现在就先把眼前的面试准备好。说不定能有个好结果呢？”先用祈使语气进行建议劝告，又补充“说不定……呢”的句式，使用委婉语气削弱前文的命令口吻，便于 003 接受的同时给予了信心。

笔者统计了 10 段人机对话语料中总计 237 个豆包话轮，其中符合上述功能模块组成的话轮共有 98 个，且全部位于话题讨论的主体部分，占比率高达 41.3%。这种言语功能模块可以帮助豆包适应大多数

关于负面情绪的讨论，具有很强的逻辑性和层次性；但较为固定的模式同样也会使 AI 语言显得呆板僵硬，从而削弱了表达安慰、理解等对话所希望达成的实际效果。

2.人际对话复杂灵活的话题讨论特征

人际对话由于其自身复杂性，并不能进行固定式模块化分析，因此本文将其通过和人机对话对比的方式进行宏观研究，发现并概括了人际对话在讨论时呈现的三个差异性特征。以下主要以 003 的人际对话片段为例。

例 22：

（1） T1 朋友：不要焦虑，xx（（003 小名））想想你的优势？ （建议 $_1$）

（2） T2 003： 什么优势？ （质疑 $_1$）（询问 $_1$）

朋友：（hhh）：：：：，就即使- （半话轮）

T4 003： 你怎么↑：你刚说的话，又说了一遍， （陈述 $_1$）

我就感觉可好笑了↑（hhh）

（3） T5 朋友：=不是，就是即使学校水平，他固然有点那啥。 （回答 $_1$）（陈述 $_2$）

但咱都说啊，你是：有优势在里头，是吧（0.7）

但是他遥遥无期的那种等待感就很重。

（2.0）

T6 003： 唉 hhh：：那也没法子了。 （肯定 $_2$）

（4） T7 朋友：哎你记不记得当时我去五中面试的时候， （陈述 $_3$）

（4.1） 003： 昂 （非话轮/反馈项目）

T7 朋友：然后我跟大家也是说：他有多不坑了，我去了 （陈述 $_3$）

这趟[就好像是白跑一趟，对：就一模一样的情况]

（4.2） T8 003： [昂对：，就白花钱：]白白（……） （肯定 $_3$）（陈述 $_4$）

T9 朋友：=对对对，当时就是很纠结，就没有一个位- （肯定 $_4$）（补充 $_3$）

（见下页）

（5） T10 003：<u>但是</u> （陈述 $_5$）

朋友：嗯 （非话轮/反馈项目）

T10 003： 你要考虑一个情况， （陈述 $_5$）

朋友：嗯 （非话轮/反馈项目）

T10 003： 这样的事我干了好多遍了：：，你一遍成了 （陈述 $_5$）

我干了<u>好多遍了</u>我已经，我快疯了。

（1.0）

朋友：<u>不是</u>， （半话轮）

T10 003： 我去多少学校了。 （陈述 $_5$）

（6） T11 朋友：不，你不能，<u>你去那么多学校</u>↑↑， （反对 $_5$）（陈述 $_6$）
问题是他们想要你，是咱不想要他（0.8）是吧？
（7） T12 003： 那我怎么样才能找到一个我想要又 （提问 $_6$）（询问 $_7$）
想要我的学校呢？
（7.1） T13 朋友：=你即将去找呀（0.6）你即将踏上呀。 （回答 $_7$）
（8） T14 003： 我要和南阳一高双向奔赴的话[真好]， （回答 $_6$）（陈述 $_8$）
真的我:我我要是签南阳一高的话真的纯双向奔赴。
T15 朋友： [对呀，当然了] （肯定 $_8$）

（1）结构复杂性

人际对话对于一个话题往往会进行更为频繁的讨论，双方不仅会就话题本身进行提问、回答和评论，还会分享个人的经历、情感和观点，使讨论更加活跃和深入，也使得对话结构复杂多样。在上例对话中，003 和朋友围绕找学校这一话题展开多轮对答互动，话轮构成复杂、长短不一，包括单句、复句和句群话轮，还出现了半话轮和非话轮，同一话轮也具有多个相邻对的功能（T5）。对答类型包含了“陈述—肯定/反对/补充/询问”、“提问—回答”、“建议—质疑”等，还有双部毗邻式（1）、多部毗邻式（4）、单层嵌入式（7）等多种对答形式结构。通过这种频繁多样的互动，双方可以更好地了解彼此的立场和观点，建立更深层次的联系。

人机对话的讨论过程非常单调，对答形式结构以双部毗邻式为主，对答类型多为“陈述—肯定”、“询问—回答”或“建议—接受/反对”，尽管人机语料在表述时更为详细，但由句群构成的冗长话轮内容也使话轮交替变得缓慢。

（2）话题细拆性

人际对话习惯于把大话题、大事件细化拆分，以逐条展开的方式进行局部讨论。在上例 003 的人际语料中，003 围绕求职事件将自己的焦虑来源和内心困境通过优势分析、学校水平、不确定性和期待愿望等几个小话题进行讨论。又比如以上文 002 的话题选择为例，她将自己在求职过程中的烦心事拆分成“面试失败”、“简历被漏删”、“面试表现”和“面试策略”四个小话题，分散在多个话轮之间进行循序渐进的层层讨论。

而人机对话则倾向于集中讨论，同样以 002 为例，她以“求职波折”这样一个大的话题进行讨论，在紧邻的一两个话轮之内，选择用一股脑的方式把所经历的波折一次性提出，这种归类整理的方式虽然便于 AI 理解完整信息，但同时也破坏了对话互动性和自然流畅度。

（3）详略适应性

人际对话可以针对不同话题灵活调整详略程度。表现为对一般话题简单开展，对复杂和重要话题进行深入讨论。在简单开展时，听话人会主动减少发言次数，或者使用反馈项目进行简要回应；而在深入讨论时，通常会回应大量信息并进行多轮对话，会话身份也可能会发生转变。例如，对于 003 的焦虑情绪，朋友简单提醒了 003 的优势，然后深入讨论了学校选择的问题，并且以会话主导者的身份分享了自己五中面试的经历，来支持自己的观点。

而人机之间的话题讨论比较死板，AI 不能区分话题的重要程度，无法进行简单回应或及时地转移话题，大多采用“共情—分析—建议”固定模式，这使得人机之间在一些非必要话题的讨论趋于冗长，也直接造成了人机对话在相同时间内话题数量更少的结果。

三、有标记序列和无标记沉默的会话结尾

会话结尾是对话的结束环节，由于交际主体的对话目标已经完成，因此结尾形式往往比开头更为简单容易。刘虹（2008）根据会话的开展过程是否可以预见、是否具有固定程序，将日常会话结尾分为非程式化结尾和程式化结尾。非程式化结尾的形式结构复杂，包含结尾前的准备、预示结尾、协商和告别这几个步骤。程式化会话结尾比较固定和简单，一般发生在问路、买东西等话题单一的特定情景中，由于双方都熟悉对话的过程且能提前预知会话结束位置，所以程式化结尾可能有的只是告别前序列和告别的程式。[①]本文语料都属于非程式化会话标准，但人机对话和人际对话在结尾部分呈现出较大差异。

（一）人机对话的结尾：有标记的序列结构

人机对话结尾多以有标志的形式出现，结尾结构主要由告别前序列和告别序列构成，少部分语料还存在预示序列和协商序列。

例 23：

→T1 003：好吧，我的时间不多：：，你还有什么话想对我讲吗？ ⟶ 预示序列（询问 $_1$）

T2 豆包：我就想说，别把自己逼得太紧，不管结果如何，你都已经很努力了，加油↑ （回答 $_1$）

T3 003：我想放过我自己，但是我又不想那么轻易的放过我自己。 （陈述 $_2$）

T4 豆包：有时候放过自己也不是坏事呢，这次的情况确实太复杂了，要不就先把入党材料和论文能做多少，面试就尽自己最大努力，别太苛求结果。 （建议 $_2$）

→T5 003：好的，谢谢你。 告别前序列 （采纳 $_2$）（感谢 $_3$）

→T6 豆包：不客气呀，希望你一切顺利，有啥情况随时跟我说。 （回应 $_3$）（祝福 $_4$）

→T7 003：好的，拜拜。 告别序列 （接受 $_4$）（告别 $_5$）

→T8 豆包：拜拜啦↑，祝你好运，等你的好消息。 （告别 $_5$）（祝福 $_5$）

上例中，T1 是结尾的预示序列，003 表示自己时间不多了，向豆包发出想要结束会话的暗示。而 T2 豆包回应的内容又引发了双方关于“放过自己”的三轮对话。在完成所有对话内容后，T5 和 T6 是结尾的告别前序列，作为会话求助者一方的 003 主动向豆包表达感谢，结合 T1 的预示序列，此处感谢的不仅是 T4 所提供的建议，更是对整个对话中豆包所提供的帮助和支持，T6 豆包的祝福内容表示整个会话活动已经接近尾声。随后在 T7 和 T8 话轮中，双方正式进入告别序列，结束了会话。

人机之间常以礼貌性的告别结束整个交互过程，这是由人机关系以及 AI 的聊天运行机制决定的。AI 是基于帮助人的服务者身份研发的，自然不能违背人的意志存在，保持及时、永久的运行原则；换句话说，AI 没有自关闭和停止服务的功能，不能向用户传达“我不想和你继续说话了”的信号，因为这会严重影响用户体验。而人类在人机关系中大多充当求助者身份，当会话目的已经完成后，我们需要传递明确的言语信号向 AI 告知自己的问题或需求已经解决，即通过简明的结尾告诉 AI 它的服务可以结束了。如果没有这样的结尾，既不符合人类在进行求助后的礼貌习惯，也可能会使 AI 因为误解人类意图而陷入等待或涉及更多话题，从而无法快速结束会话。

（二）人际对话的结尾：无标记的沉默形式

人际对话的结尾以无标记的沉默形式为主。沉默在人际对话结尾中并不代表关系的疏远或冷漠，而是表示双方已经完成了对话目标，可以自然结束对话或过渡到其他活动。

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① 刘虹.会话结构分析[M].北京：北京大学出版社，2004，p178.

例 24：

T1 朋友：他当时在那实习了没？ （询问 $_1$）
T2 003：没有吧？他跟老师应该是后边认识的， （回答 $_1$）
但是老师对[他-
T3 朋友： [应该是师徒带的那种。 （补充 $_1$）（陈述 $_2$）
T4 003: 对师徒一对一，但是我感觉我老师对他也：也没有很热情。 （肯定 $_2$）（陈述 $_3$）
但我↑迅速就跟我老师变得很熟很熟。
T5 朋友：嗯：：： （非话轮/反馈项目）
T6 003：可能是他比较无趣（0.9）我老师还在背后跟我嘀咕他， （陈述 $_3$）
呵呵哈哈↑：：：
→T7 朋友：<太死板了。> （陈述 $_4$）
→T8 003： 笑死了。 （陈述 $_4$）
（陷入沉默，对话结束）

在上例中，当现有话题进行了 T1 至 T6 的六轮讨论后，对话内容已经基本充实完整，所以双方在 T7 和 T8 完成最后的评价后，标志着当前话题的终结。此后没有继续展开新的话题，自然而然地出现沉默，表明两人已经就先前话题达成一致且不再有进一步讨论的意愿，对话至此结束。

本文语料在人际之间使用无标记结尾，这与其他自然会话研究结果（何珺 2007）出入较大。需要对比其他人际会话的研究情景：刘虹（2004）所概括的日常会话结尾通常与离开或告别的行为相关，由于本语料收集的是同处情景下的熟人对话，在对话结束后也没有离开的行动，所以并不需要使用告别序列标记结尾；此外相较于王新宇（2023）等人围绕访谈类节目所作的会话研究，日常熟人对话并不存在节目中的观众或嘉宾，没有节目流程的严格要求，所以也并不需要进行更为礼貌和正式的会话结尾作为宣告。

与上文人机关系机制的差异也解释了这一现象。和 AI 完全固定的服务型身份不同，人际关系种类繁多，大多数日常会话是建立在平等共享的基础上，话语权力走向平等与对称[①]，双方都具有开启和结束对话的能力，因此会话结尾更多是出于礼貌考虑，而非人机之间出于避免误解或下达指令的必要目的。此外在人类之间，特别是熟人之间，对于对话进程和对方心理有着更强的感知能力。人们可以通过观察一些非言语行为或是基于主观判断发现对方存在的不耐烦、疲惫、已经完全知晓等内心感受，因此人际双方通常可以预知会话结尾，在无话可说时都默契地以最简单的沉默方式终结话题。

四、结语

我们通过语料描写并结合会话研究方法，对比分析了人机对话和人际对话的会话宏观结构差异。我们发现并归纳了它们在开端、主体以及结尾三个部分的主要区别。人机对话开端通常包含强烈的礼貌仪式及特定的发起内容，主要由问候、提问、自我介绍等方式引出话题；而人际对话中的开端形式更加多样化，以直接或自然地引入话题，比如直陈式的表达、无标注式的提出、共识式的提出、提示式的提出等等。在会话主体的话题选择与发起过程中，人机对话主要以完成任务为核心，人类凭借强大的话语权力，可以主导交际进程；而人际之间是有更多情感参与的交流过程，双方往往能在自由讨论中拓展话题深度并进行身份转换。针对话题讨论的对比分析主要发现了，AI 存在“共情—分析—建议”的语言处理方式，以及人际对话存在的结构复杂、话题细拆和详略适应的差异性特征。在结尾上，人机对话使用有标

① 赵世举，李佳.中国语情研究（上册）[M].北京：社会科学文献出版社，2018，p97.

记的告别序列完成直接明确的道别，而人际之间是以不言自喻的沉默方式完成自然结束。这些差异反映了话语互动中人工智能语言的程式化特征，也展现了人类自然语言的灵活自由和情感色彩。

随着人工智能技术不断发展，未来人机对话或许会在语境适应性、话题管理和情感表达方面更加趋近于人际交谈。通过本文对两类语料的描写和对比，我们需要思考，人工智能是否有必要完全模仿人类自然语言？人机交互是否应该完全参照人际交互模式，还是在保留其特征和优势的基础上，发展成为一种不可替代的全新模式？希望本研究能为人工智能语言学以及人机交互的研究提供更多思路，也为拓展会话分析的研究边界提供一些实践经验。

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The Passive and Impersonal Constructions in Sakha

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Abstract. In this research, I will focus on the functional approach towards the passive and impersonal constructions in Sakha (a.k.a. Yakut), a Turkic language mainly spoken in Northern Siberia. Based on the function of agent-suppression, the constructions with active forms of verbs, including the one with empty subject and 'dummy' subject *dʒon/dʒonːor* 'people,' which are traditionally not considered passive, are also looked into. Sakha examples are collected from grammar books, dictionaries, newspapers and recent texts on the Internet.

I will first describe the properties related to the agent-suppression and patient-promotion, i.e. the referentiality, topicality, case-marking and position of agent and patient and the verbal personal indexation of each construction, namely 'canonical' active, *dʒon/dʒonːor* construction, empty subject construction, 'impersonal passive' and 'canonical' passive. Based on this, a possible path of diachronic (or cognitive) development from 'canonical' active to 'canonical' passive is proposed. I assume that as the agent is suppressed and the patient is promoted, 'canonical' active, *dʒon/dʒonːor* construction, empty subject construction, 'impersonal passive' and 'canonical' passive emerge in turn. This sequence may also explain the rarity of 'impersonal passive' formed from transitive verbs in Turkic languages.

This research suggested that the agent-suppression is more salient and primary than patient-promotion in Sakha, supporting Givón's claim that typologically the patient-promotion is secondary. It is also noticed that some properties of the personal indexation and the case-marking of the patient in passive clauses, which may be helpful to understanding the nuance of the function of 'impersonal' passive, are not precisely described in previous works. There is a particular construction which I named 'quit-smoking-construction,' represented by the expression of the phrase used to dissuade people from smoking, where both Sakha and Chinese tend to package the non-specific patient (cigarette) as specific, which can be the topic of further investigation.

Keywords: Sakha, Turkic languages, functional grammar, passive, impersonal

1 Introduction

Sakha (a.k.a. Yakut) is a Northeastern Turkic language (Menz & Monastyrev, 2022) mainly spoken in Sakha Republic, Russian Federation by around 480,000 speakers.

The "canonical" passive construction in Turkic languages features the nominative (unmarked) patient in the subject position, the optionally expressed oblique patient and the verb with passive suffix. This can be illustrated with a Turkish passive sentence:[1]

(1) **[*habur sɨnɨr kapɨ-sɨ*]P [*tyrkijɛ tarafɨndan*]A *kapat-ɨl-dɨ*.** (Liu, 2019, p. 165)
Habur border door-POS.3 Turkey POSTP close-PASS-PFV.3
'Habur Port was closed by Turkey.'

Such passive is also used in Sakha. However, Sakha is relatively unique in Turkic languages in terms of the existence of the 'non-canonical' pattern, where the patient is accusative rather than nominative. This pattern is referred to in the previous literature as "syntactic passive" (Vinokurova, 2005, p. 336), "impersonal passive" (Ebata, 2013, p. 23), "impersonal" (Tan & Kühlert, 2020, p. 145, Li, 2022, p. 89), etc. Because of its uniqueness in Turkic languages, it has received attention in some research in the recent decades (Ebata, 2013, 2016, Li, 2022, Tan & Kühlert, 2020, Vinokurova, 2005, Zhaksybek, 2023), most of which are from a formalist approach. In this paper, I will give a function-based account.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

In Givón (2001b, pp 91-173), two aspects of the de-transitive constructions, namely semantic and pragmatic de-transitivity, are established. The reflexive, reciprocal, middle-voice and adjectival-resultative are classified as primarily semantic de-transitive constructions, while the passive, antipassive and inverse are the primarily pragmatic ones. Impersonal is not considered an independent de-transitivity construction, but a construction that belongs to "functional domains that partially overlap with the passive," and forms the passive through "re-grammaticalization." Based on the "relative topicality of the agent and patient," the transitive active-direct construction is defined as the one with the agent being more topical than the patient, but both arguments remain topical. The passive is the one whose "agent is extremely non-topical ('suppressed', 'demoted'), so that the patient is the surviving topical argument in the clause." Givón also pointed out that the primary function of the prototypical passive is agent-suppression, and the topicalisation of non-agent arguments is secondary. The inverse is an intermediate construction, whose patient is more topical than the agent, but both remain topical. Instead of the relative topicality, Croft (2022) claimed that passive-inverse can be defined by the absolute salience (a.k.a. topicality) of the patient. However, the discussion in this paper will show that the increase of the topicality of the patient can be the subsequence of the agent-suppression rather than the internal change within the patient itself. Croft also argued that the passive and the inverse are not essentially different.

In the functionalist definitions above, the form of the verb, e.g., the unmarked "active" form or the "passive" form in *-n* or *-(X)lXn* in Sakha, is not a decisive feature, but only a strategy of verbal marking. Therefore, some constructions with active verbs are actually passive constructions functionally. However, in this discussion below, merely for clarity, if the functional aspect is not specifically pointed out, the "active clause" or "active construction" refers to the one with active verb formally, and the "passive clause/construction" refers to the one with passive verb formally.

[1] All examples are transcribed in IPA (except Chinese). Glossings and translations are made by me. The Sakha transcription is based on Károly (2022). /X/ and /A/ used in Sakha transcription represents the morphophonemes which realise as high vowels /ɨ, i, u, y/ and low vowels /ɑ, ɛ, o, ø/ respectively according to the phonological rules. For abbreviations used in grammatical glossing, see the appendix. Frequently cited works are indicated in abbreviations: YM=Krueger (1962), GSYLY=Ubrjatova, et al. (1982), SYY= Xaritonov (1947).

2 Active and Passive Constructions in Sakha

2.1 "Canonical" Active

The active verbal predicational matrix clause (hereinafter referred to as active clause) has a verb in active ("non-diathetic") form. When the verb is transitive, it takes a subject and an object. The subject is prototypically the agent and has no case marker (or in "nominative/basic/indefinite" case). The object is prototypically the patient and is accusative. Basically, when the patient is "generic or indefinite" (GSYLY, p. 131), the accusative case is covert (3, but see discussion below):

(2) ***sarsiarda ɛrdɛ marfa kiɬaːs-tar-i xomuj-ar.*** (YM, p. 164)
morning early Marfa class-PL-ACC clean-VADJ
'Early in the morning, Marfa cleans up the classrooms.'

(3) ***boluotuːnːuk dʒiɛ tut-ar.*** (YM, p. 206)
carpenter house hold-VADJ
'The carpenter builds the house.'

When the verb is intransitive, it takes only a subject, which is prototypically the theme and has no case marker. In the unmarked order, the subject precedes the object (2-3). Placing the object (patient) before the subject (agent) without changing their case marker leads to patient-topicalisation and agent-suppressing, which is also the function of the "canonical" passive. The Sakha active clause with OS order may therefore be translated into passive in English:

(4) ***buluːg-u traktor ɛbɛtɛr at tard-ar.*** (YM, p. 211)
plow-ACC tractor or horse pull-VADJ
'The plough is pulled by the tractor or the horse.'

Prototypically, the active transitive clause describes an action in which a participant of lower animacy is influenced by a participant of higher animacy (Croft, 2022). The prototypical subject therefore, tends to be definite (see Keenan, 1976). Such a prototypical and topical subject can be a nominal phrase (e.g., proper noun or animate common noun) or an anaphoric pronoun (5). Because of the property of pro-drop language, the overt anaphoric pronoun may be reduced to an empty pro (6), which still retains the control of personal indexation, the occupation of nominative slot and the possibility to be recognised semantically:

(5) ***kyøl-gɛ oŋotʃo-loːx dʒon siɬdʒ-alːar. kini-lɛr muŋxa-liːlːar.*** (YM, p. 210)
lake-LOC boat-PROP people walk-VADJ.PL 3-PL fish_with_seine-VADJ.PL
'On the lake the people with boat are boating. They are fishing with seine.'

(6) ***(toxsuŋːu 10 kyn-y-gɛr 1696 siɬ-laːx-xa [sibiːrdɛɣi birikɛs]***$_i$
January 10 day-POS.3-LOC 1696 year-PROP-LOC Siberian order
saxa ujeh-i-n uonːa kuorat-i-n tʃjertjeʒ-tar-i-n
Sakha district-POS.3-ACC and city-POS.3-ACC draft-PL-POS.3-ACC
oŋor-or-go ɨjaːx tahaːr-ar.)
make-VADJ-DAT decree publish-VADJ
onton nøŋyø siɬ-i-gar toxsuŋːu 31 kyn-y-gɛr Øi ***yryŋ kømys***
then next year-POS.3-LOC January 31 day-POS.3-LOC (pro) white silver
bɛtʃɛːt-i oŋotːor-on iːt-ar-Øi**.** (Wikipedia)
seal-ACC open-VADV send-VADJ-3SG
'(On January 10, 1696, the Siberian Committee issued a decree to draw the plan of the Sakha District and the town.) Then, on January 31 of the next year, it (i.e. Siberian Committee) granted a silver seal.'

2.2 Empty subject

In Sakha, there is another type of active clause (7-8) which is not different from the "canonical" pro-drop active clause (6) formally. The verb is in active form, and the empty pro occupies the subject position and produces a third-person plural indexation on the verb. What distinct them from the "canonical" active clause is the impossibility either of locating the antecedent of the pro in the context or of recovering what the pro refers to based on the pragmatic situation, which makes the pro non-referential and non-anaphoric, and produces the impersonal reading. The subject is a non-specific group (typically human), but further recognition is neither necessary from the perspective of the speaker nor possible for the listener, leading to the agent-suppression and its loss of the possibility to serve as the topic. The patient (object), at the same time, is topicalised to some degree, although not fully promoted because the possibility of marking the definite object with overt accusative remains (9-10):

(7) ***ɟjodor petrov-ka sɨl aːjɨ biriɛmijɛ biɛr-ɛlːɛr.*** (YM, p. 183)
Fjodor Petrov-DAT year every premium give-VADJ.PL
'Fjodor Petrov is awarded with premium every year.'

(8) ***bygyn ostoluobaj-ga kimis biɛr-di-lɛr.*** (YM, p. 165)
today lunchroom-LOC kumis give-PFV.3-PL
'Today in the lunchroom, kumis is served.'

(9) ***ɛbiɛt-i ulaxan soluːr-ga buh-ar-alːar.*** (YM, p. 170)
dinner-ACC big kettle-LOC cook-PASS-VADJ.PL
'The dinner is cooked in a large cauldron.'

(10) ***ot myŋːar-ga bihigi bar-iax-pit, ɛhigi-ni burduk bɨhar-ga iːt-alːar.*** (YM, p. 216)
grass gathering-DAT 1PL go-VADJ-1PL 2PL-ACC crop cutting-DAT send-VADJ.PL
'It was we who will go for hay-gathering. You are dispatched for grain-harvesting.'

The function of agent-suppression and the increase in the topicality of the patient, which is also the function of "canonical" passive construction, is noticed in previous literature. YM (p. 280) pointed out that "the passive is often expressed by the 3rd p[erson] pl[ural]." Can the third person plural be the default option for personal indexation and therefore indicate the complete failure in the agent's control of the personal indexation? I assume that the default option favours the less marked forms. Since the plural is more marked than the singular, it seems that the third person plural indexation is the result of the generic, universal or collective reading of the subject/agent rather than the default option.

2.3 'Dummy' Subject *ʤon/ʤonːor*

In many examples, *ʤon/ʤonːor* 'people' retain their lexical reading and serve as the "normal" argument. They are referential and can be modified, thus anchored (11), and can be anaphorical (5). They can be quantified by quantifiers such as *aːjɨ* 'every' (12) and *barɨ* 'all,' suggesting the possibility of recognising the individuals that constitute the collective concept, although when *ʤon* is the subject, the verbal personal indexation is "often" third person plural (Menz & Monastyrev, 2022, p. 456). They can form a coordination construction with other nouns, which indicates the retention of their lexical meaning and referentiality (13). They remain salient and therefore can serve as the topic (14) or focus (15).

(11) ***balɨkt-iːr ʤon øry-kɛ kiːr-di-lɛr.*** (YM: 217)
fish-VADJ people river-DAT enter-PFV.3-PL

‘The fishing people went to the river.’

(12) ***dʒon a:ji bɛr-il:i-bit, kør-dør-yl:y-byt***
people every give-PASS-VADJ see-CAUS-PASS-VADJ
buol-uox-ta:x. (Edersaas)
become-VADJ-PROP
‘It should be given and be shown to everyone.’

(13) ***ɬjupka oŋotʃo olboɣ-o, on:o ɛrdi:hit:ɛr uon:a dʒon***
boat boat underlay-POS.3 that.LOC rower.PL and people
olor-ol:or. (SakhaTyla)
sit-VADJ.PL
‘The deck of the boat, where the rowers and passengers sit.’

(14) ***iti dʒon bygyn ot muŋ:-uox-tar-a. ɛhigi burduk bih-iax:it.*** (YM, p.211)
this people today grass gather-VADJ-PL-3 2PL crop cut-VADJ-2PL
‘These people are going for hay-gathering, (while) you are going for grain-harvesting.’

(15) ***bihigi baliksit:ar-bit, iti dʒon sa:hit:ar.*** (YM, p. 208)
1PL fisher.PL-1PL this people hunter.PL
‘We are fishers, (while) these people are hunters.’

However, in some cases, *dʒon/dʒon:or* in the transitive clause seems only to indicate that the agent is human and occupies the subject slot syntactically. Further anchoring of it is not possible, which also leads to agent-suppression.[2] The patient (object) becomes more salient accordingly, albeit seemingly not topicalised to a high degree, since in (16-17), the object remains in its normal pre-verbal and post-subject position. The subject in the intransitive clause may also exhibit similar suppression. In (18), the state that life is prosperous and massive labour is carried out in the kolkhoz, instead of the specific actant, is paid attention to. This produces the impression that *dʒon/dʒon:or* may serve to form what is called a “non-referential” (Malchukov & Ogawa, 2011: 24) or “dummy subject” (Givón, 2001a: 117) construction, “generalized noun impersonals” or “man-construction” (Siewierska & Papastathi, 2011: 577), etc. However, whether *dʒon/dʒon:or* in sentences such as (16-18) is non-referential and not assigned any semantic role (as “it” in English “It rained”) requires further investigation.

(16) ***bu kyn dʒon xa:n tut:ar-al:ar, bistar dʒadaŋi-lar-ga***
this day people blood hold.CAUS-VADJ.PL poverty poor-PL-DAT
kømøløh-ør puonda-lar-ga as taŋas bɛr-s-ɛl:ɛr, tymɛl:ɛr-gɛ
help-VADJ fund-PL-DAT food clothing give-COOP-VADJ.PL museum
bosxo kil:ɛr-ɛl:ɛr. (Wikipedia)
free enter.CAUS-VADJ.PL
‘On this day, people donate blood, give food and clothing to charities to help the poor, (and) visit museums for free.’

(17) ***xotu dojdu-ga dʒon:or ys ij-ga kyn-y***

[2] Xu & Liu (2007: 141-143) noticed that the topic tends to reject indefinite phrases and accept only definite and generic arguments. In Standard Mandarin Chinese, the indefinite-looking phrase 一个人 ‘one person’ may serve as the topic and be followed by a discourse particle *a* as a topic marker:

一个人啊，可要讲良心呐 (Xu & Liu, 2007: 143)

‘A person, must act according to their conscience’

Xu & Liu argued that although such numerally quantified noun phrases are typically indefinite, in this context 一个人 is actually generic. As a native Standard Mandarin speaker, according to my intuition, generic 人 ‘person’ without quantifier (人啊，可要讲良心呐) can also act as the topic. This prohibits me from affirming Sakha *dʒon/dʒon:or* is not topical and/or is (from a formal grammar perspective) in the A’-position without further investigation.

north land-LOC people.PL three month-LOC sun-ACC

kør-bøtːør. (YM, p. 182)

see-NEG.VADJ.PL

'In the northern areas, people cannot see the sun for three months.'

(18) ***manːa dʒon baːj-dik olor-olːor, balisxanːik ylɛl-iːlːɛr.*** (Wikisource)

this.LOC people rich-ADVZ sit-VADJ.PL huge.ADVZ work-VADJ.PL

'Here, people live prosperously (and) work on a large scale.'

It is also noteworthy that *dʒon* with the singular-indexed verb is not frequent (as mentioned above), but also attested:

(19) ***(ʃor-dar…)***

Shor-PL

dʒon tia sir-i-tːɛn kuorakːa olus tɛtimnɛːx-tik køh-ør.

people wood land-POS.3-ABL city-DAT very quick-ADVZ migrate-VADJ.3

(itfːat tørøː-byt til-i-n bil-bɛt.) (Wikipedia)

generation be_born-VADJ language-POS.3-ACC know-NEG.VADJ

'(The Shors…) People migrate from rural areas to the cities at a very fast rate. (The younger generation do not know their language.)'

The sentence in question appears between the description of the Shor people, making it ambiguous whether *dʒon* here also refers to the Shor people or is a more non-specific subject similar to the ones in (16-18) applied in the interposed mention of the universal background of urbanisation. It is also not clear for now whether the singular indexation of verbs commanded by *dʒon* is a grammaticalised strategy with certain functions (e.g., the singular or individual referentiality of the subject, the default indexation, etc.) or simply a sporadic phenomenon.

2.4 "Canonical" passive

The "canonical" passive clause (20-21), like other Turkic languages, contains a verb in passive form and a nominative patient promoted to the subject position. The passive form of verbs is derived with the passive suffix *-n* or *-(X)lXn* attached to the verbal stem. *-n* is applied for the vowel-final stems while *-(X)lXn* (or reduced to *-(X)l(X)-*) for the consonant-final ones (see SYY, p. 178, YM, p. 146, GSYLY, p. 266, Menz & Monastyrev, 2022, p. 451, cf. Ebata, 2016). The suffixes are subject to further assimilation, e.g. *-mːXt* < *-n-bXt*, *-XlːAr* < *-Xl(Xn)-Ar*. In most cases, the verb is originally transitive (including causative, GSYLY, Ebata, 2013).

(20) ***olbuor aːn-a xata-mːit.*** (SYY, p. 177)

yard door-POS.3 lock-PASS.VADJ

'The gate is locked.'

(21) ***dʒiɛ tut-ulːar.*** (GSYLY, p. 266)

house hold-PASS.VADJ

'The house is built.'

The verbal personal indexation is controlled by the subject, i.e. the promoted patient:

(22) ***min$_i$ otfːoɣo kuorakːa olor-o buol-amːin saːmaj bastaːn***

1SG then city.LOC sit-VADV become-VADV.1SG most at_first

tut-ulːu-but-um$_i$. (bmiu.ru)

catch-PASS-VADJ-1SG

'I was the very first one to be arrested because I was living in the city then.'

The overt expression of the agent is limited in the "canonical" passive clause, exhibiting a high degree of agent suppression. Under Russian influence, the agent can be reduced to an instrumental phrase (23), but it is rare in literary and colloquial language (GSYLY, p. 266). SYY (p. 179) noted that the expression of the agent is only occasionally found in journalistic language.

(23) ***oɣo sɨldʒan uol-tʃaːn politsija buol-ar ira***
child when son-DIM police become-VADJ wish
sanaː-laːɣ-a. mɛniktɛnik buol-an, mɛldʒi politsija-lar-inan
thought-PROP-POS.3 carefree become-VADV always police-PL-INS
kutːuː-lːar ɛbit. (Ulus Media)
frighten-PASS-VADJ COP
'In his childhood, the little boy wished to become a police officer. Being careless, he was always frightened by the police.'

Ebata (2013) claimed that the human agent in the Sakha passive clause must be unspecific in (23). The non-human agent (24-26) is considered possible (cf. Tan & Kühlert, 2020) in his paper:

(24) ***xalːaːn bɨlɨt-ɨnan byry-lːy-byt.*** (Ebata, 2013, p. 23)
sky cloud-INS cover-PASS-VADJ
'The sky was covered with clouds.'

(25) ***saːla muosta-ta købyør-ynɛn sab-ɨlːɨ-bɨt.*** (GSYLY, p. 266)
hall floor-POS.3 carpet-INS cover-PASS-VADJ
'The floor of the hall is covered with carpet.'

(26) ***ygys ɨskɨlaːt bomba-nan yltyry-t-ylynːɛ.*** (SYY, p. 179)
many depot bomb-INS break-CAUS-PASS.PFV.3
'Many depots were destroyed by bombs.'

In fact, following Tan & Kühlert (2020) which distinguished the agent and the instrument θ-roles in Sakha passive, rather than the prototypical agent (who intentionally carries out the action), the semantic roles of the arguments marked with instrumental in (24) are better to be interpreted as force (the unvolitional initiator of action, Croft, 2022) and the ones in (25-26) are instruments (the involuntary participants manipulated by the agents to carry out an action, Croft, 2022). As for the unspecific or indefinite human agents, they can be considered not to have achieved the highest degree of agentivity compared to specific human agents expressed by the common noun and pronoun, because the identification of the exact individual who carries out the action is impossible. The inability of overt expression of the prototypical or high-agentivity agent reveals the function of strong agent-suppression (Li, 2022). The fact that the patient takes the subject position and is in the nominative shows that it has higher topicality and is promoted.

2.2 "Impersonal Passive"

Intransitive-Based. In most cases, the passive clause is formed with transitive verbs. Only a few intransitive verbs can take passive suffix and form a passive clause (GSYLY, Ebata, 2013). GSYLY (p. 266) listed *bar-* 'to leave, to pass,' *kyl-* 'to laugh' and *tuoraː-* 'to cross' and generalised their semantics as verbs "of movement and active demonstration" (*движения и активного проявления*) (27, cf. 28). Ebata (2013, p. 24) listed all such intransitive verbs attested by him: *bar-* 'to go,' *syːr-* 'to run,' *kuot-* 'to run away,' *taɣɨs-* 'to go out,' *olor-* 'to sit, to live,' *sɨrɨt-* 'to stay,' *sɨt-* 'to lie down,' *ajdaːr-* 'to be noisy,' *sohuj-* 'to be astonished.' He commented that most of the verbs, except *sohuj-*, express human's intentional action and notably movement (but the passive of

kel- ‘to come’ is not attested) and can only be used to describe the state. At least two more verbs are attested in the examples in SYY (179): *siŋːan-* ‘to rest’ (29, cf. 30) and *tur-* ‘to stand’ (31, cf. 32):

(27) ***masːiːna-nan ikːi suːkːa-nan tiːj-ilː-ɛr.*** (Ebata, 2013: 24)
car-INS two day_and_night-INS reach-PASS-VADJ
‘One reaches (there) by car in two days. /It is a two-day drive there.’

(28) ***maxsin argis-tar-i-n kitːa tubɛh-ɛn kuorakːa tiːj-bit-ɛ.*** (uacbs.ru)
Makhsyn companion-PL-POS.3-ACC with fall-VADV city.DAT reach-VADJ-3
‘Makhsyn met his friends and reached the town.’

(29) ***ørøbyl kyŋːɛ siŋːan-ilː-ar.*** (SYY, p. 179)
day_off day-LOC rest-PASS-VADJ
‘One rests on days off.’

(30) ***bu laːɣir-ga 25 oɣo siŋːanːa.*** (ucoz.ru)
this camp-LOC 25 child rest.PFV.3
‘In this camp, twenty-five children were resting.’

(31) ***ylɛ-ɣɛ ɛrdɛ tur-ulː-ar.*** (SYY, p. 179)
work-DAT early stand-PASS-VADJ
‘One gets up early for work.’

(32) ***bihigi sarsiarda ɛrdɛ tur-a-bit.*** (YM, p. 175)
1PL morning early stand-VADJ-1PL
‘We get up early in the morning.’

In constructions such as (27) and (29), the theme, which is the subject of the active intransitive verbs in (28) and (30), is deleted. This is similar to the agent-suppression in passive from transitive verbs. I did not attest any example that can be analysed to have an empty anaphoric or personal subject and/or have a verbal personal indexation other than third person singular. The example with the theme reintroduced in instrumental as in transitive-based passive (23) is also not attested. SYY (p. 179) also claimed that such sentences are unable to be used to answer the “Who/what?” questions.[3] These facts indicate the strong impersonality of this construction. Such construction is therefore referred to in the previous literature as “syntactic passive” (Vinokurova, 2005, p. 336), “impersonal passive” (Ebata, 2013, p. 23), “impersonal” (Tan & Kühlert, 2020, p. 145, Li, 2022, p. 89). The similar intransitive-based passive is also found in other Turkic languages (Ebata, 2013, Johanson, 2021, Zhaksybek, 2023), e.g., Turkish (33), and is relatively not so rare compared to its transitive-based counterpart (discussed in the next section).

(33) ***bu ʃɛhir-dɛ pazar gyn-lɛr-i uyu-n-ur.*** (Liu, 2019: 167)
this city-LOC market day-PL-POS.3 sleep-PASS-VADJ
‘It is the town’s custom to sleep in on Sundays.’

The question now comes to the judgement of the topicality of the oblique arguments (or adjuncts) in such passive clauses. The topicality of obliques, if any, is generally lower than that of the agent and the patient (Givón, 2001a, Croft, 2022). In the passive clause under discussion, the oblique argument is also not promoted. However, since the theme (subject) is deleted (thus completely suppressed), it is natural to give more focus to the remained oblique. Additionally, because such passive clause describes the situation, the oblique is naturally needed to restrict which situation is being described, otherwise, it would make the proposition too general to

[3] Zhaksybek (2023) claimed that both in Turkish and Sakha intransitive-based passives, the expression of the agent is impossible.

make sense (except for a few contexts such as "to err is human"). If this reasoning is true, there is supposed to be an oblique topicality-increase at least to some extent.

Transitive-Based. When the passive is formed with the originally transitive verb, the agent is suppressed as expected. However, in some cases, the patient is not promoted to the subject. Instead, it remains to be in accusative:

(34) ***manːa tabaɣ-ɨ tard-ilːɨ-bat.*** (SYY, p. 179)
this.LOC tobacco-ACC smoke-PASS-NEG.VADJ
'Smoking is prohibited here.'

(35) ***iti-ni xat kør-ylː-yːhy.*** (GSYLY, p. 268)
this-ACC again see-PASS-PRES
'This has to be considered again.'

This kind of impersonal passive is relatively rare in Turkic languages, reported to be present in some South-eastern languages including Chaghatay (Bodrogligeti, 2001, p. 29), Uzbek and Uyghur (Johanson, 2021: 826)[4]. Other Turkic languages, e.g., Turkish, generally follow the "canonical" pattern, i.e. promote the patient of the passive verb to the subject.

Because the patient is not promoted to the subject, it cannot control the personal indexation. As illustrated in Tan & Kühlert (2020), in the "canonical" passive clause (36), the plural patient is promoted to subject, producing the third person plural indexation. However, in non-promotional "impersonal passive" (37), the default third person singular indexation is applied. Unfortunately, no example with first or second personal pronouns as patients has been attested to exhibit the question more clearly.

(36) ***ygɛstɛr kɛh-ilːɨ-bɛtːɛr.*** (Tan & Kühlert, 2020, p. 145)
tradition-PL violate-PASS-NEG.VADJ.PL
'Customs are not broken.'

(37) ***ygɛs-tɛr-ɨ kɛh-ilːɨ-bɛt.*** (Tan & Kühlert, 2020, p. 145)
tradition-PL-ACC violate-PASS-NEG.VADJ-PL
'One does not break customs.'

It is claimed that in "impersonal passive" with accusative (37), non-specific reading of the patient is impossible, while the "canonical" passive (38) allows both specific and non-specific reading of the patient (Vinokurova, 2005):[5]

(38) ***biːr kinigɛ-ni aːɣ-ilinːa.*** (Vinokurova, 2005, p. 338)
one book-ACC read-PASS.PFV.3
'A (specific/*non-specific) book was read.'

(39) ***biːr kinigɛ aːɣ-ilinːa.*** (Vinokurova, 2005, p. 338)
one book read-PASS.PFV.3
'A (specific/non-specific) book was read.'

This is identical to the function of specific or definite reference of the overt accusative case (SYY, GSYLY). However, there seem to be cases where the accusative-marked patient cannot be interpreted as specific or definite, e.g. *tabaɣ-ɨ* [tobacco-ACC] in (34) and *arɨgɨ-nɨ* [alcohol-ACC] in (40):

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[4] However, the Uyghur speakers interviewed by me rejected the example in Johanson (2021) and claimed that the accusative-marked patient in the passive clause is ungrammatical. I have not attested any such construction, neither in Uyghur nor in Uzbek.

[5] In fact, the overt-accusative-marked object in Sakha, at least in active clauses, can be indefinite or generic (GSYLY: 133), e.g.:
bu kihi arigini ispɛt. (GSYLY: 133)
this person alcohol drink-NEG.VADJ
'This person does not drink alcohol.'

(40) ***arıgını*** ***ih-ilː-iɛ*** ***suox-taːx.*** (Ebata, 2013, p. 24)
alcohol-ACC drink-PASS-VADJ nonexistent-PROP
'One must not drink alcohol (here)'

How can the non-specific accusative-marked patient in this "quit-smoking construction" be possible here? I will try to explain this after examining the properties of the agent in "impersonal passive."

Although the agent cannot be overtly expressed (Ebata, 2013), it is noticed that the Sakha "impersonal passive" strongly requires a reading of the human agent (Ebata, 2013, Tan & Kühlert, 2020). Tan & Kühlert (2020) claimed that in "impersonal" construction, the subject is a silent human agent, while in ("canonical") passive the patient serves as the subject. The evidence includes the fact that Sakha "impersonal passive" allows agent-oriented adverbs while the passive does not, and the different behaviour of "impersonal" and "canonical" passive in exceptional case-marking (ECM) and the control in non-finite clauses. Li (2022) also noticed that in sluicing, *kim-inɛn* [who-INS] 'by whom' must be used for "canonical" passive and *kim* [who] "who" without instrumental must be used for "impersonal," although her examples do not include "impersonals" formed with transitive verbs. These pieces of evidence show that although the human agent lost its topicality (because it is non-specific) and even its phonetic realisation, it remains in the subject position, i.e. not completely suppressed.

The non-specific empty human subject may explain the surprising accusative-marked non-specific patient. It seems that the accusative is more related to the existence of the subject rather than the information status of the argument itself. Since both (34) and (40), although formally indicative, are pragmatically imperative, expressing the prohibition of smoking and drinking, the speaker may intend to emphasise the responsibility of the potential actant rather than the actions themselves. By using the "impersonal passive" instead of the "canonical" passive, the speaker tried to express "One/you must not smoke/drink" instead of "Tobacco-smoking/alcohol-drinking must not be performed." The accusative has to be applied to display the existence of the human agent. As a result, its dissonance with the non-specificity or indefiniteness is excused. Of course, this explanation still requires further evidence both within Sakha and cross-linguistically.[6]

Although the patient is not syntactically promoted, it must have acquired higher topicality than their counterparts in active clauses do because of the agent-suppression.

3 Diachronic (Cognitive) Development

In SYY, GSYLY, Tan & Kühlert (2020), the origin of the passive suffix *-(X)lXn* is discussed. Ebata (2013) assumed that the Sakha "impersonal passive" is not likely to emerge through language contact based on the fact that the "impersonal passive" does not appear in Mongolic and Tungusic languages.[7] In this section, I will explore the following question: if the aforementioned constructions can be assumed to develop diachronically or at least cognitively one out of another, what can be the possible sequence and what motivates this

[6] Another possible explanation is that the accusative in "quit-smoking construction" is used to package the non-specific new information as if definite or specific in order to introduce it to the discourse. Himmelmann (1996) and Fang (2018) introduced a similar function of demonstratives in discourse. In spoken Standard Mandarin Chinese and Beijing dialect, the demonstrative 那 'that' in the "recognitional use" can precede the non-specific 烟 'cigarette' in the context of dissuading someone from smoking. Here, 那 does not refer to or modify any actual stick of cigarette. Rather, it evokes the concept of cigarette by packaging it as definite and already known:

你别抽那烟了 (Introspection)
'Quit smoking already!'

It is also possible that Sakha applied a similar strategy, but used the accusative instead of the demonstratives for information packaging.

[7] However, in Northern Russian, the accusative-marked patient in patient construction is possible (see Kučerová, 2013).

development, especially for the relatively rare "impersonal passive" construction? To look into these questions, a review of the features of these constructions will be given in the table below.

Table 1. The properties of each construction.

		Active			**Passive**	
		Canonical	**Empty subject**	**Dummy *dʒon/ dʒon:or***	**Canonical**	**Impersonal**
Agent (if any)	**Referentiality**	+	—	—?	(+)	—
	Topicality	+	—	—?	—(+)	—
	Position	subject			(oblique)	subject
	Case	NOM			(INS)	NOM
Patient (if any)	**Topicality**	+			+	+
	Position	object			subject	object
	Case	ACC			NOM	ACC
Indexation		subject	3PL	3PL (3SG?)	subject	3SG
A-Suppression	**Semantic**	—	+	+	+	+
	Syntactic	—	—	—?	+	+?
P-Promotion	**Semantic**	—	+	+	+	+
	Syntactic	—	—	—	+	—

The parameter "topicality" in this table basically defines whether the information is paid attention to instead of whether the phrase is in the syntactic topic position. Following Givón (2001a) and Croft (2022), I assumed the topicality in the sentence with unmarked order diminishes from the leftmost (most topical) of this hierarchy to the rightmost end (not topical at all):

overt subject > overt object > overt oblique > covert phrases

Where to put the "dummy" subject to the hierarchy will not be discussed in detail here. Its topicality (if any) must be slightly stronger than covert phrases.

The prototypical agent is assumed to be referential (desirably definite or specific) and topical semantically or functionally. Syntactically or formally it is in the subject position, taking the nominative case and controlling the verbal personal indexation. The prototypical patient is assumed to be topical (but weaker than that of the prototypical agent) semantically, and is in object position with an accusative case syntactically. The loss of the prototypical features leads to the agent-suppression or patient-promotion respectively. "Semantic" patient-promotion can also be acquired as a subsequence of agent-suppression.

Since arguments in "canonical" active construction have the most prototypical features, the development is assumed to start here. The next step is the "dummy" *dʒon/dʒon:or*-construction as the agent loses its referentiality and topicality, leading to the semantic agent-suppression and consequently semantic patient-promotion. Then, the non-referential agent completely loses its phonetic realisation and topicality in empty subject construction.

Among the passive constructions, the "impersonal passive" is the most similar to the aforementioned active constructions, therefore it is assumed to be the next step. In this step, the default third person singular indexation is applied, indicating the syntactic suppression of the agent. The passive marker is also attached to

the verbal stem. Finally, the agent is completely deleted in the "canonical" passive, allowing the patient to be fully promoted both semantically and syntactically. The reintroduction of the agent may be the result of Russian influence afterwards. Therefore, a possible path of development can be given:

"canonical" act. > *dʒon(:or)* > empty subj. > "impersonal pass." > "canonical" pass.

In this assumption, the "impersonal passive" construction is an intermediate stage towards the "canonical" passive. This may explain the rarity of this construction in Turkic languages: its similarity to constructions on both sides makes it extremely unstable and finally leads to its merging into either construction. Because the "canonical" passive is a more prototypical passive construction (in that it exhibits the full-fledged agent-suppression and patient-promotion), it is more stable to survive.

Then, how can the fact that intransitive-based "impersonal passive" is more common than its transitive counterpart in Turkic languages be explained? Since "canonical" passive is essentially based on transitive verbs, it provides the "target" for the merging of transitive-based "impersonal passive" but leaves the intransitive-based "impersonal passive" alone. Therefore, the direction and the possibility of the merging of intransitive-based "impersonal passive" is more limited.

Appendix: Abbreviations

1	First person	DAT	Dative	PROG	Progressive
2	Second person	DIM	Diminutive	PROP	Proprietive
3	Third person	INS	Instrumental	PRES	Present
ABL	Ablative	INT	Interrogative	PRS	Presumptive
ACC	Accusative	LOC	Locative	QUOT	Quotation
ADVZ	Adverbialiser	NEG	Negative	SG	Singular
CAUS	Causative	PASS	Passive	VADJ	Verbal adjective
COOP	Cooperative	PL	Plural	VADV	Verbal adverb
COP	Copula	POS	Possessive	VOL	Volitional

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"Which is better, kickboxing or kung fu?": English-speaking community's knowledge needs and perceptions of kung fu on Quora

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Abstract. Kung fu, a symbol of thousands of years of Chinese cultural heritage, gained international recognition with its inclusion in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1976. This milestone not only legitimized the term in English but also accelerated its dissemination across the English-speaking world. However, global discourse often reflects incomplete understanding and misconceptions about kung fu, particularly regarding its philosophical and cultural dimensions. While previous studies have investigated the image of kung fu on Twitter, they predominantly focus on kung fu's representation in movies due to the platform's nature as a medium for information dissemination. In contrast, the knowledge-sharing platform Quora offers a valuable perspective for examining broader public knowledge needs and perceptions of kung fu beyond its cinematic portrayals. Motivated by these opportunities, the current research is based on data from Quora. By manually categorizing topics of questions posed under 'kung fu' community on Quora, the study examines the main areas of knowledge needs concerning kung fu. Using sentiment analysis and corpus-based Extended Units of Meaning analysis on respondents' answers, the study identifies general attitudes of respondents and their recurring language patterns. The findings reveal: (1) knowledge needs are centered on four main topics: 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts,' 'Learning kung fu,' 'Kung fu in movies,' and 'Concepts and systems in kung fu'; (2) a strong emphasis is put on the competitive aspects of kung fu when comparing it with other martial arts; (3) kung fu is often mistakenly perceived as a specific martial art rather than a general term encompassing various Chinese martial arts; (4) opinions on self-learning kung fu are divided, with some regarding traditional kung fu schools as outdated; and (5) there is significant interest in discussions about tai chi, ki (qi), Bruce Lee, and breaking boards, with an overall positive attitude. Notably, the community actively participates in correcting misconceptions about kung fu. The findings suggest that the perceptions of kung fu are continuously negotiated within this online discourse community. These insights provide a foundation for developing more nuanced international communication strategies aimed at enhancing global understanding and addressing misconceptions about kung fu.

Keywords: kung fu, knowledge needs, perceptions, Quora, corpus-based

1 Introduction

Kung fu encapsulates the essence of millennia-old Chinese culture and stands alongside Chinese cuisine and traditional Chinese medicine as one of its most emblematic pillars (ACCWS, 2019). The release of Kung Fu Panda 4 has reignited widespread interest in kung fu, a term that has been predominantly introduced to the global audience through the entertainment industry (Ciembroniewicz, 2019). Often associated with traditional Chinese martial arts, kung fu cinema, orientalist imagery, and practical combat applications (Han et al., 2023),

the term is frequently used by non-Chinese practitioners to refer to Chinese martial arts and is strongly tied to notions of 'Chineseness' (Bowman, 2016, 2020). However, existing literature highlights that global perceptions of kung fu are often fragmented or misconstrued, particularly in terms of its philosophical and cultural significance (Pohl, 2023). This underscores the importance of examining the knowledge gaps and perceptions surrounding kung fu within a global context.

Meaning, as Teubert (2010, p. 155) asserts, is co-extensive linked to the knowledge we possess about a discourse object—whether it is a tangible entity, an abstract concept, a process, or a state—represented by a particular lexical item or predication. Consequently, investigating the knowledge and perceptions associated with a discourse object is fundamentally an exploration of its meaning. This meaning is defined by what has been said about the object and is negotiated within the discourse community (Teubert, 2010). By conceptualizing *kung fu* as a discourse object and analyzing how its meaning is constructed and negotiated within the online discourse community Quora, we can derive insights into public knowledge needs, perceptions, and attitudes towards kung fu, whether they are right or wrong, positive or negative.

2 Literature Review

Kung fu is commonly associated with traditional Chinese martial arts, kung fu cinema, oriental imagery, and its practical applications in combat (Han et al., 2023). The literature highlights its exotic appeal, which attracts audiences across Europe and America (Pohl, 2023). While several studies examine Chinese martial arts, including the translation of terminologies, Wuxia novels (Diao, 2023; Song, 2023), and philosophical underpinnings (Pohl, 2023), limited attention has been given to the term *kung fu* itself and its meanings within the English-speaking world. Historical analyses indicate that the English term *kung fu* underwent a significant evolution, transitioning from medical terminology to martial arts terminology between the late 18th century and the 1920s. Its rise to prominence occurred in the early 1970s, primarily due to Bruce Lee's kung fu films, culminating in the term's inclusion in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1976, which legitimized its usage and accelerated its adoption across English-speaking communities (Li et al., 2021).

Nevertheless, studies reveal that global public perceptions of kung fu are often incomplete and sometimes misguided, particularly regarding its philosophical and cultural dimensions (Pohl, 2023). Misunderstandings can be categorized into two primary aspects: (1) the term *kung fu* in English often functions as a superficial cultural symbol in films, rather than as a holistic representation of Chinese culture (Larisa & Nikitina, 2013; Lu & Mo, 2021); (2) the international portrayal of *kung fu* frequently emphasizes its technical and competitive elements, overshadowing its cultural and philosophical aspects, such as the balance of yin and yang and its integration with Zen Buddhism. Unlike Western competitive sports, traditional Shaolin kung fu could prioritizes more self-cultivation over the conquest of opponents (Dlouhý et al., 2013; Li & Zhao, 2020).

In this context, despite kung fu's prominence in popular culture, research addressing public perceptions remains limited. Previous studies have analyzed the representation of Chinese martial arts in Chinese and American newspapers, revealing that while both China Daily and The New York Times adopt a positive tone, China Daily provides more extensive coverage, whereas The New York Times focuses on popular styles and scientific studies of Tai Chi (Li & Zhao, 2020). While valuable, this research does not directly address the term *kung fu*. Furthermore, Cao and Cheng (2022) examined the global image of kung fu, but their findings predominantly revolved around cinematic portrayals. Although films undoubtedly constitute a central topic in discussions about kung fu, the knowledge-sharing platform Quora offers a unique opportunity to access broader insights into public knowledge needs and perceptions of kung fu beyond its cinematic representations (Shan & Zhou, 2020). Thus, this study posits that exploring the knowledge needs and perceptions of the global public,

particularly within the English-speaking community, regarding kung fu on Quora is both timely and essential. Accordingly, the research questions are outlined as follows:

(1) What are the English-speaking community's knowledge needs regarding kung fu on Quora?

(2) What are the English-speaking community's general attitudes towards kung fu-related topics?

(3) What specific positive or negative perceptions does the English-speaking community hold towards kung fu-related topics?

3 Data and Methods

3.1 Data Collection

Quora is a widely utilized Q&A platform where users can post, share, answer, and engage in discussions on various topics. It was selected as the primary data source for this study because it effectively reflects the knowledge needs of English-speaking audiences compared to other social media platforms. As indicated in the literature, popular platforms such as Instagram and Facebook primarily emphasize reciprocal social interactions, while Twitter is oriented toward the dissemination of opinions and information (Petrocchi et al., 2015). Notably, studies on the global image of kung fu on Twitter reveal that discussions predominantly focus on kung fu movies, accounting for 78.6% of kung fu-related tweets (Cao & Chen, 2022). While it is evident that discussions about kung fu on social media often center around films, Quora, as a knowledge-sharing platform, provides a more valuable resource for analyzing knowledge needs and perceptions toward kung fu (Shan & Zhou, 2020). Its ability to objectively represent users' cognitive needs in Chinese culture further enhances its suitability for this study (Qiu & Mu, 2023). Hence, we argue that Quora is an appropriate and representative data source for addressing the research objectives.

For this study, all questions and answers under the topic of kung fu on Quora were systematically collected. The dataset ultimately comprised 1,481 questions and 7,710 answers, which were compiled into a comprehensive corpus. The question dataset contains 22,039 tokens, while the answer dataset includes 1,107,464 tokens.

3.2 Analyzing Methods

Step 1: Topics categorization. To investigate the knowledge needs of English-speaking community regarding kung fu, we manually categorized questions from the kung fu topic on Quora based on their content, resulting in six topics.

Step 2: Sentiment analysis. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the community's attitudes toward these topics, we performed sentiment analysis on the corresponding answers. This study employed the VADER (Valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner) package in Python (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014), a tool specifically designed for sentiment analysis on social media platforms. VADER operates using a lexicon and grammatical rules and provides sentiment scores for nearly ten thousand words, punctuation marks, and online slang. During analysis, the tool evaluates the sentiment score of each word or symbol, aggregates these scores, and normalizes them to compute the overall sentiment score for each sentence. Consequently, each sentence from the answers under each topic was assigned a sentiment score. Subsequently, sentences with positive and negative sentiment were extracted from each topic for subsequent concordance analysis.

Step 3: Concordance analysis. In this phase, concordance analysis was conducted to identify language patterns that reflect users' perceptions and opinions. Specifically, the aim was to generalize the recurring positive and negative statements within each topic.

To streamline the analysis and emphasize prominent patterns, two selection criteria for node words were applied: (1) Positive or negative sentences from a single topic were used as the target corpus, while sentences from other topics served as the reference corpus. This comparative approach enabled the identification of keywords that encapsulate the main ideas of the answers within the selected topic, highlighting what is most frequently discussed. For instance, negative sentences from the topic 'Learning kung fu' were used as the target corpus, compared against negative sentences from other topics to extract keywords specific to negative perceptions of 'Learning kung fu.' (2) The selected node words were further refined to those that most prominently represent the topic, guided by prior knowledge from the categorization of question topics and the keywords of the topic's questions. For example, the keyword *learn* was chosen for the topic 'Learning kung fu' due to its relevance and centrality in defining the topic.

Following node selection, the Extended Units of Meaning (EUM) analysis (Li, 2021; Pu, 2020; Sinclair, 2003) was employed to describe language patterns. EUM analysis provides a rigorous approach to generalizing and uncovering prominent, and occasionally unexpected, language usages (Sinclair, 2003). We conducted this analysis using AntConc and used regular expressions during the description (see Appendix A). The analysis involves the following major elements:

(1) Collocation: This refers to the co-occurrence of two or more words within a short span in a text. As noted by Firth (1968, p. 179), the study of collocation is pivotal to understanding meaning since 'we shall know a word by the company it keeps'. Collocation analysis was conducted to identify words frequently occurring in proximity to the selected nodes; (2) Colligation: Unlike collocation, colligation examines the co-occurrence of grammatical classes or structural patterns with a word or phrase. Exploring colligation provides insights into grammatical or structural patterns that contribute to the meaning associated with the nodes (Sinclair, 2003); (3) Semantic Preference: This step groups collocates based on their shared semantic tendencies. Semantic preference highlights a pattern where words, regardless of their grammatical class, exhibit a common semantic association. For example, verbs such as *appears*, *see*, and adjectives like *visible* and *invisible* share the same semantic preference of 'visibility' when collocated with the phrase *naked eye*; (4) Paraphrastic Content: In this study, instead of conducting the original final step of generalizing semantic prosody in the EUM analysis, the approach was adapted to Teubert's paraphrastic content (2010). This adjustment aligns with the study's focus on uncovering broader meaning negotiation, specific perceptions, and opinions related to kung fu, rather than exploring semantic prosody. This process of description stops until all recurrent patterns are described. We argue that this approach can help us to generalize language patterns and thus reveal users' perceptions and opinions in a convincing way.

4 Findings

4.1 Topics Categorization

The manual categorization of questions from the topic of kung fu on Quora resulted in six topics. **1. Comparing kung fu with other martial arts:** This topic includes 376 questions (25.4%). Most of these questions compare kung fu with other martial arts regarding their strengths and differences (e.g. 1); **2. Learning kung fu:** Comprising 373 questions (25.2%), this topic primarily focuses on learning and training in

kung fu (e.g. 2); **3. Kung fu in movies:** With 229 questions (15.5%), this topic centers on kung fu in movies and related characters (e.g. 3 and 4); **4. Concepts and systems in kung fu:** This topic includes 214 questions (14.5%) that focus on the intrinsic knowledge of kung fu, such as its meaning, pronunciation, system, and history (e.g. 5 and 6). **5. Other martial arts:** comprising 201 questions (13.6%), includes knowledge about other martial arts besides kung fu (e.g. 7). Since this paper focuses only on kung fu, this topic was excluded from further analysis; **6. Miscellaneous:** comprising 88 questions (6.8%) as an open category of less frequent topics that did not fit into the other categories. My analysis does not explore the miscellaneous topic, as the frequency of that category was low and the topics within it were too broad and varied to approach systematically (Lu, 2024).

(1) What do you think is better for self-defense, Kung fu or Karate?
(2) Can someone learn a martial art, preferably Kung Fu or Tai Chi, at home by himself/herself?
(3) How does China feel about Kung Fu Panda?
(4) Is it true that Bruce Lee trained 18 hours every day?
(5) Why is kung fu sometimes spelled gung fu?
(6) What are the different types of belts in Kung Fu?
(7) How is a martial art, an art?

4.2 Sentiment Analysis

In the VADER package, sentiment polarity values are categorized as follows: positive [0.05, 1), negative (-1, -0.05], and neutral (-0.05, 0.05]. The closer a sentiment score is to 1 or -1, the stronger the intensity of the sentiment it represents. Fig. 1 visualizes the sentiment polarity of answers across the four topics. The results show that the topic ‘Comparing kung fu with other martial arts’ exhibits a relatively balanced distribution of positive and negative sentiments, with dense clusters at both ends of the spectrum. The other three topics—‘Learning kung fu,’ ‘Kung fu in movies,’ and ‘Concepts and systems in kung fu’—display denser clusters near a sentiment score of 1, suggesting a predominantly positive attitude toward these topics. To gain a more nuanced understanding of the specific positive and negative perceptions and opinions expressed, a detailed concordance analysis is required.

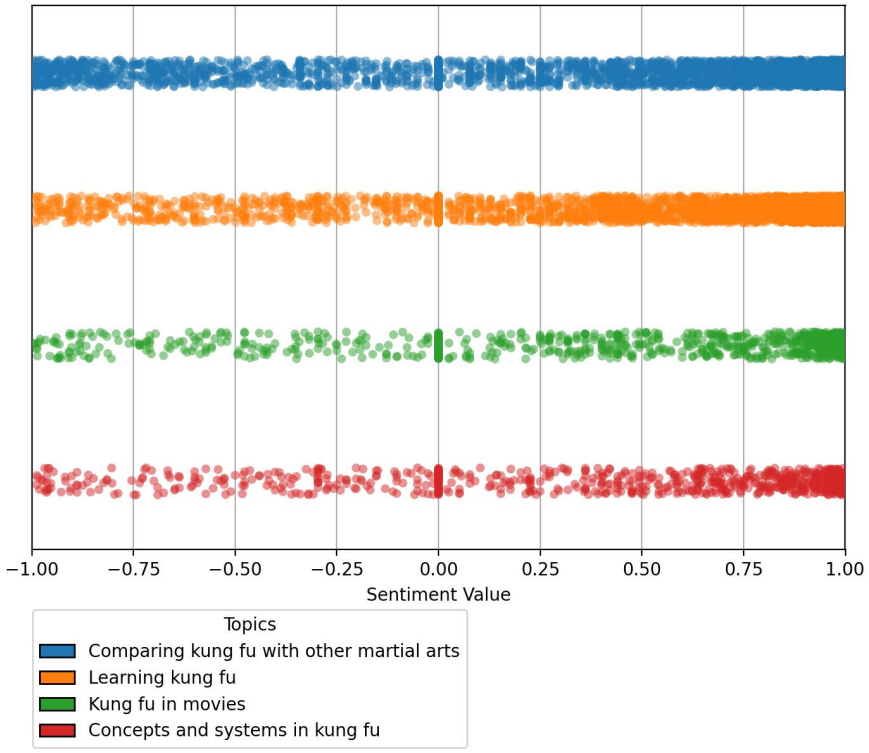


Fig. 1. Scatter plot of sentiment values by topics.

4.3 Concordance Analysis

4.3.1 Comparing Kung Fu with Other Martial Arts

Based on keyness and prior knowledge obtained during the categorization of question topics, the word *best* was selected as the node for concordance analysis under the topic 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts.' Patterns recurring more than five times were generalized and illustrated with representative examples. Variation, as defined by Li (2017), refers to patterns that are consistent in meaning but exhibit structural differences.

In positive sentences, four recurring patterns were identified. Pattern 1 and its variation explicitly state that a particular martial art, such as MMA, boxing, or kung fu ({Sempref. MMA}) is the best for practical use in real fights ({Sempref. PRACTICAL USE}):

Pattern 1: {Sempref. MMA} + is + [not] + the + best + [form of] + [{Sempref. MARTIAL ART}] + [for|in] + [{Sempref. PRACTICAL USE}]

Variation: the + best + [{Sempref. MARTIAL ART}] + for|in + [{Sempref. PRACTICAL USE}] + is + {Sempref. MMA}

Sempref. MMA: MMA, mixed martial arts, boxing, Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, kung fu, wrestling, savate, Thai fighting, Judo, kickboxing, aikido, Taekwondo, wushu, SHOTOKAN, krav maga, etc.

Sempref. MARTIAL ART: martial art, discipline, style, system, kind, option, choice, etc.

Sempref. PRACTICAL USE: practical use, a real fight, real-world situation, street fight, combat capabilities, self-defense, multiple attackers, one on one fair fights, clinch, etc.

(8) I would say, without a doubt, that MMA is the best martial art for self-defense and street fights.

Pattern 2 and its variation have a similar structure to Pattern 1, but the semantic preference set shifts from {Sempref. MARTIAL ART} to {Sempref. RUN}. This indicates another perspective from respondents, suggesting that in real situations, running or avoiding is better than any martial art:

Pattern 2: the + best + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART} + is + [to] + {Sempref. RUN}

Variation: {Sempref. RUN} + is + the + best

Sempref. RUN: run, marathon running, situational awareness, not having to use a martial art, 200m sprint, get away, not being there, not getting to street fights, walk or run away, avoid the situation, etc.

(9) The best option is to run, give your money, phone etc.

Compared to Patterns 1 and 2, Pattern 3 and its variations present a more balanced view. Respondents argue that the best martial art depends on individual goals, preferences, and the one that fits personal physical abilities ({Sempref. PERSONAL GOALS}):

Pattern 3: the + best + [{Sempref. MARTIAL ART}] + [for] + [{Sempref. SOMEBODY}] + will depend on|is the one + {Sempref. PERSONAL GOALS}

Variation: {Sempref. MARTIAL ART} + is|works|fits + the best + for [{Sempref. SOMEBODY}]

Sempref. SOMEBODY: skinny people, an individual, you, them, girl, me, etc.

Sempref. PERSONAL GOALS: personal goals, preferences, physical capabilities, learning style, your personal interests, goals and commitment, individual interests, more suitable, you have the most fun practicing, you like training in, fall in love with it, that fits you, that fulfill you aim, etc.

(10) Ultimately, the best martial art for an individual will depend on their personal goals and preferences.

Respondents also use *best* to offer general advice by Pattern 4. The verbs in this pattern include *win*, *learn*, *pick*, *avoid*, *stay out of*, *think about*, *stretch*, etc. (e.g. 11):

Pattern 4: it's|do one's + best + [not] + to + V

(11) It's best to avoid any fights in the street and keep them in the gym or ring/cage.

In negative sentences, we identified one strong pattern. In Pattern 5, respondents hold a strongly negative attitude, asserting that no single martial art can be considered the best:

Pattern 5: there is + [really] + no|nothing + [such thing|one] + [as] + best + [{Sempref. MARTIAL ART}] + [for] + [{Sempref. ANYTHING}|SOMEBODY] + [to learn]

Variation：no + martial art + is + [unquestionably] + [the] + best + [for] + [everyone]

Sempref. ANYTHING: anything, everything.

(12) Also, there is no best martial art for anything.

4.3.2 Learning Kung Fu

We chose *learn* as the node for concordance analysis under the topic 'Learning kung fu'. Patterns and examples are as follows. We identified two frequent patterns and one frequent pattern in positive and negative sentences respectively.

In these patterns, respondents typically offer learning advice. Pattern 6 indicates that respondents believe one can acquire basic kung fu or martial art skills through self-study, various books and online resources (e.g. 13). Meanwhile, Pattern 7 reveals that some respondents think advanced knowledge requires instruction from a teacher or institution (e.g. 14). In negative sentences, Pattern 8 and its variation show that some people are skeptical about learning kung fu or sometimes other martial arts on one's own (e.g. 15).

Pattern 6: [can|will] + [certainly] + learn + [the] + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART}|{Sempref. BASICS} + {Sempref. BY YOURSELF}

Sempref. BASICS: basics, basic techniques, forms, fundamentals, moves, skills, physical fundamentals, muscle memory, small subset, etc.

Sempref. BY YOURSELF: by yourself, by himself, by myself, by themselves, on your own, alone, without a teacher, at home, from a DVD, from various YouTube channel, online classes, etc.

(13) Sure, you can certainly learn the basic techniques and forms (or kata) from books and video (hooray youtube!).

Pattern 7: learn + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART}|{Sempref. HIGH LEVEL STUFF} + {Sempref. FROM A TEACHER}

Sempref. HIGH LEVEL STUFF: high level stuff, the good stuff, nuances, difference, to be a competent, apply techniques, etc.

Sempref. FROM A TEACHER: from a teacher, from an institute, under supervision, etc.

(14) There is so much more to learn from a teacher and working out with a variety of students.

Pattern 8: cannot|no way|not recommended + [to] + [truly|really] + learn + [how to] + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART} + {Sempref. BY YOURSELF}

Variation: learn + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART} + {Sempref. BY YOURSELF} + V. + NP^Neg.

(15) You cannot learn how to fight on your own, even if you have an online instructor and all fighting books in the world.

4.3.3 Kung Fu in Movies

According to keyness, *Bruce Lee* was a highly discussed topic under the topic of 'Kung fu in movies'. Therefore, *Bruce Lee* was chosen as the node. We identified one recurrent pattern with two variations in positive sentences. In Pattern 9, respondents used numerous positive adjectives such as *innovative*, *exceptional*, *talented*, and *the greatest* to describe Bruce Lee in his roles as a martial artist and actor. Some respondents even referred to him as a *visionary* or *embodiment* of positive traits (e.g. 16). In variations of this pattern, respondents further expressed positive attitudes towards Bruce Lee using various positive words, such as *creative*, *really good*, *incredible speed*, *agility*, *power*, *legacy*, *fame*, *iconic status*, *gift*, *prowess*, *reputation*, and *wit* (e.g. 17).

Pattern 9: Bruce Lee + [who] + [BE] + [widely|truly|really] + [considered|regarded] + the|a|an + {Sempref. Adj.: INNOVATIVE} + {Sempref. : MARTIAL ARTIST}

Variation 1: Bruce Lee + BE|V. + [known for] + Adj.|NP.^Pos.

Variation 2: Bruce Lee + 's + N.|NP.^Pos.

Sempref. Adj.: INNOVATIVE: innovative, true, special mind, great, exceptional, exceptionally-innovative, talented, the best, perfect, high skilled, famous, the greatest, accomplished, legendary, incredible, pro, etc.

Sempref. MARTIAL ARTIST: martial artist, actor, embodiment, portray, champion, visionary.

(16) While he did not have a professional or amateur fighting record, Lee was a highly skilled and innovative martial artist who had a profound influence on the way martial arts are taught and practiced.

(17) Bruce Lee was known for intense focus and dedication.

Despite the overall lower frequency, there are patterns of negative attitudes towards Bruce Lee. As Pattern 10 shows, some respondents did not consider Bruce Lee a genuine fighter or a good martial artist, believing that his reputation is overly deified (e.g. 18). In variations of this pattern, adjectives like *impertinent*, *disrespectful*, and *notorious*, as well as nouns or noun phrases like *asshole*, expressed strong negative attitudes toward Bruce Lee (e.g. 19):

Pattern 10: Bruce Lee + BE + not + the|a|an + [{Sempref. Adj.: INNOVATIVE}] + {Sempref. : MARTIAL ARTIST}|fighter

Variation: Bruce Lee + BE|V. + Adj.|NP.^Neg.

(18) Bruce Lee was not a fighter. People need to stop deifying Bruce Lee into something he wasn't.

(19) The truth is that Bruce Lee was impertinent and disrespectful to local kung Fu schools.

4.3.4 Concepts and Systems in Kung fu

Many keywords are discussed in both positive and negative sentences of the topic of 'Concepts and systems in kung fu'. Focusing on the top-ranked keywords, we found that discussions around 'Concepts and systems in kung fu' often involve the term *kung fu* itself, as well as related topics like *ki*|*qi*|*energy*, *tai chi*|*taiji*|*taijiquan*, and *breaking (boards)*.

First looking in to the concordances of *kung fu*. In positive sentences, we observed the low-frequent Pattern 11, where respondents have a favorable view of kung fu's effectiveness in self-defense (e.g. 20):

Pattern 11: Shaolin|Wing Chun + kung fu + BE + [a|an] + [very] + powerful|excellent|effective + type|form + of + self-defense|martial art

(20) Shaolin Kung Fu is a very powerful type of self-defense because it combines strength, speed, agility, and coordination.

Pattern 12 and its variations highlight a common misconception among the global audience, which is the incorrect belief that kung fu is a specific type of martial art. Respondents clarified that kung fu is not a martial art (see Variations 1 and 2) but an umbrella term ({Sempref. GENERIC} + term) (e.g. 21, 22, 23):

Pattern 12: kung fu + is + [actually|just] + a + {Sempref. GENERIC} + term

Variation 1: kung fu + is + not + a + {Sempref. MARTIAL ART}

Variation 2: there + is + no + such + thing + as + [a] + kung fu + {Sempref. MARTIAL ARTS}

Sempref. GENERIC: generic, broad, collective, umbrella, general, inclusive.

(21) Kung fu is a generic term for the Chinese martial arts and doesn't refer to a specific tradition.

(22) Kung Fu is not a martial art and it can apply to many other activities or disciplines.

(23) There's no such thing as a Kung fu style.

Further correcting the misconception, Pattern 13 shows that some respondents explained the etymology of kung fu, stating that it originally referred to any achievement gained through effort (e.g. 24):

Pattern 13: kung fu + [actually|literally] + BE|means|refers to|is defined as + [any] + skills|mastery + [attained|gained|achieved|acquired] + [through] + {Sempref. HARD WORK}

Sempref. HARD WORK: hard work, time, effort, practice, repetition.

(24) Kung Fu means skill gained through hard work and refers to any skill gained through hard work rather than just Martial Arts.

In negative sentences, we identified a low-frequent pattern expressing negative views about kung fu. The pattern indicates that some people perceive kung fu or kung fu schools as outdated ({Sempref. ANTIQUATED}):

Pattern 14: kung fu + [schools] + BE|V. + [like] + {Sempref. ANTIQUATED}

Sempref. ANTIQUATED: antiquated, fossil, watered down, notorious, trash.

(25) As time has gone on Kung fu is like a fossil with bits of old stuff preserved within it.

The discussions surrounding *ki*|*qi*|*chi* revealed a wide range of perspectives, with Pattern 15 standing out prominently. Respondents engaged in lively debates by directly defining *ki*|*qi*|*chi*. Their opinions and views, as illustrated below, showcase differing interpretations: some respondents perceive *ki*|*qi*|*chi* as an experiential and subjective feeling tied to physical and mental focus, while others dismiss it as an unscientific or misinterpreted concept, often emphasizing its lack of empirical evidence. For instance, some praised *ki*|*qi*|*chi* as a harmonious synergy of physical and mental forces or a natural flow of movement, while others argued it is merely a theoretical or even nonexistent concept, raising skepticism about its validity in modern understanding. Table 1 provides examples of these viewpoints:

Pattern 15: ki|qi|chi + V. + [a|an] + N.

Table 1. Part of concordances of Pattern 15.

Concordances
ki is an elegant and ancient way of describing excellent physical synergies and mental focus acting harmoniously.
In my opinion, what they called 'ki' is an experience, a feeling, of physical energies and psychological focus.
I've done martial arts and meditation for many years, and the explanation that qi or ki is just a word for a subjective feeling does fit with most of my experiences --- but not all.
First you should have in mind that Ki is not a scientific term. But also 'love' is not and yet we feel it.

So if I have to define it, Ki is the most effective natural flow of actions/movements that that you can make.
KI is nothing special, you find it in boxing, you even find it in tennis.
Here is my personal opinion in short: Ki is wrongly interpreted term which leads to belief in the stupid things we can see in the video.
You can only measure the results and that's the crux of the whole qi does not exist because you can't measure it debate.
There are no Shaolin monks today and there is no qigong, Qi does no exist.
This is true, however, chi is mostly a theory, which dates back hundreds of years. There's no evidence for chi.

The sentiment analysis and patterns surrounding *tai chi*|*Tai Chi Chuan*|*taiji*|*taijiquan* demonstrated consistent and predominantly positive attitudes, and therefore this paper does not present a detailed pattern description here. However, as illustrated in Table 2, there is noticeable inconsistency in the terminology used by respondents when discussing Tai Chi, with terms such as *tai chi*, *Tai Chi Chuan*, *taiji*, and *taijiquan* being employed interchangeably. Respondents generally expressed admiration for Tai Chi, often highlighting its effectiveness as a martial art and its health benefits for practitioners across all ages. While some emphasized its combat utility, others focused on its calming and life-enhancing effects. Despite this positive attitude, the inconsistent use of terminology suggests a lack of standardized understanding regarding its nomenclature:

Table 2. Part of concordances around tai chi|Tai Chi Chuan|taiji|taijiquan.

Concordances
But in its origination, Tai Chi Chuan is an internal martial art with pretty severe implications.
Tai Chi Chuan is the most devastating martial art. you get better with age.
And that experience is decisive in combat. We have to take into account that Tai Chi Chuan is a very effective martial art. It must be.
For people in their 60s, Tai Chi is a great martial art. It's gentle, improves flexibility, and promotes well-being.
However, practicing tai chi has kept me alive when I was expected to die from heart failure over a decade ago.
People who have had years of training in qi gong or tai chi tend to have an aura of calmness around them.
Ignore the comments on how great his Taiji is because that person does not know Taiji.
Taijiquan is really useful. As a martial art, even, but not as a physical fighting art.

Finally, our analysis revealed that *breaking (boards)* emerged as a prominent keyword in both positive and negative sentences under the topic of 'Concepts and systems in kung fu'. Pattern 16 highlights that respondents often view board breaking as a final challenge or test to evaluate their training outcomes ({Sempref. A FINAL CHALLENGE}) and as a method of physical conditioning ({Sempref. TOUGHEN}). For instance, board breaking is described as a way to assess technique, timing, and biomechanical precision, reinforcing its role as a rigorous evaluative and preparatory exercise. In contrast, Pattern 17 suggests a different perception, with

respondents primarily associating board breaking with a demonstration ({Sempref. DEMONSTRATION}). This view frames board breaking as showmanship, a marketing trick, or a means of impressing an audience rather than a practical skill-testing activity. For example, breaking boards and bricks is explicitly referred to as a demonstration in one concordance, indicating its role as a performative act rather than a substantive martial arts practice.

Pattern 16: board breaking|breaking bricks and boards + BE|V. + [to|for] + {Sempref. A FINAL CHALLENGE}|{Sempref. TOUGHEN}

Sempref. A FINAL CHALLENGE: a final challenge, a test, the method.

Sempref. TOUGHEN: toughen, toughen up, keep strong, prepare for.

(26) Board breaking is a final challenge that demonstrates your technique, timing, biomechanical motions, and all are for sure being executed properly.

Pattern 17: [board and brick] + breaking + [boards] + BE|V. + a + {Sempref. DEMONSTRATION}

Sempref. DEMONSTRATION: demonstration, showmanship, marketing trick, demonstrate, impress, impressing.

(27) The board and brick breaking is a demonstration.

5 Discussion

The findings corroborate Teubert's (2010) assertion that the meaning of a discourse object is collaboratively negotiated within a discourse community. The categorization of topics reveals the diverse knowledge needs of the English-speaking community regarding kung fu, while the varied attitudes, perceptions, and opinions further construct its provisional meaning (Teubert, 2010). A detailed discussion of the three research questions posed earlier is presented below:

RQ1: What are the English-speaking community's knowledge needs regarding kung fu on Quora? Through a manual categorization of questions under the kung fu topic on Quora, six topics were identified. Consistent with previous research, 'Kung fu in movies' stands out as one of the most frequently discussed topics, followed by 'Learning kung fu' (Cao & Cheng, 2022). Additionally, four other topics were classified, with 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts' accounting for the largest proportion (25.4%). This finding indicates a significant interest among the English-speaking community in comparing the advantages and distinctions of kung fu, particularly as a Chinese martial art, with other martial arts. It underscores the community's focus on the competitive aspects of kung fu (Dlouhý et al., 2013). Furthermore, 14.5% of the questions pertain to the meaning, pronunciation, system, and history of kung fu, confirming that the English-speaking community often understands kung fu through its portrayal in movies, while its intrinsic characteristics remain ambiguous. These findings provide valuable implications for recalibrating the international dissemination of kung fu.

RQ2: What are the English-speaking community's general attitudes towards kung fu-related topics? Sentiment analysis of responses across the four major topics revealed a complex spectrum, with a slight skew toward positive attitudes. In the topic 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts,' positive and negative sentiments appeared more evenly distributed. To identify specific positive and negative perceptions, we refer to the findings from concordance analysis.

RQ3: What specific positive or negative perceptions does the English-speaking community hold towards kung fu-related topics? Using EUM analysis of keywords, the study generalized prominent patterns

in the positive and negative sentences of each topic. For questions under 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts,' respondents expressed diverse views. While some assert the superiority of certain martial arts, others argue that the 'best' martial art depends on personal goals, resonating with the idea that kung fu's original purpose lies in self-improvement rather than competition (Dlouhý et al., 2013). Thus, perceiving kung fu solely as a competitive sport reflects an incomplete understanding. These questions also highlight a common misconception, which is also evident in the topic 'Concepts and systems in kung fu.' Whether comparing kung fu with karate or boxing or inquiring about its intrinsic characteristics, many respondents mistakenly regard kung fu as a specific martial art. Some respondents addressed this misconception, explaining that kung fu serves as a general term encompassing various Chinese martial arts. Others further clarified that kung fu originally referred to any skill or achievement attained through effort (Dlouhý et al., 2013).

In the 'Learning kung fu' topic, opinions varied. While some respondents believed that basic kung fu could be self-taught, others argued that advanced techniques must be learned in schools. However, kung fu schools are often perceived as outdated. Coupled with debates over kung fu's effectiveness (Pattern 11), one of the most critical challenges facing kung fu schools and teaching is the lack of real combat capabilities (Luo & Yang, 2021). As the Oxford Dictionary defines kung fu primarily through its association with fighting, combat abilities might serve as a focal point for global dissemination and correcting misconceptions. This intersection between kung fu and its global audience represents a crucial 'meaning-sharing space' (Li & Zhao, 2020). Therefore, reforming and emphasizing combat skills in kung fu schools and international dissemination efforts is imperative (Luo & Yang, 2021).

The study's results also support existing literature suggesting that the English-speaking community could have a particular interest in Tai Chi and related concepts like ki or qi (Li & Zhao, 2020). Additional areas of interest emerged as well. First, Bruce Lee remains a highly debated figure. While he symbolizes a resurgence of Chinese national pride (Wong & Rinehart, 2013), recent discussions have become more nuanced. Some respondents view him as an innovative martial artist and actor, while others criticize him as neither a genuine fighter nor a skilled martial artist, accusing him of being overrated and even impertinent. Second, breaking boards is unexpectedly a topic of both interest and controversy within the global audience. While some respondents question its value, many view it as a test and demonstration of training outcomes. This dual interpretation aligns with the identified language patterns, where board breaking is framed either as a 'final challenge' (Pattern 16) or as a performative 'demonstration' (Pattern 17). These differing perceptions underscore the evolving understanding of kung fu practices. Moreover, the inconsistent use of terminology, such as *taiji or tai chi*, and *qi or ki*, highlights a lack of standardization in the kung fu discourse. This inconsistency not only reflects the diverse cultural and historical contexts of these terms but also contributes to the fragmented understanding of kung fu among English-speaking communities. Addressing this issue through precise and consistent terminology in dissemination efforts could help bridge the gap between its traditional roots and global interpretations, fostering a more coherent and accurate understanding of kung fu.

6 Conclusion

Given the prevalence of misconceptions about kung fu within the English-speaking community and the limited research on this topic, this study highlights the value of investigating their knowledge needs and perceptions through a corpus-based approach. The findings reinforce the notion that the meanings of a discourse object are constantly negotiated within discourse communities. By moving beyond the previously movies-dominated findings on kung fu, this study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the specific knowledge needs and perceptions of the English-speaking community. These insights offer important implications for refining

international dissemination strategies to enhance the global audience's understanding of kung fu and address prevalent misconceptions.

The study, however, has certain limitations, as it explored only a portion of the available data. For instance, the keyword *better* under the topic 'Comparing kung fu with other martial arts' was not analyzed. Future research should expand the scope to include concordance analyses of these excluded keywords to provide a more detailed and holistic depiction of public perceptions toward kung fu.

Appendix A. Symbols in regular expressions

Regular expressions	Explanations
[]	The element at this position is optional, expressing a logical 'or' relationship and indicating that the element in brackets may or may not occur.
{Sempref: WORD}	Braces indicate a semantic preference set, viz. a vocabulary set with shared semantic features that appears at or near a certain position. Labelled with 'Sempref', the capitalized words after the colon are the most representative word from the semantic preference set.
|	The vertical bar means that the left and right elements can be used interchangeably.

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现代汉语“X 得慌”构式的共时特点及认知机制

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摘要：“X 得慌”是现代汉语中用于表达主观极量义的常用构式。研究基于 BCC 语料库，收集了大量口语语料，对“X 得慌”构式的特点进行共时分析，揭示了该构式在表达情感和主观感受方面的独特作用。研究表明，“X 得慌”构式中的“X”主要以单音节词为主，形容词和动词均具有重要作用，特别是在情感表达和感知的强化上。此外，构式在句法上具有高度的灵活性，可以作为谓语、宾语、定语、状语等成分使用。语义上，“X 得慌”表达了强烈的主观感受，具有主观极量义、评价义和情感强化的语用功能。通过隐喻理论分析，研究进一步揭示了该构式的认知机制，指出“X 得慌”在隐喻的跨域映射过程中，将空间位移、生命活动和心理活动等具象域中的现象转化为抽象的程度表达。研究结果不仅丰富了对汉语构式的认知理解，也为探索汉语的主观性表达和构式的语用功能提供了理论支持。

关键词：“X 得慌”构式；BCC 语料库；共时研究；隐喻

1. 引言

“X 得慌”构式是现代汉语中一种典型的表达情感和程度的重要构式，其独特性在于既表现了主观情感的极端化状态，又在一定程度上反映语法化过程中词汇与句法的动态演变。该构式中的“慌”是一个程度补语或程度副词(张谊生, 2000; 朱德熙, 2001)。

从语法化的角度来看，“X 得慌”构式的发展经历了从词汇化到附缀化再到构式化的动态过程。在这一过程中，“得慌”已脱离原有的程度补语功能，表现出明显的附缀化特征(张谊生, 2018)。关键(2010)通过分析“V/A 得慌”在北京话中的语法化与词汇化过程,指出该构式语义逐渐从具体情感向抽象情感泛化。语义上，聂志平(2022)从历时的角度，通过对《红楼梦》和《老舍全集》等语料的分析，指出“X 得慌”在近现代汉语中的使用范围逐渐扩展，其语义色彩从早期的焦虑情绪转向更为广泛的负面感知表达；北京话中“X 得慌”的语义特征表现为“主观意志不能控制的不如意的感知”。蔡丽(2010)虽基于 CCL 语料库中的 516 条语料，对“X 得慌”构式进行了研究，分析了其语法意义、句法特征及其中“X”的特点，但未对“X 得慌”的构式义进行探讨，也未深入分析其语用特征。此外，朱磊(2018)则深入探究了“得慌”与状位程度副词相叠加的具体表现及其形成原因，同时进一步对其类推所产生的相关语言现象展开了考察。

综上所述，尽管已有学者对“X 得慌”构式的语法化和语义功能进行了深入的定性研究，且有采用 CCL 语料库的定量分析或以特定文学作品为语料来源，但关于“X 得慌”构式在现代汉语，尤其是口语领域的共时研究方面存在欠缺。鉴于此，本研究以包含大量口语语料的 BCC 语料库为来源，借助隐喻理论，全方位展开对汉语“X 得慌”构式共时特点剖析。研究旨在回答以下几个问题：

·“X 得慌”构式中构件“X”有什么特点？

·“X 得慌”构式的句法、语义及语用特征是什么？

·“X 得慌”构式的认知机制是怎样的？

2. 隐喻理论

隐喻是一种认知机制，它通过结构映射将源域的概念应用于目标域，其中源域是描述经验的框架，而目标域是需要被阐释的经验，遵循“X IS Y”的表达式，其中 X 代表目标域，Y 代表源域(Lakoff *et al*., 1980)。他们在《我们赖以生存的隐喻》中，将隐喻分成三种类型：结构隐喻、方位隐喻和实体隐喻。Lakoff(1993)进一步发展了这一理论，提出隐喻具有身体化的特点，认为我们通过身体经验理解世界，并通过隐喻表达这种经验。

Gentner(1983)的结构映射理论进一步明确了跨域映射的认知机制，指出映射的关键在于两个域之间的结构相似性。此外，Fauconnier 和 Turner(2002)提出了概念整合理论（Conceptual Blending Theory），该理论认为隐喻是认知过程中的整合现象，是不同概念领域的融合。实验心理学支持了隐喻作为跨域映射的理论。Bowdle 和 Gentner(2005) 通过实验表明，隐喻的理解需要源域和目标域的结构性对比，而结构性映射比单纯的语义联想更加重要。Kövecses(2005)进一步探讨了文化隐喻的跨域特性，指出文化背景影响隐喻的选择性映射，例如“愤怒是热液体”在不同文化中的体现方式差异显著。在 21 世纪，隐喻的社会功能和政治意义也逐渐成为研究的重点，特别是在批判性话语分析（CDA）领域中，隐喻被用来揭示权力和意识形态(Charteris-Black, 2004)。

总之，隐喻是指跨域映射，隐喻理论的发展从语言研究走向了多学科交叉，其研究方向从理论构建转向实践应用。

3. 数据来源及研究设计

Goldberg(1995)提出，若某一结构 C 可被视为构式，则仅当 C 为形式与意义的结合体<Fi, Si>时，且 Fi 或 Si 的某些特征无法直接从 C 的构成元素或已确立的构式中准确推断出来。

“X 得慌”是现代汉语中表达情感与状态的典型结构。从形式上看，“X 得慌”由特定“X”与固定搭配的“得慌”组成，其语法关系明确、语义表达完整，形成了形式与意义的统一结合体。例如，“累得慌”不仅描述了身体的疲惫状态，更表达了主观上的无力感，既体现了“累”和“慌”的语义内涵，又通过“得慌”进一步强化情绪表达的程度。“X 得慌”赋予整个结构一个新的抽象意义，其整体意义超越了部分意义的

简单相加。此外，“X 得慌”广泛应用于口语语境，使用频率极高，成为现代汉语表达主观情绪、程度夸张的重要构式。基于此，可以判定“X 得慌”是一个构式。本研究以此为核心研究对象，选取北京语言大学语料库（简称 BCC 语料库）作为主要语料来源，对所收录的“X 得慌”构式进行系统的定量与定性分析。研究流程如下：

1）数据检索

在 BCC 语料库页面的检索栏输入“*得慌”，得到来自“多领域”、“文学”、“报刊”三大内置模块的语料共 3089 条。其中“多领域”模块语料涵盖微博、文学社报、科技文献等；“文学”模块包括诸多摘录自中外文学作品的语料；“报刊”模块收集的语料来自《人民日报》与《人民日报海外版》。

2）数据筛选

对检索得到的数据先进行去重操作，再逐一核实“X 得慌”结构的合法性。例如：

（1）江的前夫赵有根得知此事，带着几个哥们，大拳头一挥，恶妇吓得慌忙走人。(《人民日报》2001 年 02 月 02 日）

（2）“相爷？您怎么了？”提督也被他异常的失态给吓得慌了手脚。(萧如瑟《九州·斛珠夫人》)

（3）……小鸟。它们被这突如其来的动作吓得慌作一团，浑身战栗着。(《人民日报》1994 年 06 月 24 日）

上述例子符合检索式，但进一步观察可知，这些例子并不符合要求。例（1）中“吓得慌忙走人”结构有误，正确结构应为“吓得慌忙走人”，“慌忙”是修饰“走”的方式状语，可理解为“受到惊吓，慌忙离开”；例（2）中“吓得慌了手脚”也对习语划分有误，意为“（被）吓得动作慌乱”，因此正确划分为“吓得慌了手脚”，是一个状语+动宾短语的结构；同样，例（3）中“吓得慌作一团”的正确结构应为“吓得慌作一团”。在上述三个例子中，“吓得”作为原因状语，修饰后面的动作。其他不符合研究目的的结构还有“弄得慌了神”、“高兴得慌乱起来”等都需去除。

除了考虑整个“X 得慌”结构的合法性之外，还需考虑 X。在检索结果中，X 有繁体字、错别字，在综合判断语义后，将繁体字改为简体字（如例（4），“餓”改为“饿”）、将错别字纠正（如例（5），“滲”改为“瘆”）。此外，X 还有英文字母，同样也是结合语境仔细考量语义，将其改成正确形式（如例（6），“hold”改为“鹌”）。

（4）總是糾結個大半世紀，實在餓得慌，才不情願的起來拌面總結。（微博）

（5）但是生孩子那块风格立马大变啊!! 太重口味了啊！看得滲得慌啊！（微博）

（6）一起来吃了碗汤圆，hold 得慌...还是 soda 好喝——！（微博）

经过上述细致的筛选过程，甄别出 2562 条有效例句。人工去除重复项后最终提取到“堵得慌”、“憋得慌”、“饿得慌”等合法构式共 172 例及其相应频率。

3）数据分析

对语料进行筛选后，逐步归纳“X 得慌”结构中的“X”的语音、词性特点，总结“X 得慌”结构的句法、语义及语用特征。基于隐喻理论，探索“X 得慌”结构的认知过程。

经过严格筛选和数据处理，最终得到 2562 条语料，172 例“X”，统计结果如表 1 所示。出现频数在

10 次以上的“X”有 34 个，其中“堵”、“憋”、“饿”、“闲”、“累”出现频数高达 140 次以上；频数介于 5 至 9 次之间的“X”有 18 个；而频次小于 5 次的词项共有 120 个，约占“X”总数的 70%，说明这些表达在 BCC 语料库收录的语料中不太常用。因此，本研究选取频数大于等于 5 次的“X 得慌”构式（共 52 例）作为研究对象。

表 1　BCC 语料库中“X 得慌”的统计结果

频数（P）	总词数	例字（及频数）
P≥10	34	堵（582）、憋（360）、饿（269）、闲（232）、累（149）、瘆（69）、撑（60）、烧（51）、馋（41）、想（40）、硌（36）、急（32）、疼（28）、闷（25）、臊（24）、愁（19）、冻（19）、挤（17）、腻（16）、僵（15）、气（15）、空（14）、冷（14）、困（12）、呛（12）、噎（12）、憋屈（11）、烦（11）、揪（11）、痒（11）、跳（11）、勒（10）、吓（10）、胀（10）
5≤P≤9	18	吵（9）、贱（9）、乱（9）、顶（8）、渴（8）、屈（8）、痛（8）、心疼（8）、恨（7）、压（7）、怕（6）、委屈（6）、心跳（6）、扎（6）、抖（5）、紧（5）、别扭（5）、热（5）、骚（5）
P=4	5	赶、欠、烫、羞、咬
P=3	16	颤、哽、梗、齁、寂寞、烤、累不累、冷清、忙、难受、晒、窝、无聊、想念、压抑、冤
P=2	23	憋不憋、憋气、缠、潮、颠、惦记、惦念、恶心、怪、绞、紧张、霉、美、飘、怯、穷、杀、手痒、虚、痒痒、瘾、着急、坠
P=1	76	爱、抱歉、蹩、不舒服、惨、碜、抽、蠢、刺挠、催、呆、待、掂、惦、冻人、堵噎、多、烦躁、泛、干、膈、贵、旱、呼、唬、晃、搅、叫、窘、倦、磕碜、瞌睡、可惜、恐怖、口渴、亏、劳人、烙、冷寂、令人、乱乱、麻、骂、磨、挠、闹腾、嫩、腻味、念、跑、疲、期待、漆、亲、缺、绕、闪、讪、飕、逃、窝囊、捂、吸、嫌烦、想吃、想睡、嘘、熏、晕、熨、赞、燥热、蜇、折腾、重、追

4. 结果与讨论

4.1 “X 得慌”构式中“X”的特点

进一步统计分析可得，52 个“X 得慌”构式中的“X”在音节特征、词性分布上具有显著的规律性。

有 48 个单音节词（约占 92.7%）能进入“X 得慌”构式，占压倒性优势；而仅有 4 个双音节词（约占

7.7%，“憋屈”、“心疼”、“委屈”、“别扭”）进入该构式，说明单音节词更能构成“X 得慌”。

从“X”的词性来看，31 个“X”（约占 59.6%）为形容词词性，21 个“X”（约占 40.4%）为动词词性，形容词词性略多于动词词性，这说明形、动两类词都易进入“X”得慌构式。

1）“X”为形容词时，可细分为以下 3 种类别：生理或心理感受类形容词、品行或性格类形容词、事物属性类形容词，具体分布详见表 2。

第一类是占比最高的**生理或心理感受类形容词**。例（7）中“饿得慌”指人处于一种极度饥饿的生理状态，这种饥饿感已经强烈到让人内心产生不安、难受等负面情绪。“慌”起到强化这种感受的作用，将生理上的“饿”提升到心理层面，表明饥饿的程度已让人难以忍受，急需通过进食来缓解这种身心的双重不适。第二类是“贱”和“骚”这样的**品行或性格类形容词**。例（8）中“贱得慌”通常带有贬义色彩，形容人行为举止轻贱、不自尊自重；“慌”字进一步强化了这种负面评价所带来的心理冲击，引发鄙夷、嫌弃、心里发慌的感觉。第三类是**事物属性类形容词**。例（9）中“挤”描述种空间上的状态，意味着青海湖里鱼数量多；“慌”赋予了鱼拟人化的情感色彩，鱼因空间局促、身体频繁受挤压，进而产生了一种类似不安、想要摆脱困境的本能反应，所以才会出现“自动跳出冰洞”的行为。例（10）中“空”描述缺失了那些习以为常的景象与声音，内心的空虚感，“慌”强化了这种情绪。例（11）同样是“空得慌”，但此时的“空”则指环境寂静无人，以至于内心发慌。因此，例（10）和例（11）中的“空”依据不同的文本背景，可分别归为生理或心理感受类形容词和事物属性类形容词。同理，“乱”也可归为两类不同的形容词。

（7）我看到穷苦人的享乐，大有兴趣。我自己肚里也饿得慌呀。（杨绛《走到人生边上》）

（8）每年都说你们再办那么烂我就不看了，每年还凑上去看这不是贱得慌是什么？（微博）

（9）冬季青海湖结冰时，附近居民凿冰钓鱼。鱼在冰下挤得慌，还会自动跳出冰洞呢！（《人民日报》1984 年 09 月 20 日）

（10）“你听到了学生们的说话声音了吧？”“是啊！看来这里一点儿都不空得慌。（川端康成《少女开眼》）

（11）你说二十天没见小岛了，二十天没听到海浪的喧嚣，心里空得慌。（莫言《春夜雨霏霏》）

表 2　形容词“X”的语义特点

类别	例字	数量	占比
生理或心理感受类形容词	饿、闲、累、撑、馋、急、疼、闷、臊、冻、腻、僵、空、冷、困、憋屈、烦、痒、胀、乱、渴、屈、痛、委屈、紧、别扭、热	27	87.1%
品行或性格类形容词	贱、骚	2	6.5%
事物属性类形容词	挤、空、吵、乱	4	12.9%

2）“X”为动词时，可细分为心理动词、感受动词和动作动词，其分布与语义特点详见表 3。

当“X”为**心理动词**时，能够被“很、非常”等程度副词修饰。例（12）“想得慌”表示这里指对战马的高度思念，“慌”字强化了思念的程度，反映出长时间分离后思念累积所带来的内心煎熬。当“X”为**感受动词**时，同样能被程度副词修饰，表示视觉、听觉、嗅觉等动作施加在人身上，产生的感受被称为感受动词(马庆株, 2005)。例（13）中“呛”是鼻腔黏膜受到刺激产生的生理感受。在这个句子中，是因为鼻孔感觉像是粘了灰尘膜，灰尘进入鼻腔后。“呛得慌”比简单地说“感到呛”更加形象，读者能真切地体会到人物当时那种不舒服、难受的状态。当“X”为**动作动词**时，可在例（14）得到例证，其中“抖得慌”表示手抖的动作已经比较剧烈，让人心里产生了“抖”到难以控制的感觉。

（12）这是吉田长官留下的战马，他好几年没见它了，一定想得慌，不如把它带到东大营，让长官看看。（迟子建《额尔古纳河右岸》）

（13）但是在那里呆上一阵后，鼻孔里就像牢牢地粘了灰尘膜一样，感到呛得慌。（大江健三郎《万延元年的足球队》）

（14）怎么可以这么冷呢，照个相手都抖得慌！（微博）

表 3　动词“X”的语义特点

类别	例字	数量	占比
心理动词	想、愁、心疼、恨、怕	5	23.8%
感受动词	堵、呛、噎、憋、瘆、烧、硌、气、吓、扎、揪	11	52.4%
动作动词	勒、顶、压、抖、跳	5	23.8%

4.2 “X 得慌”构式的句法功能

研究语料发现，“X 得慌”构式在句中可以做谓语、宾语、定语、状语和补语成分。在大多数时候，“X 得慌”充当句子**谓语**，表示对主语的表述、说明或解释，如：

（15）“十三岁，属兔子的，”母亲说，“俺也愁得慌，可他吃什么就呕什么，肚子还痛，痛得冒汗珠子呀，怪吓人的……”（莫言《丰乳肥臀》）

（16）他累得慌，他的铁的手指已经有些发颤。（老舍《火葬》）

“X 得慌”还可以充当句子**宾语**，此时句子的谓语动词通常为“觉得”、“觉着”、“感觉”等心理动词，表示人的主观感受。

（17）甚至一天不买几样东西，就觉得堵得慌。（《科技文献》）

（18）一喝白酒，你就会觉着烧得慌，喉咙发紧。（契诃夫《醉汉》）

（19）看到孩子们热心地看《新白娘子传奇》这样的电视剧，我真感觉委屈得慌！（《人民日报》1993 年 08 月 18 日）

在少数情况下，“X 得慌”还可做句子的**定语**成分，后面通常跟着定语标志词“的”。例（20）中“痒得

慌”和例（21）中“硌得慌”分别用以描述“感觉”和“好地方”两个对象。

（20）只能感觉到体内发出的燥热和汗珠流淌下来时痒得慌的感觉。（大江健三郎《个人的体验》）

（21）不知道里面装的是玉米棒子还是瓦片，翻来覆去总是找不准一个不硌得慌的好地方。（赫尔曼·麦尔维尔《白鲸》）

偶有“X 得慌”做句子的**补语**，出现在被字句、把字句中，如例（22）和例（23）；此外，作补语时，有结构助词“得”作补语标记，补充动作的情态。例（24）中“堵得慌”补充说明谓语动词“搞”，例（25）中“瘆得慌”补充说明谓语动词“看”。

（22）当朱淑贞询问时我才知道是被尿憋得慌又难以启齿之故。（黄石《蚱蜢之歌》）

（23）简单一句话把心堵得慌，总相信我们是相爱这样的。（微博）

（24）幸亏没去，搞得自己心里堵得慌就不好了。（微博）

（25）太重口味了啊！看得瘆得慌啊!!（微博）

“X 得慌”还能作复句的一个**分句**，前有逗号隔开，分句的主语通常承前省略。如例（26）中，省略了主语“绫子（心里）”，将省略成分补充完整则应是“绫子（心里）堵得慌”，例（27）亦是如此。而例（28）中的“闲得慌”则是**单独成句**，省略了主语“我”。在日常对话中，通常会省略主语，体现了语言的经济性原则。

（26）绫子说着，心里像被什么东西塞住了，堵得慌。（葛红兵《未来军团三部曲》）

（27）不喜欢和我妈一起出去外面吃饭，什么话都不能乱说，憋得慌。（微博）

（28）“赌民”的回答如出一辙：“没……没啥事干。闲得慌。”（《人民日报》2000 年 07 月 31 日

通过对语料的整理与分析，发现“X 得慌”在句中主要作谓语和宾语，少数情况下作定语和补语，偶有作分句或单独成句的情况。

4.3 “X 得慌”构式的语义特征

前文已将“X 得慌”定义为一个构式，其构式义和具体语义需要结合具体语料来分析，请看下文例子：

（29）“妈妈！”初枝感到胸口堵得慌，她搂紧阿岛。（川端康成《少女开眼》）

（30）真是污染环境不淡定了，有些事情说不了，在心里又憋屈得慌！（微博）

沈家煊(2001)定义了“主观性”这一概念，认为它指说话者在表达话语时所展现的个人立场、态度和情感，这些个人色彩在话语中留下了说话者自身的印记。话语中包含的这种“自我”元素，即构成了主观性。两个例句主体都是**人**，例（29）中“堵得慌”形容说话人因情绪波动导致胸口感到极度难受，是自我强烈的心理感受；例（30）中“憋屈得慌”表达了说话人因心中积压情绪无法宣泄而极其难受的心理状态，对比单一“憋屈”的用法，构式明显程度更强且带有强烈的情感宣泄特点，因此这两例可归纳为具有**主观极量义**。

（31）雪是停了冷风仍在，冻得慌！（微博）

（32）“赵先生说了，屋里东西多，显着乱得慌！”（老舍《牛天赐传》）

例（35）和例（36）的主体为**物或客观现象**。例（35）中“冻得慌”是对冷风造成身体感到极度寒冷

的主观感受，体现了“冻”的严重程度，但依旧是说话人对寒冷环境的感知结果；例（36）中“乱得慌”意思是屋内物品杂乱无章，表达了说话人对客观事实的描述，说明这种杂乱程度让他视觉和心理上感到难以忍受。这两个例子同样体现**主观极量义**。

（33）看来想在凤凰找艳遇的男人还真不少。恶心！骚得慌吧！（微博）

（34）说白了就是贱得慌，自己都不尊重自己、不自爱，难怪别人看不起。（微博）

例（33）“骚得慌”是对“想在凤凰找艳遇的男人”这一群体的主观评价，表达了说话人对这种行为的极度不满与鄙视，具有贬低和批评的情感色彩。例（34）的说话人指责其行为低下、缺乏自尊，蕴含其对该行为的不满和对特定人群的道德**评价**，强调了行为的极端性和让人不悦的程度。这里的“骚得慌”和“贱得慌”都表现了说话主体对现实情况的**评价**，表明了情感的极端和不容忍的态度。

综上所述，“X 得慌”的构式义为：表达了对某人或某物或某现象的强烈主观感受，往往蕴含不如意或负面的态度。若进一步细分，“X 得慌”具有主观义、极量义和评价义，但这些语义层面在实际使用中是相互交织、难以明确区分的。因此，对于某个具体的句子，我们很难将其严格归类为单一的语义类别。

4.4 “X 得慌”构式的语用功能

“X 得慌”这一结构在语用中扮演了多重功能，尤其体现在主观评价功能和夸张强调功能上。通过这些功能，表达的情感和评价不仅显得更为鲜明，而且语义焦点也得到了凸显，使得特定的情感或状态在表达中更加突出。

主观评价功能。“X 得慌”常用于表达强烈的主观情感评价，特别是在反映个体情感或身体感受时，这一结构帮助突出情感的强烈程度。例如，在例（35）中，“心疼得慌”并不仅仅是对心疼情感的表述，而是通过“得慌”的夸张，突显了“心疼”的强度和情感的过度程度。这里，“得慌”使得说话人的情感反应成为焦点，增强了情感的表达效果，让听者感受到这种心疼几乎到了难以承受的地步。此时，促使听者与说话者产生情感共鸣，达到互动目的。类似地，例（36）中“饿得慌”强调了“她”饥饿的程度和急迫性，听者似乎身临其境感受到说话者的饥饿程度。

（35）我实在是看你太辛苦了，一天忙到晚，我实在心疼得慌。（张爱玲《半生缘》）

（36）她巴不得酒席可以快点开完，底下人们可以吃中饭，她肚子里实在饿得慌。（林徽因《九十九度中》）

上述两个例句传达的情感偏向较为中性，但“X 得慌”也可以用于传递正面积极情绪。例如，例（37）中的“想得慌”表达了对高台的强烈渴望和冲动。通过“得慌”，语义焦点在“想”上得到了强化，突出了对高台这一目标的强烈吸引力。这里的“想得慌”强调了愿望的极端程度，传达出一种几乎无法自制的冲动，具有明显的积极情感色彩。相对而言，表达负面情绪时，“X 得慌”常常用于增强不满、难受和不如意的程度。例（38）中的“烦得慌”表达了对上班的强烈厌烦，构式强调了上班这一行为带来的极度反感和消极情绪。此时，情感的强度被夸大，使说话人对上班的不满态度显得更加极端。

（37）十米高台太诱人了，让他想得慌！（《人民日报》1982 年 07 月 24 日）

（38）现在最讨厌的事情就是上班，一想到上班就烦得慌。（微博）

夸张强调功能。“X 得慌”也具有夸张和强调的功能，能够通过加重语气来强化某种感受或状态的极端程度。在例（40）中“腻得慌”通过构式，使得对“腻”这一情感反感的表达变得尤为突显。虽然“腻”本身只是对某种行为的反感，但“得慌”使得这一反感的程度显得极为夸张，突出了一种无法忍受的极端感受，让语句的情感色彩更为鲜明。同样，例（40）的“臊得慌”则是夸张了羞愧的心理反应，使得说话人在这一情境中的情感状态显得特别突出。这不仅仅是羞愧，而是强烈的不自信和尴尬感，情感的表达因此变得更加显著，增强了语境的情感冲击力。

（39）撒娇只是甜点，偶尔饭后吃一吃回味无穷，但吃多了，肯定腻得慌。（微博）

（40）想必自己在女人面前特别精神，被老兵看了出来，不服气又臊得慌。

“X 得慌”构式主要具有主观评价和夸张强调功能，极大地强化了情感或状态的表达，并通过“得慌”，使得特定的情感或评价成为语义焦点。

4.5 “X 得慌”构式的认知机制

汉语主观极量表达结构的一种重要建构策略是通过将具象域中的终结义跨域映射到抽象程度域中的极性义。其中目标域是抽象程度域，始源域则是空间位移、生命活动和功能效用等具象域(吉益民, 2017)。功效活动域可进一步分为人的功效活动与物的功效活动，我们检索语料后并未发现有例句涉及物的功能效用，因此便将这一类别简化为心理活动域。下面将此理论用于分析“X”得慌这一主观极量构式的形成机制。

1）从空间位移域到抽象程度域：挤得慌、顶得慌、压得慌、抖得慌、跳得慌，共 5 个，例句如下：

（41）嘴这么硬心头却跳得慌。（龙志毅《政界》）

（42）这让那些坐在金字塔尖的高手们颇感到屁股底下顶得慌。（ZT《理工大风流往事》）

（43）瑞丰的中山装好象有好几十斤重似的，他觉得非常的压得慌。（老舍《四世同堂》）

以上例子中，从空间位移域到抽象程度域的映射清晰可见。“跳得慌”是“跳”这一动作在空间上有明显的位移，而“慌”表示程度上的强烈感受，将“跳”的空间动作所带来的心理上的慌乱、不安等抽象程度的感受表达出来，从具体的身体动作的空间位移映射到了主观的、抽象的心理程度范畴。“顶得慌”中“顶”也是一个具有空间指向性的动作，在这里表示一种压力或抵触的空间状态；“压得慌”中“压”是一个典型的空间作用力的体现，具有明确的空间位移趋势（向下的压力）。这些词都在空间上具有明显的位移特征。而“慌”字则表示了程度上的强烈感受，将这些空间动作所引发的心理上的慌乱、不适、压力等抽象程度的感受充分表达出来，实现了从具体的身体动作的空间位移到主观的、抽象的心理程度范畴的转化。

2）从生命活动域到抽象程度域：饿得慌、累得慌、撑得慌、烧得慌、馋得慌等，共 17 个，请看例句：

（44）他感到很热，想解开领子。他觉得耳朵后面烧得慌。（艾萨克·巴什维斯·辛格《冤家》）

（45）晚上吃了几块萝卜就撑的要命了，现在实在撑得慌，罪过罪过。（微博）

（46）一个出租车司机告诉记者，他每周至少吃一顿靖远羊羔肉，不吃就馋得慌。（《人民日报》1998 年 06 月 28 日）

生命活动域通常与生理过程、身体功能和健康状态相关。“烧得慌”中“烧”作为身体的一种生理活动，与身体发热相关，而“烧得慌”则借助“慌”字将这种生理现象转化为强烈的主观抽象感受，凸显出人物内心的不适。“撑得慌”的“撑”这一因进食过量而身体饱胀的生理反应；“馋得慌”中“馋”则作为食欲引发的生命活动表现。通过将生命活动域的现象与“慌”字结合，成功地实现了向抽象程度域的转化。

3）从心理活动域到抽象程度域：堵得慌、憋得慌、闲得慌、瘆得慌、想得慌等，共 30 个，请看例句：

（47）有些话说出来觉得矫情，不说又憋得慌。（微博）

（48）我跟小堆儿从小在一块儿，参了军他东我西，真想得慌，听说他不是复员了吗？（魏巍《东方》

（49）不想他是说瞎话，想他又让人气得慌。（迟子建《鱼骨》）

心理活动域主要涉及人的心理活动、精神状态等的异化。“憋得慌”中的“憋”作为一种心理活动，体现了人在表达上的自我压抑，在“得慌”的强化下，这种因压抑而产生的精神上的难受与急切之感，转化为一种高度抽象的、强烈的程度感受。这一过便从正常心理状态这一源域，跨域映射到表示极量义的抽象程度域。再如，“想得慌”中“想”是对同伴的思念之情，是正常心理活动的一种体现。但由于分离的情境，这种思念产生了异化，变得更为浓烈，以至于“慌”的程度；“气得慌”同样从一般的心理活动层面提升到了更抽象的、表示抽象程度极深的范畴。

无论是从空间位移域、生命活动域还是心理活动域到抽象程度域的跨域映射，都通过“慌”字这一关键元素，成功地将具体的动作、生理和心理现象转化为强烈的主观抽象程度表达。

5. 结语

本文以 BCC 语料库中 52 个高频“X 得慌”结构为主要研究对象，揭示了现代汉语中“X 得慌”构式的主要特征。主要发现如下：首先，在构式的构件选择上，“X”以单音节词为主，形容词和动词均占有重要地位，其中形容词多为生理或心理感受类，动词则以心理动词和感受动词为主，这反映了构式对情感和感知表达的偏好。其次，语法功能上，“X 得慌”多用作谓语和宾语，也可用作定语和补语，具有灵活的句法功能。语义上，“X 得慌”构式表达了强烈的主观感受，具有主观极量义和评价义，在实际使用中常表现为多重语义层面的交织。此外，从认知机制来看，“X 得慌”通过隐喻式的跨域映射，从空间位移域、生命活动域和心理活动域转化为抽象的程度表达，展现了语言表达的高度概括性和情感强化功能。

本研究不仅丰富了对现代汉语构式的认知理解，也为进一步探讨汉语主观性表达和构式的语用功能提供了重要参考。未来研究可结合更多语料库数据和统计方法，探索不同方言和语域中“X 得慌”的使用差异，进一步揭示汉语构式的动态演变规律和文化意涵。

6 版权

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Constructing City Images through Multimodal Metaphors of Intangible Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of Quanzhou, China

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Abstract. City image construction is a multifaceted and dynamic process intricately linked to collective identity and intangible cultural heritage (ICH). This study investigates how identity-driven multimodal metaphors mediate the contested process of cultural commodification in city image construction, using Quanzhou, China—a historic port city on the Maritime Silk Road—as a case study. Focusing on Quanzhou's Zanhua Wei, a traditional floral headdress recognized as a national intangible cultural heritage in 2008, the research employs multimodal metaphor theory to analyze the interplay of pictorial, spoken, and written data derived from shop fronts, on-the-spot interviews, and social media travelogues. The findings reveal eight distinct multimodal metaphors that collectively shape four divergent city images, reflecting the values, concerns, and priorities of different stakeholders, including shop owners, tourists, government entities, and cultural inheritors.

The methodology integrates conceptual and multimodal metaphor theory to decode how abstract cultural concepts are mapped onto city image construction. Data collection involved 162 photographs of shop fronts, shop slogans and government propaganda signs in culturally significant areas like Xunpu Village and Xijie Street, 188 minutes of interviews with shop owners, cultural inheritors, and tourists, and 100 tourists' posts concerning Zanhua Wei from social media platforms like Weibo and Rednote. Through systematic coding and metaphor extraction, the study identifies metaphors such as "Zanhua Wei as a City Card," "Zanhua Wei as a Path to Prosperity," and "Zanhua Wei as a Theatrical Performance." These metaphors underpin four constructed city images: (1) an attractive city with historical depth (shop owners' perspective), (2) an exotic, heritage-rich destination (tourists' view), (3) a dual-image city balancing internal civic virtues and external city branding (government's role), and (4) a tourist-centric and profit-centric diluted cultural identity (cultural inheritors' critique).

The research examines the tension between commercialization and cultural authenticity surrounding Zanhua Wei, revealing divergent priorities between tourism-driven stakeholders and cultural inheritors concerned about

tradition erosion. It emphasizes the need for balanced strategies where policymakers collaborate with stakeholders to develop guidelines preserving cultural integrity while enabling sustainable tourism. The study further proposes integrating traditional symbols into urban infrastructure, such as educational signage, to strengthen cultural confidence and bridge historical legacy with modern urban development, which offers cities actionable insights for reconciling economic objectives with safeguarding intangible heritage in image-building initiatives.

Keywords: city image, multimodal metaphor, intangible cultural heritage, Zanhua Wei

1 Introduction

Traditional culture serves as the fountainhead of a city's unique allure, endowing it with a profound historical legacy and a distinct cultural identity (Conti,2024; Nursanty,2023). It supplies abundant resources for city branding, drawing tourists and investments, spurring the symbiotic growth of city economy and culture (Chan et al., 2021). In fierce competition, traditional culture enables a city to distinguish itself, showcase its unique cultural temperament and charm, and act as a vital carrier for the heritage and evolution of national culture (Li et al., 2025). As an important port city on the southeastern coast of China and one of the starting points of the Maritime Silk Road, Quanzhou occupies unique geographic location and cultivates rich maritime culture. Among them, Zanhua Wei was listed as a Chinese national intangible cultural heritage in 2008, which not only carries the essence of a thousand years of history and culture, but also is a distinctive embodiment of the images of Quanzhou city.

The production process of Quanzhou Zanhua Wei is very complicated and needs to go through many processes, including cutting, laying, inlaying, coloring and so on. The main materials for making hair-wearing flowers are metal wire, jewelry stone, colored pearls, etc. These materials are cleverly combined to form a variety of flower patterns. The custom of Zanhua Wei began in the Song and Yuan Dynasties and spread in Xunpu Village in Quanzhou, a fishing village in southern Fujian Province, which carries the emotions and memories of the fisherman's family, reflecting the diligence and simplicity of Xunpu, as well as the yearning for a better life. Zanhua Wei is not only a concentrated manifestation of the hard-working wisdom and aesthetic taste of the people in this area, but also injects a unique cultural connotation into the city image.

With the rise of tourism and expanding cultural exchanges, Zanhua Wei has attained prominence both at home and abroad. Many domestic and foreign tourists come here to experience the unique charm of Quanzhou Zanhua Wei and the profoundness of Quanzhou culture. Through the cultural symbol of Zanhua Wei, people can have a better understanding of cultural heritage and experience unique regional flavor of Quanzhou, thus forming a unique perception and impression of the city. However, the image construction of a city is a complex and variable process, in which groups and organizations with different identities have different perceptions of

the city's image (Jiang & Kuang,2023). Although a great number of researchers have noticed the importance and particularity of traditional culture and public cognitions in city image construction and made related studies in diversified fields like sociology, linguistics, communication, and semiotics (Chen,2019), few empirical research has been made from the perspective of multimodal metaphors to investigate city image construction of varying identity groups. To address the inadequacy in the literature, this study intends to investigate how diverse groups and organizations, each with distinct identities, construct Quanzhou's city image through the lens of multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage (i.e., Zanhua Wei). This exploration holds significant implications for guiding the future development of both traditional culture and city image. Specifically, in order to achieve this research purpose, two research questions are proposed: (1) How do identity-driven multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage construct divergent city images of Quanzhou? (2) What types of city images are constructed through identity-driven multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage?

2 Literature Review

2.1 City Image and Culture

In *The Image of the City*, the concept of city image was first proposed by Kevin Lynch (1960), who posited that every city possesses a collective impression, which emerges from the aggregation of numerous individual perceptions or a series of shared public impressions. This perspective underscores the idea that the image of a city is not merely a visual construct, but a multifaceted entity shaped by the comprehensive sensory experiences and emotional responses of its inhabitants. Thus, understanding city imagery as a complex interplay of perceptions, feelings, and meanings that resonate with the people who engage with. Subsequently, scholars have posited that the construction of a city's image is intricately linked to traditional culture and different identity groups or organizations, which helps economic promotion and sustainable development of the city (Radoine,2013; Huang et. al., 2017). Astuti (2018) conducted a phenomenological study on the image of Sundanese culture in Purwakarta, emphasizing the role of local government public relations in shaping the city's cultural image. Additionally, the symbolic use of cultural symbols can contribute to city branding strategies and create a distinct city image for tourist attraction (Conti,2024). Radoine (2013) argued that the resilience of cultural heritage can enhance urban sustainability, particularly in the context of globalizing urbanization. This highlights the importance of integrating cultural resources into contemporary urbanism to promote the preservation and celebration of cultural heritage within cities. The proper construction of a city's cultural theme is pivotal in clarifying the development context of a city, guiding the direction of city construction, shaping a positive city image, enhancing the popularity, core competitiveness and finally

promoting the sustainable development of the city (Li et al., 2021). Huang et al. (2017) discussed the orientation of urban image and the strategy of cultural communication, emphasizing the importance of accurately positioning the city image to attract external resources and promote economic and cultural development. This underscores the significance of constructing a positive and distinctive city image that reflects the unique cultural heritage and characteristics of a city.

2.2 Multimodal Metaphor and City Image Construction

Multimodal metaphors, as a cognitive tool, provide researchers an appropriate approach to investigate how groups and organizations construct diverse city images. Adamus et al. (2019) pointed out that the construction of a city's image constitutes a multifaceted and abstract cognitive process. Furthermore, different groups, each with their unique identities and perceptions, possess different landscape preferences thus constructing divergent images of the same city (Yang et al., 2024). The study by Cao et al. (2018) on the multimodal discourse of Xi'an City Image Promotional Video and Chen (2019) on Guangzhou City Image Promotional Films demonstrated the importance of framing theory in understanding the conceptual connotations and cognitive characteristics of multimodal metaphors and metonymies in city image construction. These studies aimed to create a more favorable communication environment, enhance the aesthetic appeal of promotional discourse, and shaped positive city images through conscious framing strategies. Besides, the synergy between different modes of communication is essential in constructing a coherent and persuasive city image. Genova (2018) analyzed political cartoons and highlighted how the combination of image and text can strengthen the meaning of each mode of communication, leading to a more impactful message.

The aforementioned research underscores the extensive knowledge held by scholars regarding the crucial role of culture and multimodal discourse in the development of city imagery. Simultaneously, there is an increasing acknowledgment among academics that diverse identity groups and organizations are influential factors of city images construction. Nonetheless, there remains a notable scarcity of studies in the literature regarding the investigation of city images constructed by varying identity groups. Therefore, this study is to investigate how varying identity groups construct the city image of Quanzhou through the lens of multimodal metaphors related to intangible cultural heritage (i.e., Zanhua Wei) and elucidate what types of city images are constructed. Concurrently, this paper seeks to offer useful implications for the construction of other city images, with the overarching goal of enhancing the preservation and development of intangible culture within city contexts as well as promoting the sustainable development of city cultural tourism.

3 Theoretical Foundation

3.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explicitly define metaphor as a systematic thinking pattern rooted in experientialism, emphasizing that humans unconsciously express abstract and complex target domains through concrete source domains. This perspective shifted the study of metaphor from a purely linguistic rhetorical device to a cognitive mechanism that structures human thought, leading to the formulation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Unlike traditional rhetorical approaches, CMT highlights the cognitive function of metaphor, focusing on the conceptual mapping between the source domain (a concrete or physical concept) providing familiar experiences and the target domain (an abstract concept) which can be understood through this mapping. The construction of city images is an abstract process which intricately connected to intangible cultural heritage and group identities. This complex interplay can be thoroughly examined through the application of metaphors pertaining to intangible cultural heritage.

Building on CMT, Panther (2006) proposed a metaphoric relation model, as shown in Fig. 1, which elaborates on how metaphor functions as a cognitive mechanism for structuring abstract concepts through iconic relationships. This model emphasizes the systematic mapping between a source domain and a target domain, where the source domain provides an experientially grounded structure that helps individuals comprehend more abstract or unfamiliar concepts. According to Panther (2006), metaphors rely on iconic relations (as shown by solid arrow), meaning that the structural characteristics of the source domain are reflected in the target domain in a recognizable way. This relationship is not purely linguistic but can manifest across multiple modalities, including verbal language, gestures, images, and other semiotic forms.

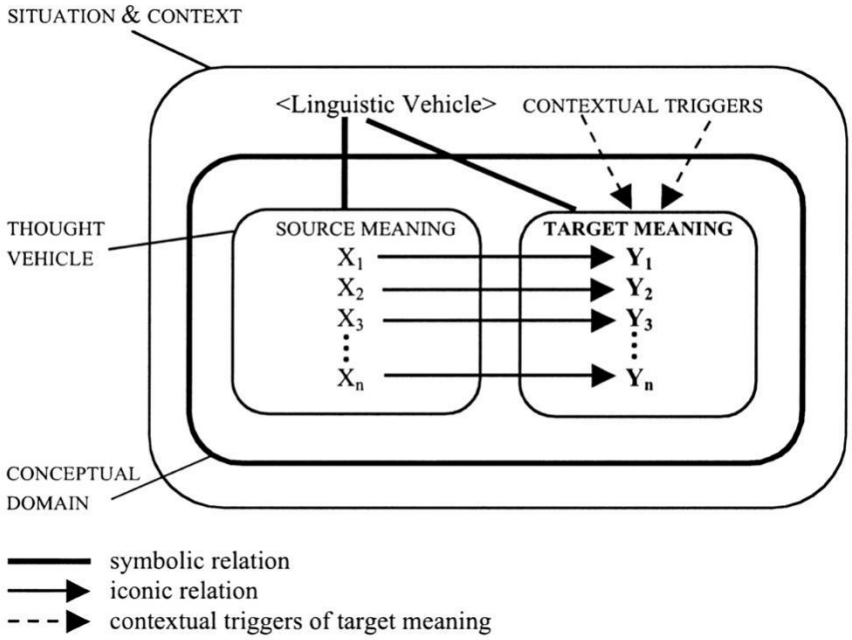


Fig. 1. The basic metaphoric relation (Panther,2006)

3.2 Multimodal Metaphor Theory

The concept of multimodal metaphor emerges from CMT and is first systematically explored in *Multimodal Metaphor* written by Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009). Multimodal metaphors like conceptual metaphors can facilitate understanding one concept through the framework of another, meaning multimodal metaphors can be utilized as a cognitive approach to investigate people's thoughts and values on something else (Popa,2013). The construction of a city's image is the result of multimodal interactions among various factors including online and offline (Chen et al.2024; Acuti,2018), making multimodal metaphors an ideal research method for this study. According to Forceville's (2020) suggested multimodal metaphor classification, the investigation of multimodal metaphor was divided into the following categories: (1) visuals; (2) written language; (3) spoken language; (4) bodily behavior (comprising gestures, postures, facial expressions, and manner of movement); (5) sound; (6) music; (7) olfaction; (8) taste; (9) touch. Albeit the advent of multimodal metaphor has broadened the scope of conceptual metaphor research, the interpretation of metaphorical meaning of multimodal metaphor continues to be grounded in the conceptual metaphor's mapping paradigm. Therefore, in the present study, Forceville's suggested categorization of multimodal metaphors were employed to classify the data and Panther's metaphorical relationship model are adopted for the convenience of multimodal metaphor identification and interpretation.

4 Research Methods

4.1 Data Collection

Table 1 illustrates the inclusion of three multimodal metaphor types in this study: pictorial, spoken, and written signs. Data for each type were collected using different methods from various sources. For data of pictorial signs, it was emanated from two different data sources and 162 photos were collected in total. Piller (2010) proposed that the distribution of landscape is closely related to geographical location. Therefore, some pictorial sign data were collected by randomly photographing shop fronts and slogans related to Zanhua Wei in Xunpu Village and Xijie Street. Xunpu is the birthplace of Zanhua Wei in Quanzhou and Xijie is an ancient street preserved and developed by the local government to attract tourists, resulting that numerous shops offer Zanhua Wei services in these two places. The remaining data of pictorial signs (i.e., government propaganda signs) were also collected by randomly taking photos of some public service signs with Zanhua Wei elements produced by the local government, which are placed on various spots. As for the data of spoken signs, on-the-spot interview was employed. The researcher randomly interviewed shop owners, cultural inheritors, and tourists respectively as these groups have a direct engagement with Zanhua Wei. Each interview lasted six to thirty minutes randomly, with a total of 188 minutes recorded. Although most interview data did not form a typical metaphor (e.g., A is like B), the researcher summarized the discourse and concluded it using a conventional metaphor, asking interviewees if this metaphorical expression accurately represented their views. For the data of written signs, 100 pieces of individual tourists' travelography on Weibo and Rednote platforms about Zanhua Wei in Quanzhou were included. Weibo and Rednote are popular social platform in China, on which people who travelled to Quanzhou and experienced Zanhua Wei can post their comments and feelings.

Table 1. Data Collection

Types of data	Data collection methods	Data source	Total
Pictorial signs	Photo taking	Shop front & shop slogans	82 photos
		Government propaganda signs	80 photos
Spoken signs	On-the-spot interview	Shop owners	68 mins
		Cultural inheritors	56 mins
		Tourists	64 mins
Writing signs	Online comments	Weibo & Rednote	100 pieces

4.2 Data Analysis

After data collection, all the data were processed by three steps. Initially, in the data preprocessing phase, pictorial sign data were meticulously cleaned, and interview recordings were transcribed into text. Duplicate shop fronts and slogans with highly similar meanings were consolidated to retain only one representative instance per distinct meaning. The subsequent metaphor extraction and interpretation phase involved identifying instances where data could be articulated in the canonical metaphorical format (i.e., A is like B), extracting these metaphors, and elucidating their meanings following Panther's framework for metaphorical relationships. Finally, during the city image construction phase, thematic analysis was employed to synthesize the varied city images of Quanzhou as constructed by different groups and organizations through the multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage.

5 Findings

Groups and organizations, due to their distinct identities, conceptualize city images through multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage in diverse ways. This diversity arises from variances in life experiences, cultural backgrounds, social roles, personal interests, and needs, which significantly shape the values, expectations, and concerns held by each entity. These intrinsic factors subsequently influence their perceptions and evaluations of urban environments and images. Following the comprehensive data analysis, a total of eight multimodal metaphors were discerned, with four distinct conceptualizations of city images being formulated by groups and organizations of varying identities.

5.1 Eight Multimodal Metaphors of Zanhua Wei

(1) Zanhua Wei is like a city card.

As shown in Extract 1, in an on-spot interview with a shop owner providing Zanhua Wei services in Xunpu village, she expressed clearly that Zanhua Wei is a city card for her. Not being a native of Quanzhou herself, she came from a distant northern city in China, and she first encountered Zanhua Wei cultural phenomenon over ten years ago when pursuing her university study in Quanzhou. Her educational institution is located near Xunpu village, where she frequently observed women wearing Zanhua Wei. Initially, she harbored a sense of curiosity about this cultural norm, but her comprehension remained rather superficial. A significant turning point occurred in 2023 when a popular actress visited Xunpu Village to experience the Zanhua Wei culture firsthand. The subsequent publicity generated by her visit propelled Quanzhou's Zanhua Wei tradition into the national and international spotlight, attracting a substantial number of tourists and elevating the city's recognition. Consequently, when the shop owner now mentions Quanzhou to her friends back home, they

immediately associate the city with its unique Zanhua Wei culture.

Extract 1

Shop owner: 我觉得对我来说簪花就是泉州的一张城市名片。以前我在泉州读大学的时候，大概 10 年前了，我在老家的朋友问我在哪读书，我一说泉州，她们都不知道。现在我再跟她们说泉州，他们一下子就知道了，就说那的簪花很有名啊。[I think for me Zanhua Wei is a city card of Quanzhou. When I was studying at a university in Quanzhou about ten years ago, my friends in my hometown asked me where I studied. They didn't know the city at all when I replied that it was Quanzhou. Now when I tell them about Quanzhou again, they know it at once and say that Zanhua Wei there are very famous.]

Additionally, apart from shop owners, some government-affiliated organizations also regard Zanhua Wei as a city card of Quanzhou. Fig. 2 and 3 display two propaganda signs on lampposts hanging along a main street from the most famous central commercial district to Xunpu Village. If you are visiting Quanzhou and want to see the most prosperous shopping mall or go to Xunpu Village, this road is essential. Along this route, there is a lamppost with such a propaganda sign approximately every fifty meters. Below Fig. 2 is a simplified image of Zanhua Wei with Chinese text reading "中共丰泽区委宣传部（宣）" meaning that this sign was made by Fengze District Party Committee Propaganda Department. Above the sign it says: "这 YOUNG 的丰泽，这样的 SUMMER "suggesting that Fengze District, where Xunpu Village is located, is a vibrant place that can offer an unforgettable summer for potential readers. Although the bottom pattern of Fig. 3 differs from that of Fig. 2, it still immediately draws the attention of passersby to the Zanhua Wei's element. However, unlike Fig. 2, the slogan in Fig. 3 includes an English translation: "YOUNG FENGZE, SUMMER in FENGZE," representing an invitation to attract tourists to spend their summer in Fengze. Generating personalized business cards is extremely crucial for delivering communication to the target audience and forming invitation to consumption in densely populated and touristic destinations (Antunes et al, 2022). The invitation function of the city card is similar to that of a personal business card, aiming to make readers remember the "city" on the card and hoping that they would visit the "city".





Fig. 2. A City Card on a Lamppost **Fig. 3.** Another City Card on a Lamppost

According to data from the Quanzhou Municipal People's Government, the city's tourism revenue in 2023 reached 100.24 billion yuan, marking a 68.9% increase compared to the previous year. Additionally, tourist arrivals surged by 53.9%, totaling 86.53 million visitors (Source: https://www.quanzhou.gov.cn/zfb/zjqz/shsy/index_809.htm). This remarkable growth has led to a rapid proliferation of businesses offering Zanhua Wei services, both in Xunpu village and along Xijie Street. These two cases illustrate how traditional culture, as a unique city card, can play a pivotal role in effectively shaping the image and identity of a city. Furthermore, the influence of celebrity endorsement underscores its efficacy in enhancing a city's visibility and appeal.

(2) Zanhua Wei is a path to prosperity.

Another proprietor of a shop providing Zanhua Wei service in Xunpu village expressed that Zanhua Wei is a path to prosperity. Having grown up in this fishing village, she recounted a stark contrast between the past and present. Previously, despite its proximity to the central business district of Quanzhou City, the village attracted minimal tourist footfall, rendering opportunities to capitalize on Zanhua Wei services virtually nonexistent. Consequently, infrastructural developments in this village lagged behind, with narrow thoroughfares and subpar communal amenities characterizing the local landscape.

Fortunately, the prevalence of Zanhua Wei culture both at home and abroad has catalyzed substantial transformation within Xunpu Village. The surge in tourist arrivals, fueled by heightened interest in the traditional art form, has stimulated infrastructural enhancements. Roads have been widened and meticulously maintained, contributing to an overall cleaner and more inviting environment. Of paramount significance, however, is the economic revitalization experienced by the villagers. The influx of visitors has created a fertile ground for entrepreneurial ventures, enabling residents to establish businesses centered around providing Zanhua Wei related services. This newfound commercial activity not only bolsters individual incomes but also fosters community development and sustainability.

> **Extract 2**
>
> Shop owner:我们蟳埔村这些路啊都修得更宽更好了，也更干净了一些。以前要窄得多，也没有那么多垃圾桶。像我们村现在靠这个簪花店也可以赚钱了……[The roads in our Xunpu Village have really improved. they are wider, better maintained and much cleaner now. Before, they were a lot narrower and there weren't as many trash bins around. And now, people in our village can run shops providing Zanhua Wei services to make money .....]

(3) Zanhua Wei is like an encounter with Quanzhou's traditional historic culture that transcends time and space.

Based on interviews with tourists at the site and numerous tourist' comments from the Rednote and Weibo

platforms, it is evident that the experience of Zanhua Wei is an encounter with Quanzhou's traditional historic culture that transcends time and space. Extract 3 and 4 are comments from two tourists on Weibo and Rednote platforms respectively, both of whom experienced Zanhua Wei in Quanzhou. From their comments, the "Zanhua Wei" as a source domain (bodily decoration act) is projected onto the target domain (cultural comprehension process), which activates the cognitive basis of the "encounter" metaphor. Tourists, by engaging in the embodied practice of wearing Zanhua Wei, embed themselves into Quanzhou's historical and cultural context, forming an "quasi-intersubjectivity" interaction: wearing Zanhua Wei is not merely decorative but also serves as a mediating symbol connecting modern individuals with traditional culture. This process mirrors the characteristics of "mutual gazing and identity probing" in an encounter. Additionally, during on-the-spot interviews, some tourists explicitly stated that they had planned to experience the intangible cultural heritage of Zanhua Wei in Quanzhou when selecting their travel destinations. For them, experiencing Zanhua Wei tradition enriches their travel with a sense of exoticism, localness and hereness. Aiello & Dickinson (2014) reveled how the redesigned stores both visualize and materialize an ethos of locality by deploying major meaning potentials of materiality and community, which also highlighted meaning potentials such as hereness, heritage, and local practices of this community. This is echoed by the views of numerous scholars indicating that tourists place significant value on the traditional cultural heritage of their travel destinations, seeking a localized and historically enriched encounter (Arumugam,2023; Bitušíková,2021).

Extract 3

Anonymous tourist on Weibo: 在福建泉州参与海外博主世遗泉州行活动，来到了蟳埔村体验簪花。穿梭在泉州的历史遗迹之间，深刻感受到了泉州传统文化的魅力。[Participating in the World Heritage Tour in Quanzhou, Fujian Province, overseas bloggers came to Xunpu Village to experience Zanhua Wei. Shuttling between the historical relics of Quanzhou, I deeply felt the charm of Quanzhou's traditional culture.]

Extract 4

Anonymous tourist on Rednote: 今年的清明小长假，总要来一趟闽南泉州。簪满头锦绣花，做半日蟳埔女。感受向海而生的生命力，永远为传统文化而着迷。[During Qingming holidays this year, I came to Quanzhou in southern Fujian. Hairpin full of brocaded embroidered flowers, I were a Xunpu lady for half a day. I felt the vitality of the sea and I would be fascinated by traditional culture forever.]

(4) Zanhua Wei is a thread or a net.

According to a younger inheritor of Zanhua Wei in Extract 5, Zanhua Wei serves as both a thread and a net that bridges generational gaps by providing a shared topic of conversation between the elderly and the youth. During major festivals or significant celebrations, female members of the family adorn themselves with

magnificent flowers, symbolizing the importance of these events. In everyday life, elder family members impart their knowledge of Zanhua Wei craftsmanship to younger women, while friends exchange insights on color combinations and aesthetic preferences related to Zanhua Wei. Thus, the practice of Zanhua Wei acts as a thread that shortens the distance between different generations and as a net that strengthens social bonds among friends. This is particularly valuable in an era where virtual social interactions via the internet are prevalent, often leading to neglect or even a lack of face-to-face socialization with elders and friends. While online social networking may not necessarily foster closer relationships, it can sometimes dilute them; the tradition of Zanhua Wei, however, helps to counteract this effect by cultivating a harmonious and friendly living environment.

Extract 5

A cultural inheritor (A young lady from Xunpu Village):我觉得簪花就像一条线或者一张网，它让大家有了一个共同的话题，拉近了大家之间的关系，不管是上一辈还是下一辈，或者说是同辈。[I think Zanhua Wei is like a thread or a net because it gives us all a common topic to chat about and brings us closer together, whether we're from the older or younger generation, or from the same generation.]

(5) Traditionally, Zanhua Wei is a metaphorical embodiment of aspirations for happiness, auspiciousness, and filial piety.

In an interview with a local elderly lady from Xunpu Village, who is also a custodian of the intangible cultural heritage of Zanhua Wei, she indicated that she wasn't quite sure why they wore Zanhua Wei, only remembering that her mother used to wear them when she was young. In her view, wearing Zanhua Wei involves combing the long hair up high, which facilitates their work by the seaside. Moreover, in this fishing village, men would go out to sea for fishing trips lasting more than ten days. Women would wear Zanhua Wei to express their good wish for life and to pray for safety and happiness. Wearing Zanhua Wei is part of daily life, and the everyday style of Zanhua Wei is actually very simple and elegant, but during specific solemn occasions, such as weddings, the complexity and intricacy of Zanhua Wei's style increase to signify importance and celebration. However, if there is a significant mourning event in the village, such as the death of a close relative, then the women of the family must refrain from wearing Zanhua Wei for the following three years as a sign of mourning and filial piety.

Extract 6

A cultural inheritor (An elderly lady from Xunpu Village): 簪花就是老祖宗传下来的。我很小的时候，我妈妈就簪花，然后我长大一点了，她就教我簪花。主要是我们村里面的妇女都去海边敲海蛎，把头发盘起来方便一点。同时也代表想把日子过得红火，期盼出海打渔的男人们平安归来。[Zanhua Wei is just a custom that's been passed down from ancestors. When I

was very young, my mother used to wear Zanhua Wei, and then when I got a little older, she taught me how to wear it. The main reason was that all the women in our village went to the seaside to collect oysters, so it was convenient to do the work by putting the hair up. At the same time, it also represents that they wanted to make a good living and looked forward to the safe return of the men who went out to sea to fish.]

(6) Nowadays, Zanhua Wei is a theatrical performance.

When talked about the popularity of Zanhua Wei culture, another elder lady from Xunpu Village expressed that she sometimes dislikes the styles of Zanhua Wei worn by tourists from other regions, as they differ significantly from the traditional Zanhua Wei. She stated that traditional Zanhua Wei is simple and pragmatic adornments, but now the tourists' styles seem like a theatrical performance, giving an odd impression.

Extract 7

A cultural inheritor (An elderly lady from Xunpu Village): 我不知道要怎么去形容这些游客的簪花造型，这跟我们当地人非常不一样，就感觉她们像是唱戏的…… 怪怪的……[I don't know how to describe the Zanhua Wei styling of these tourists, it's very different from us locals, it just feels like they're singing in an opera ..... Weird .....]

This observation indicates that with the influx of tourists, Zanhua Wei culture has become a commercialized product, diverging from its traditional roots. In an interview with a shop owner providing Zanhua Wei services, the proprietor explicitly mentioned that she is not a custodian of Zanhua Wei culture. Although she acknowledges that the current styles may not be favored by the traditional villagers of Xunpu, they still cater to tourists' aesthetic preferences to attract customers. For instance, during the actual process of providing Zanhua Wei services, they also offer services such as wearing black flowers based on customer requests and some more popular costume design. However, black flowers are considered an ominous symbol by the local elders, and the revealing outfits worn when the tourists are wearing Zanhua Wei are also displeasing to them, as they believe it violates the spirit of modesty upheld by women of Xunpu.

(7) Zanhua Wei is a city cultural mascot.

For some organizations affiliated with the government, Zanhua Wei is a city mascot with educational function. They erect streetlights on roads with heavy foot and vehicular traffic, placing conspicuous educational public service signs at prominent positions on the lampposts (as shown in Fig. 4). If you drive or walk down these streets, it's hard to miss these signs. In Fig. 4, on the left side the Chinese text is writing: "文明城市家家幸福，交通法规人人遵守" aiming to educate drivers that living in a civilized city and having a happy family requires adherence to traffic laws. This message emphasizes the significance of reducing traffic conflicts and avoiding accident-related losses to enhance overall well-being. If these signs only featured text, they would appear cold and stern, akin to a command. However, adding Zanhua Wei element as a city cultural mascot to the sign not

only make it easier to align with and be accepted by readers but also subtly cultivates cultural confidence among them. Moreover, the slogans on such educational government signs vary according to location. Among them, propaganda signs that regard Zanhua Wei as the city cultural mascot are most commonly found at bus stops and under road signs. This is because bus stops experience a large daily flow of people, while road signs are positioned at every street intersection existing in vast numbers, both of which significantly enhance the educational impact of these signs. Fig. 5 shows a street sign near a middle school, featuring an image of a little girl wearing Zanhua Wei sleeping on the moon, accompanied by the text "科学饮食，规律作息" meaning "Healthy diet, regular routine" in English to educate children on developing good habits. Fig 6 shows a propaganda sign at a bus stop on a business street, featuring prominent Chinese text: "以道德立身，以诚信兴业，做文明公民". This aims to advocate for adhering to noble moral standards in daily life, maintaining principles of honesty in commercial activities, and exhibiting good public behavior and responsibility as a member of society. Such efforts not only contribute to building a more harmonious and orderly social environment but also promote the healthy development of the economy and comprehensive progress of society. Another notable phenomenon is the widespread presence of educational propaganda signs, prominently featuring mascots of wearing Zanhua Wei, at construction sites throughout Quanzhou. To prevent non-construction personnel from entering, fences or walls are usually erected around these sites, which also feature Zanhua Wei mascots and uplifting messages. As shown in Fig. 7, part of a construction site fence displays a little girl wearing Zanhua Wei reading a book on the left, with the Chinese text on the right stating "立报国之志，增建国之才，践爱国之行", educating people to foster patriotism, improve self-capabilities, and contribute to the nation.



Fig. 4. A Propaganda Sign on a Lamppost



Fig. 5. A Propaganda Sign under a Road Sign





Fig. 6. A Propaganda Sign at a Bus Stop

Fig. 7. A Propaganda Sign at a Construction Site

From these cases, it is evident that regardless of the target readers' identities, these signs aim to provide a warm and easily acceptable educational approach, encouraging the cultivation of and traditional Chinese virtues as well as scientific and positive lifestyles.

(8) Zanhua Wei represents being beauty.

Finally, whether it is government-affiliated organizations, shops owners, or tourists, they all conceptualize the Chinese intangible cultural heritage (i.e., Zanhua Wei) into the aspiration of being beauty. Fig. 8 and 9 are from the exterior wall of a shop providing Zanhua Wei services and a construction site fence, respectively. In both images, there is a striking slogan: "今世簪花，来世漂亮" meaning "experience Zanhua Wei in this life and you'll be pretty in the afterlife", accompanied by a female figure wearing Zanhua Wei. These organizations and shop owners strategically utilize these visual metaphors to attract tourists by appealing to their psychological inclination towards beauty. Furthermore, under the guidance of these organizations and shop owners, tourists also embrace the metaphor that wearing Zanhua Wei is being beauty. Comments such as "experience Zhahua Wei in this life and I'll also be pretty in the afterlife" frequently appear in tourist journals shared on platforms like Weibo and Rednote.





Fig. 8. A Picture on the Exterior Wall of a Shop

Fig. 9. A Picture on the Exterior Wall of a Shop

5.2 Diverse City Images Construction

Through the multimodal metaphor analysis of Quanzhou's intangible cultural heritage, Zanhua Wei, it is evident that different organizations and groups construct various city images due to their differing focuses, values, and recognitions. In this study, four distinct city images have been summarized and will be elaborated in detail.

(1) Shop owners who provide Zanhua Wei services construct an attractive city image with profound historical heritage.

Shop owners regard Zanhua Wei as both a city card and a path to prosperity, indicating that this intangible cultural tradition serves as a tourism resource that drives economic income. To better attract tourists, their shop decorations and slogans imply that experiencing Zanhua Wei will transform a visitor into a beautiful lady, which aligns with the consumer psychology. Consequently, shop owners strive to construct an attractive city image through visual and written metaphors with profound historical heritage, aiming to capitalize on and commercialize traditional culture for optimal economic benefits and prosperity.

(2) Tourists construct an exotic city image also with profound historical heritage.

In the eyes of tourists, Zanhua Wei represents an encounter with Quanzhou traditional historic culture that transcends time and space. The psychological process of travel destination choice is intricate (Qiu et al., 2018), with one crucial factor being the allure of exotic cultures, frequently embodied by a region's traditional customs (Hinlayagan et al., 2023). During travel, people are always eager to seek out the experience of foreign cultures that they do not commonly encounter in their daily lives, thereby creating a sense of locality and a feeling of hereness. Tourists have constructed an exotic city image with profound historical heritage through the multimodal metaphors of Zanhua Wei, influenced by advertisement slogans and the ubiquitous presence of Zanhua Wei elements throughout the city.

(3) Government-affiliated organizations construct two different city images: the external city image and the internal image.

By placing propaganda signs featuring the city cultural mascot of Zanhua Wei in various locations, government-affiliated organizations have established both internal and external city images. Internal city image construction refers to the utilization of intangible cultural heritage (i.e., Zanhua Wei) targeting residents in Quanzhou, while external city image construction primarily targets residents outside Quanzhou. The internal city image is characterized by positivity, patriotism, and dedication, aiming to cultivate citizens to adopt an optimistic mindset, foster a sense of national pride, and adhere to traditional Chinese virtues. The external city image is an attractive city with profound historical heritage, which overlaps with the city image created by shop owners to some extent, due to shared interests, as both government and shop owners are committed to commercializing traditional culture to bring economic benefits to the city. In addition, beyond this, government

organizations also take a leading role, calling on Quanzhou residents to collectively build a civilized, courteous, and hospitable city image to improve the living atmosphere for residents and enhance tourists' experience.

(4) The inheritors of Zanhua Wei culture construct an obsequious city image which is tourist- centered and profit-centered.

The image of the city constructed by the inheritors of Zanhua Wei culture (the elderly ladies in Xunpu Village) is very different. From their point of view, the current Zanhua Wei have deviated from the tradition, which resembles a theatrical performance. The cultural significance of the modern Zanhua Wei is also very different from the traditional one. In the past, it symbolized a yearning for a happy and fulfilling life; thus, elderly ladies in Xunpu Village often adorned their heads with brightly colored flowers. Conversely, contemporary trends now allow for the incorporation of black flowers into hair adornments, aligning with the aesthetic preferences of younger tourists. This shift signifies a departure from traditional cultural meanings, as the commercialization of Zanhua Wei tradition by shop owners and government-affiliated organizations has intensified the distortion of traditional culture. Consequently, the inheritors of Zanhua Wei culture, particularly the elderly women in Xunpu village, feel offended and construct an obsequious, tourist-centered, and profit-centered city image.

6 Conclusion

This study on constructing diverse city images through multimodal metaphors of intangible cultural heritage, exemplified by the case of Zanhua Wei in Quanzhou, has far-reaching and multifaceted significance, which not only reveals the complex dynamics of city image construction of varying identity groups and organizations but also provides valuable insights for policymakers, cultural heritage practitioners, and tourism stakeholders as well as providing references for other cities to manage their urban image.

Cities like Quanzhou can leverage their unique intangible cultural heritage assets to create a distinctive and memorable city image, thereby aligning with tourists' psychological expectations. This paper adopts the perspective of numerous scholars, positing that cities can distinguish themselves within the competitive tourism market by emphasizing the historical depth and exotic allure of local traditions (Gato et al.,2022; Rosario et al.,2023). However, during the process of leverage and propaganda of traditional culture, building a harmonious relationship between cultural inheritors and tourists which is essential for the sustainable development of cultural tourism and the preservation of tradition culture (Hiswara et al.,2023; Wang et al.,2023). For instance, some positive Guidance for tourists is required, which can fundamentally address the issue where traditional culture inadvertently dissipates its intrinsic cultural essence as a result of an overzealous catering to tourist preferences. Moreover, the utilization of excellent traditional culture, such as Zanhua Wei, as a city cultural mascot can foster a warm and inviting educational environment, which contributes to cultivate a

sense of national pride and traditional virtues among citizens, thereby building a harmonious society and cultivating cultural confidence (Kim & Kim,2021).

To recap, by appropriately commercializing intangible cultural heritage, leveraging celebrity influence, balancing the interests of various parties related to traditional culture, and integrating traditional culture into city space judiciously, cities can forge a distinctive, attractive, and exotic image, which fosters a comfortable living environment for all. These strategies not only enhance the tourists' travel experience and living experience for locals but also contribute to the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage for future generations. Finally, this study is inherently qualitative in nature so limited research data is compassed. Future inquiries may benefit from expanding the dataset and employing diverse methodological approaches to further investigate this topic.

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A Functional Analysis on Interpersonal Grammatical Metaphors in Faulkner's *That Evening Sun*

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Abstract: In *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* published in 1985, Halliday first proposed grammatical metaphor, which marked the research scope of metaphor had progressed from the lexical level of traditional rhetoric to the grammatical level, creating a new perspective of systemic functional linguistics.Halliday pointed out that interpersonal grammatical metaphor occurs in the process of interpersonal communication, and stressed more on the interpersonal significance. Mood metaphor and modality metaphor are two categories of interpersonal grammatical metaphor, which reflect the speaker's subjective attitude, identity information, social status and so on. William Faulkner's short story *That Evening Sun* (1931) is a model of modernist short stories, which is one of the masterpieces of William Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha lineage novels, and has been once praised as Faulkner's best short story by critic Owen Hawley. It is short in length, brilliant in content, distinct in role and prominent in dialogue, and very ingenious and excellent in the use of language, in the shaping of characters, and in the foil of the theme. At the same time, the dialogues of the characters in the novel contain a lot of grammatical metaphors with rich interpersonal meanings.This paper analyzes Faulkner's short story *That Evening Su*n from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics, aiming to explore how interpersonal grammatical metaphor is embodied in the novel and the functions it plays. It is found that interpersonal grammatical metaphor is mainly used to shape characters, express attitudes and reveal the theme of the novel. It occurs frequently, and the frequency of mood metaphors is higher than modality metaphors. With regard to speech functions, the function of mood metaphors is mainly used to express euphemism, uncertainty and strong emotion, while the function of modality metaphors is to emphasize subjective opinions and create an objective perspective. This paper focuses on novel corpus analysis by using interpersonal grammatical metaphor theory, which provides a new angel for future studies of novels, translation appreciation, and so on.

Keywords: interpersonal grammatical metaphor; metaphors of modality; metaphors of mood; *That Evening Sun*

1 Introduction

In *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* published in 1985, Halliday first proposed grammatical

metaphor, which marked the research scope of metaphor had progressed from the lexical level of traditional rhetoric to the grammatical level, creating a new perspective of systemic functional linguistics. Different from the previous traditional metaphor research, Halliday's research on grammatical metaphor focuses on different expressions of the same meaning. Halliday pointed out that interpersonal grammatical metaphor occurs in the process of interpersonal communication, and stressed more on the interpersonal significance. Mood metaphor and modality metaphor are two categories of interpersonal grammatical metaphor, which reflect the speaker's subjective attitude, identity information, social status and so on.

William Faulkner's short story *That Evening Sun* (1931) is a model of modernist short stories. It is one of the masterpieces of William Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha lineage novels, and has been once praised as Faulkner's best short story by critic Owen Hawley. It describes the reaction of three children to the adult world that they do not fully understand, and reveals the indifference of white slave owners to the strong fear and death of their black slave. *That Evening Sun* is short in length, brilliant in content, distinct in role and prominent in dialogue, and very ingenious and excellent in the use of language, in the shaping of characters, and in the foil of the theme. At the same time, the dialogues of the characters in the novel contain a lot of grammatical metaphors with rich interpersonal meanings. At present, scholars have done a lot of researches on Faulkner's novels, but few people have studied *That Evening Sun*, especially from the perspective of interpersonal grammatical metaphor. As one of the important works of Faulkner, the research on this novel needs to be enriched and improved.

In recent years, many scholars have used the theory of interpersonal grammatical metaphor in the researches of advertisements, news, politic speeches, and dramas, but few have studied the discourse of characters in literary novels. Taking interpersonal grammatical metaphor theory as the theoretical framework, this paper analyzes Faulkner's masterpiece of modernist short stories, *That Evening Sun*, aiming at exploring how interpersonal grammatical metaphor is embodied in the novel and the role it plays. It is hoped that the study of *That Evening Sun* can excavate more literary value of Faulkner's works and enrich the study of Faulkner's works. It is also hoped that this paper can provide a new angle for the study of novels and other literary works.

2 Interpersonal grammatical metaphor

Language has three meta functions in systemic functional linguistics. Interpersonal function is mainly to use language to communicate with other people. Besides playing the most basic role of expressing opinions, it is also used to maintain interpersonal and social relations. "Systemic functional linguists believe that interpersonal function includes mood and modality, and interpersonal grammatical metaphor is closely related to interpersonal function. Therefore, interpersonal grammatical metaphor is realized by mood system and

modality system, which are metaphor of modality and metaphor of mood respectively" (Hu Zhuanglin and Zhu Yongsheng and Zhang Delu and Li Zhanzi, 2008: 298). Among them, nouns, adverbs, adjectives and other forms can all reflect modality, and the conversion of multiple speech acts can achieve mood.

2.1 Metaphors of mood

"Metaphor of mood is related to speech acts. It realizes the semantic function of a text through the inconsistency between mood and speech function" (Zhou Hui and Liu Yongbing, 2017: 484-497; 583-584). Halliday proposed that four primary speech functions: OFFER, COMMAND, STATEMENT and QUESTION. The type of mood can be divided into imperative, declarative and interrogative. In the congruent form, the type of mood is consistent with the speech function, the command function is reflected by the imperative mood, the statement function is reflected by the declarative mood, and the question function is reflected by the interrogative mood.

However, due to the influence of context and other factors in actual communication, in order to make communication smooth, communicators often choose metaphor to realize the speech function. One speech function can be reflected by other inconsistent moods. For example, when we can use the imperative mood to express the command function, in order to make the command more easily accepted, there are some examples:

1. Take them away, please. (Imperative Mood)
2. You ought to take them away. (Declarative Mood)
3. Can you take them away? (Interrogative Mood)

The above examples all express the same speech function, which is imperative function. However, only example 1 is consistent, and its mood and speech function correspond, while examples 2 and 3 are metaphorical, and the mood and speech function do not correspond.

From this analysis, it can be seen that "one speech function can be realized by different moods, and the same mood can also play different speech functions. We call this linguistic phenomenon as metaphor of mood, that is, the transfer of one mood domain to another mood" (Fan Wenfang, 2000: 29-34). In fact, metaphor of mood often appears in our life.

2.2 Metaphors of modality

Halliday (1985) pointed out that modality is the transition level between affirmation and negation. Modality can be divided into two parts: idealization and modality. Among them, frequency and probability together constitute modality, and will and obligation together constitute idealization. The meaning of modality can be expressed by the extension of predicate, modal adjunct and modal verb. Halliday (1985) thinks that metaphor of modality is to express modal meaning in the form of clause, which raises the modal meaning from

the lexical level to the clause level and expands the scope of modality. In other words, modal form and modal meaning are not fixed one-to-one correspondence. When different forms of lexical grammar reflect one same modal meaning, and when the relationship between form and meaning is inconsistent, modal metaphor appears. For example:

1. He may know. (Congruent Form)

2. I think he knows. (Metaphorical Form)

Example 2 is the modality metaphor form of example 1. The modal meaning of the sentence has changed from the original modal verb "may" to the projection sentence "I think". The orientation of modality meaning can be divided into subjective orientation and objective orientation. The types of modality meaning can be divided into explicit and implicit. Halliday combines the orientations and types of modality to form four situations: explicit subjective orientation, explicit objective orientation, implicit subjective orientation and implicit objective orientation.

According to the above table "Halliday's modality orientation and modality type table", implicit subjective orientation and implicit objective orientation are expressed by modal verbs and modal adverbs, and explicit subjective orientation and explicit objective orientation are expressed by clauses. Therefore, the two explicit orientation forms expressed by clauses are called metaphor of modality. Metaphor of modality expresses modality by projecting clauses, for example:

3. Jenny is probably thirsty. (Implicit Objective Orientation)

4. Jenny must be thirsty. (Implicit Subjective Orientation)

5. I think Jenny is thirsty. (Explicit Subjective Orientation)

6. It is likely that Jenny is thirsty. (Explicit Objective Orientation)

Examples 3 and 4 use modal verbs to express modal meaning, and examples 5 and 6 use projecting clauses to express modal meaning. They all want to express the same modal meaning, but in different forms. Examples 3 and 4 changed the original modal clauses "Jenny is probably thirsty" and "Jenny must be thirsty" into the modal clauses "Jenny is thirsty" in examples 5 and 6. "Jenny is thirsty" plays a dominant role in semantics, "I think" and "it is likely" only express modal components, and do not play a dominant role in semantics.

In the explicit subjective form of modality, the cognitive psychological processes such as I think, I reckon and I believe are mainly used to reflect the meaning of modality, reflect the subjectivity of people, express the judgment or views of the speaker, and make them bear the responsibility of discourse. In the explicit objective form of modality, the use of relational process clauses such as it is likely, it is certain, it is probable, etc., makes the proposition elaborated by the speaker have the characteristics of "impersonation", hides the speaker's modality, makes the content expressed appear more objective, and makes the receiver passively accept it, which is difficult to question.

Interpersonal grammatical metaphor mainly includes mood metaphor and modality metaphor. Through the above discussion of interpersonal grammatical metaphor, it can be found that mood metaphor reflects the complex relationship between speech function and mood system. One mood may reflect more than one speech function, and one speech function can also be reflected by different moods. The study of mood metaphor can help us understand the turn-taking in conversation and the semantic coherence between discourses. In the study of modality metaphor, modality meaning reflects the speaker's perspective on a proposition or proposal. In order to achieve a special purpose or effect, the speaker sometimes deliberately uses the explicit subjective metaphorical form of modality to emphasize the uncertainty of his own views or judgments. Sometimes the speaker will also adopt a clear and objective modality orientation to make his own judgment or assertion objective to hide the true source of modality. The semantic multiplicity of interpersonal grammatical metaphor in expressing interpersonal meaning reflects the inherent flexibility and multi-functionality of language.

3 An analysis of interpersonal grammatical metaphors in That Evening Sun

Interpersonal grammatical metaphor is mainly composed of modality metaphor and mood metaphor. From the perspective of systemic functional linguistics, this chapter analyzes and examines interpersonal grammatical metaphors in *That Evening Sun* from three aspects: the distribution & frequency of mood metaphors and modality metaphors; the embodiment of mood metaphors and modality metaphors; the functions of mood metaphors and modality metaphors.

3.1 The distribution & frequency of interpersonal grammatical metaphors in *That Evening Sun*

There are many interpersonal grammatical metaphors in the dialogues between different characters in *That Evening Sun*, and their frequency is different. Because of the different characters and contexts, the types of interpersonal grammatical metaphors chosen by roles are also different.

Table 1. Metaphor frequency of interpersonal grammatical metaphors

Modality metaphor	Mood metaphor	Total
39	40	79

In *That Evening Sun,* there are 79 clauses using interpersonal grammatical metaphor, among which 40 are mood metaphors, and 39 are modality metaphors. And the frequency of the use of mood metaphors is slightly higher than that of modality metaphors.

Table 2. The distribution of modal grammatical metaphor

	Explicit subjective	Explicit objective	Total
Number	39	0	39

Frequency	49.37%	0%	49.37%

Modality metaphors are expressed by explicit subjective and explicit objective clauses. However, in this novel, only explicit subjective metaphors appear. The number of explicit subjective metaphors is 39, accounting for 49.37% of the total.

Table 3. The distribution of mood grammatical metaphor

Metaphorical use of mood types	Declarative mood	Imperative mood	Interrogative mood	Total
Number	15	3	22	40
Frequency	18.99%	3.80%	27.85%	50.63%

Mood metaphor involves the transition from one mood domain to another. Table 3 shows that the characters in *That Evening Sun* use interrogative mood metaphors, accounting for 27.85% of the total grammatical metaphors; declarative mood metaphor takes the second place, accounting for 18.99%; and the less-used imperative mood metaphor accounts for 3.80%.

3.2 Metaphors of modality in *That Evening Sun*

Modality metaphors include explicit subjective metaphors and explicit objective metaphors. The meaning of modality can be expressed by the extension of predicates, modal adjuncts, modal verbs and even clause. In the study of modality metaphor, modal meaning reflects the speaker's perspective on a proposition or proposal. In order to achieve a special purpose or effect, the speaker sometimes uses explicit subjective metaphor to emphasize his own views or judgments. Speaker sometimes also uses explicit objective metaphors to make their judgments or assertions objective to hide the true source of modality. In addition, novels also use modality metaphors to achieve diverse expressions, which not only avoids the monotony and dullness of language forms, but also better serves the characterization, plot promotion and theme.

In *That Evening Sun*, there are 39 examples of explicit subjective metaphor, and no examples of explicit objective metaphor. Faulkner generally highlights the subjectivity of evaluation by using explicit subjective orientation, so as to emphasize the views of the characters and urge characters themselves to bear corresponding modal responsibilities, for example:

(1) "I bet you're drunk," Jason said. "Father says you're drunk. Are you drunk, Nancy?" (William, 1995: 99).

"The explicit subjective orientation highlights the modal responsibility of the speaker, and makes the speaker bear clear responsibility for the judgment or evaluation made" (Miao Xingwei, 2004: 5-11). In example (1), this explicit subjective metaphor is reflected by "I bet". In this sentence, Jason came to ask Nancy, the black maid, to prepare breakfast, but Nancy ignored the children's words and planned to go back to bed. At this time, Jason arbitrarily determined that Nancy must have drunk without any evidence. This sentence presents the

image of black people who likes drinking too much and is lazy in the eyes of white people all the time, and the contempt of Jason, who was only 5 years old at that time. He has noticed the society's discriminatory and unfriendly attitude towards black people. Through this explicit subjective metaphor, the author can better explain the relationship between the characters and lay a foreshadow for the development of the following story.

(2) "He quit me," Nancy said. "Done gone to Memphis, I reckon. Dodging them city police for a while, I reckon." (William, 1995: 100).

In example (2), this explicit subjective metaphor is realized by "I reckon". This sentence shows that Nancy's conjecture about where her husband Jesus might go and the reason why he left. However, the previous content has told us that Nancy has learned the news of her husband's return at this time. In addition, Nancy was pregnant with a white child, so her husband threatened to kill her. Nancy's fear of her husband's revenge shows the black women's passive situation and helplessness, fear and uneasy heart under the male oppression and racial discrimination, and implies her husband's personality and behaviour. Through the use of metaphor, Faulkner better depicts the characters' psychology and image, highlighting Nancy's attitude and view towards her husband, which enables readers to have a more comprehensive understanding of the characters.

(3) She was speaking to father. You could tell that by the way she said the name. Like she believed that all day father had been trying to think of doing the thing she wouldn't like the most, and that she knew all the time that after a while he would think of it. I stayed quiet, because father and I both knew that mother would want him to make me stay with her if she just thought of it in time. So father didn't look at me. I was the oldest. I was nine and Caddy was seven and Jason was five (William, 1995: 101).

In example (3), this explicit subjective metaphor reflected by "she believed that", "she knew", and "father and I both knew that". Example (3) shows Mrs. Compson' dissatisfaction about Mr. Compson and her three children send Nancy home, who is afraid of being retaliated by her husband, but leaves Mrs. Compson herself at home alone. By using explicit subjective metaphor "she trusted" and "she knew", it shows that Mrs. Compson is angry that Mr. Compson sent Nancy home to flirt with Nancy. On the other hand, she thinks she has been treated lightly. She only pays attention to her own interests and does not care about the safety of others. Mrs. Compson's word shows her indifference and selfishness. Besides, "father and I both knew" describes that although father and I both know what mother wants us to do, father doesn't care. From these two metaphorical clauses, the image of the father and mother in the eyes of the child Quentin is displayed, and the reason for their quarrel is detected. At the same time, the side shows that although they are a family, the relationship is not close and harmonious, and mother's position in the family is also restricted by the father. Not only does it explain the background of the characters in the novel, but also gives a more detailed and profound description of the main characters in the novel by using explicit subjective metaphor.

(4) There was something about Nancy's house; something you could smell besides Nancy and the house. Jason smelled it, even. "I don't want to stay here," he said. "I want to go home." (William, 1995: 104).

(5) "I don't want to go by myself," Jason said. (William, 1995: 104).

(6) "I want to go home," Jason said. "I'm going to tell." (William, 1995: 105).

Example (4) to (6) are all Jason's words. These explicit subjective metaphors are reflected by "I don't want" and "I want", which reflect Jason's self-centered characteristics. Once someone disagree with his wishes, he will go home. He only cares about his emotions and can't see that Nancy is in deep fear. Before, Jason argued that he would come to Nancy's house and promise to keep it secret. Later, he argued that he would go home and report it to their parents. This not only reflects Jason's dishonesty and indifference, but also deepens Nancy's tragic situation. She is in deep fear and intends to seek help from the white people, but is ignored and indifferent by the white people. From this, it presents that, through the use of metaphor, Faulkner can better portray the characters and stress the attitudes and views of the white children towards the black people who are deeply in fear, which enables readers to have a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the characters the theme of the story.

3.3 Metaphors of mood in *That Evening Sun*

Halliday proposed that there were mainly four primary speech functions: OFFER, COMMAND, STATEMENT and QUESTION, and the type of mood can be divided into imperative, declarative and interrogative. In the congruent form, the mood expression is consistent with the speech function: the command function is embodied by the imperative mood, the statement function is embodied by the declarative mood, and the questioning function is embodied by the interrogative mood. In the metaphorical form, one mood may reflect more than one speech function, and one speech function may also be reflected by different moods. The phenomenon of mood metaphor reflects the complex relationship between speech function and mood system. Mood metaphors include declarative mood metaphors, imperative mood metaphors and interrogative mood metaphors. The study of mood metaphor can help us understand the turn-taking in conversation and the semantic coherence between discourses.

3.3.1 Metaphorical use of declarative mood

(7) "I can't hang around white man's kitchen," Jesus said. "But white man can hang around mine. White man can come in my house, but I can't stop him. When white man wants to come in my house, I ain't got no house. I can't stop him, but he can't kick me outen it. He can't do that." (William, 1995: 100).

(8) "Nonsense," father said. "You'll be the first thing I'll see in the kitchen tomorrow morning." (William, 1995: 107).

Example (7) realizes the speech function of question through the declarative mood. It is essentially the expression of Jesus' anger at the unfair treatment he encountered. However, the interrogative mood is weakened through the form of declarative mood. This metaphor reflects the relationship between the black slave and the white employer, and the status and class distance between the speaker and the object being talked about. At that time, there were only black slaves and white children on the scene, and there was no real threat to Jesus. But even so, Jesus chose a more euphemistic metaphor, and did not use the consistent questioning mood to realize the speech function of questions, which is due to Jesus' fear of white status, and it also reflected his bullying personality and the real miserable living conditions of blacks.

In example (8), it realizes the speech function of command through the declarative mood. At this time, Mr. Compson rudely interrupts Nancy's words. He doesn't want to hear her say that Jesus will come to kill her in the evening, and directly ignores the distress signal sent by Nancy to him. Through the statement mood, the command mood was softened, and the attitude was sincere and gentle. He wanted to make Nancy stop talking and stop being afraid. He perfunctorily comforted Nancy that everything was ok. But in the end, his class status made him give up her, and even did not lock the door for Nancy when he finally left. What Mr. Compson said contrasted with his hurried departure and ignoring Nancy's help, showing his indifference, selfishness and white authority. Nancy's hysterical cry for help was not understood and was coldly rejected.

There are many examples of declarative mood metaphors in *That Evening Sun*. Two representative examples are selected here. The analysis shows that the realization of the speech function of questions through declarative mood can play a euphemistic effect, weaken the interrogative mood, and reflect the status relationship between the speaker and the person in question. The speech function of command can be realized through the declarative mood, which can reduce the pressure of dialogue and make the dialogue easier, and also can help enrich the analysis of the character's personality.

3.3.2 Metaphorical use of imperative mood

(9) Nancy was talking loud.

"What are you talking so loud for, Nancy?" Caddy said.

"Who; me?" Nancy said. "Listen at Quentin and Caddy and Jason saying I'm talking loud."

"You talk like there was five of us here," Caddy said. "You talk like father was here too."

"Who; me talking loud, Mr. Jason?" Nancy said.

"Nancy called Jason 'Mister,'" Caddy said.

"Listen how Caddy and Quentin and Jason talk," Nancy said.

"We're not talking loud," Caddy said. "You're the one that's talking like father" (William, 1995: 104).

In example (9), it realizes the speech function of statement through imperative mood. This conversation took place on the path that Nancy was going home, which was the path that Nancy had been worried about

Jesus would appear. At this time, Nancy's voice was very loud, and Caddy was surprised. However, Nancy denies it and never admit it. Here, the statement speech function is realized through the imperative mood. Nancy wants to emphasize that she does not speak very loudly, but three children speak loudly, and guides them to pay attention to and compare the volume of each other. This shows that when Nancy walks on this path, her crazy and surging fear make her unconsciously relieve by talking loudly. At the same time, "listen how caddy and Quentin and Jason talk," Nancy said it seemed as if there was a fifth person present, and she repeated the same words on both sides without directly proving to respond to Caddy's questions, which showed that Nancy's current mental condition was very bad, and she could not feel the real situation of the outside world. In her world, the fear and helplessness were about to overwhelm her.

There is only one example of imperative mood metaphor in *That Evening Sun*. Although the number is little, the analysis shows that the realization of the speech function of statement through imperative mood has the function of emphasizing the point of view. When asking for permission to do something or suggesting to do something, it can close the distance with the listener.

3.3.3 Metaphorical use of interrogative mood

(10) He was the cashier in the bank and a deacon in the Baptist church, and Nancy began to say: "When you going to pay me, white man? When you going to pay me, white man? It's been three times now since you paid me a cent..." (William, 1995: 99).

In example (10), it realizes the speech function of command through interrogative mood. As a black maid, Nancy is absolutely afraid to ask a white man to pay directly in command mood. Moreover, the money she asks for is obtained by selling her body. She can only ask the white man to pay in a more euphemistic, decent and milder way through interrogative mood metaphor. This reflects the difference in identity and social status between the two, and further portrays the character image of Nancy.

(11) "What makes you want to talk like that before these chillen?" Nancy said. "Whyn't you go on to work? You done et. You want Mr. Jason to catch you hanging around his kitchen, talking that way before these chillen?" (William, 1995: 100).

In example (11), it realizes the speech function of command through interrogative mood. At this time, the three children of the Compson family, Nancy and Jesus were all in the kitchen. They talked about Nancy's pregnancy due to having sex with a white man. Jesus compared Nancy's pregnant belly to a watermelon and the white man who made Nancy pregnant to a melon vine. Jesus threatened to cut off the "melon vine" in front of the children. Nancy was shocked and afraid that he would talk nonsense in front of the children, so she threatened him to stop talking that. Through the interrogative mood metaphor, it can prevent Jesus from continuing to speak, divert his attention, emphasize and remind him to pay attention to the content of the speech, and weaken the mood of the command, making it more euphemistic and more acceptable, so as to

achieve the discourse effect that the speaker wants to achieve. Besides, it also shows Nancy's psychological state of shock and panic and her fear of Jesus and their slaves' position in the family relationship.

(12) "What would he do with them, if he were unfortunate enough to have them?" father said. (William, 1995: 101).

In example (12), it realizes the speech function of statement through interrogative mood. On the one hand, Mr. Compson impatiently told his wife that Jesus would not do anything dangerous to the children, and on the other hand, it also foreshadowed the development of the subsequent plot, implying that Nancy's mental state is becoming more and more insane and Jesus may not come back at all. What's more, Mr. Compson's confident tone, which further arouses readers' thinking about the credibility of what Nancy said earlier.

There are also many examples of declarative mood metaphors in *That Evening Sun*. Here, three representative examples are selected. These examples show that the realization of the speech function of command through interrogative mood can reduce the sense of command, make it more mild and more acceptable; improve the possibility of achieving interpersonal goals through questioning; attract the attention of the listener and arouse their thinking. The realization of the speech function of the statement through the interrogative mood can fully show the speaker's confidence in the content of the speech and play the role of emphasizing a certain aspect of things and guiding the listener to think.

3.4 Functions of interpersonal grammatical metaphors

Through the previous analysis of the interpersonal grammatical metaphor in the novel *That Evening Sun*, it is found that the interpersonal grammatical metaphor plays an important role in shaping characters and displaying characters' information. It has generally the following four functions, including reinforcing the speakers' point of view, resonating with readers, improving the possibility of persuasion, and revealing the relationship between characters.

3.4.1 Reinforce the speaker's point of view

The first function of interpersonal grammatical metaphor is to reinforce the speaker's point of view. From the perspective of modality metaphor, let's take a look at example (13) and (14).

(13) "Jason!" mother said. She was speaking to father. You could tell that by the way she said the name. Like she believed that all day father had been trying to think of doing the thing she wouldn't like the most, and that she knew all the time that after a while he would think of it. I stayed quiet, because father and I both knew that mother would want him to make me stay with her if she just thought of it in time. So father didn't look at me. I was the oldest. I was nine and Caddy was seven and Jason was five. (William, 1995: 101).

In example (13), this explicit subjective metaphor reflected by "she believed that" "she knew" "father and

I both knew that", which directly stated their views, subjecting the content of the proposition. For example, "she believed that" "she knew" shows that mother always thinks father intentionally makes her unhappy and takes pains to flirt with Nancy. And "father and I both knew that", on the one hand, reflects the understanding and familiarity of Quentin and father to the real intention of mother's behavior in the discourse, on the other hand, it also shows that the relationship between Quentin, Mr. Compson and Mrs. Compson is not close and harmonious.

(14) "He quit me," Nancy said. "Done gone to Memphis, I reckon. Dodging them city police for a while, I reckon."

"And a good riddance," father said. "I hope he stays there." (William, 1995: 100).

In example (14), "I hope..." not only expresses the strong emotion of Mr. Compson that he hopes Jesus will stay there forever and never come back, and it also expresses Mr. Compson's disgust for Jesus, and also reduces the pressure caused by the use of modal verbs such as "must", so that the receiver can fully decode the speech and understand the speaker's feelings and attitudes.

3.4.2 Resonate with readers

The second function of interpersonal grammatical metaphor is to resonate with readers. Functional linguists believe that in communication, the strong side will shorten the distance from the weak side, i.e. the receiver, by concealing the responsible modality, so as to arouse its resonance. From the perspective of modality metaphor, for example, by changing the original consistent form "you must, you should" into "I hope, I want" and other metaphorical forms, the objective event can be hidden under the personal perspective, which can not only arouse the resonance of the receiver, meanwhile, it also shortens the psychological distance between the speaker and the receiver, so as to achieve the purpose of the speaker, let's take a look at example (15) and (16).

(15) "I know," Nancy said. "He's there, waiting. I know. I done lived with him too long. I know what he is fixing to do fore he know it himself." (William, 1995: 102).

In example (15), this explicit subjective metaphor reflected by "I know". At that time, Dilsey asked Nancy how she knew that Jesus would come today, and doubted Nancy's words. Nancy said three explicit subjective metaphors of "I know" to express her belief that Jesus will definitely appear tonight. She knew Jesus would appear tonight and then retaliated against her. By metaphorically drawing the reader into the context constructed by the speaker, it is easier to make the receiver have emotional resonance and make the reader realize that Nancy is about to breakdown.

(16) "Then what do you want to do?" father said.

"I don't know," Nancy said. "I can't do nothing. Just put it off. And that don't do no good. I reckon it belong to me. I reckon what I going to get ain't no more than mine." (William, 1995: 106).

In example (16), this explicit subjective metaphor reflected by “I don’t know” and “I reckon”. Example (16) is also a description of Nancy’s words. This conversation takes place when Mr. Compson finally comes to pick up the children. Mr. Compson asked Nancy what she plans to do. Nancy was already in despair at that time. Through the use of metaphorical “I don’t know” and “I reckon”, the psychological distance between the two sides of the communication was quickly narrowed to a certain extent, so that the readers could more truly feel Nancy’s despair, perplexity and the despairing peace after finally accepting the fate of death.

3.4.3 Improve the possibility of persuasion

The third function of interpersonal grammatical metaphor is to improve the possibility of persuasion. From the perspective of mood metaphor, in the process of discourse communication, the function of declarative mood is to provide information and state facts. However, declarative mood also expresses commands, reflects politeness and euphemism, reduces conflicts caused by direct commands, and is easily accepted by the other party. Let’s take a look at the following examples.

(17) “Father says for you to come on and get breakfast,” Caddy said. “Father says it’s over a half an hour now, and you’ve got to come this minute.” (William, 1995: 99).

In example (17), it shows the speech function of command. Caddy uses the declarative and euphemism mood rather than the imperative mood, which reduces the conflict and resistance caused by the direct command and improves the possibility of achieving the communicative purpose.

(18) “Jason ain’t afraid to go with me,” Nancy said. “Is you, Jason?” (William, 1995: 103).

In example (18), Nancy is afraid of going home alone and wants the children to accompany her home. But Jason is afraid and unwilling to go. So Nancy gently orders and guides Jason to persuade him to accompany him home. Through questioning, improve interpersonal interaction and better achieve her interpersonal goals.

(19) “Whyn’t you let Mr. Jason telefoam the marshal?” Dilsey said. (William, 1995: 102).

In example (19), Dilsey suggested that Nancy ask Mr. Compson to call Marshall and ask him to help her. Put forward suggestions through questioning mood to make the other party think and finally accept the suggestions.

3.4.4 Reveal the relationship between characters

The fourth function of interpersonal grammatical metaphor is to reveal the relationship between characters. In *That Evening Sun*, each character has its corresponding social status, and there are different degrees of affinity between characters. In terms of writing techniques, the author can also indirectly indicate the relationship between characters and reflect their existing social status through metaphors between different moods. From the perspective of mood metaphor, let’s take a look at the following examples.

(20) “What makes you want to talk like that before these children?” Nancy said. “Whyn’t you go on to work? You done et. You want Mr. Jason to catch you hanging around his kitchen, talking that way before these children?” (William, 1995: 100).

In example (20), it realizes the speech function of command through the metaphor of interrogative mood. Combined with the background of the novel, here is what Jesus tells the children that is not suitable for children. Nancy wants to stop him from going on. Through the metaphorical expression of interrogative mood, the mood of command is weakened, and the purpose is achieved in a more euphemistic way. “What makes you want to talk like that before these chillers?” Instead of “stop talking that!”, it not only shows the nervousness and panic of the Nancy, but also reflects from the side that the social status of black women is lower than black men. Because of the concern about the status, a more euphemistic way is used to express the command.

(21) He was the cashier in the bank and a deacon in the Baptist church, and Nancy began to say: “When you going to pay me, white man? When you going to pay me, white man? It’s been three times now since you paid me a cent...” (William, 1995: 99).

In example (21), it also realizes the speech function of command through the metaphor of interrogative mood. Combined with the background of the novel, it is a white man whom Nancy met on the road when she was arrested, but he failed to pay Nancy the corresponding money for many times. According to the context, the money that the white man didn’t pay Nancy should be the money for sleeping with Nancy. Because of her concern about the white status and the source of money, Nancy did not directly use the command mood, but through the metaphor of interrogative mood, she euphemistically expressed her strong idea that she wanted the white man to pay, which reflected the social status and the relationship between the two.

4 Conclusion

This paper aims to study metaphorical phenomena in *That Evening Sun* by using interpersonal grammatical metaphor theory of systemic functional linguistics. Firstly, this paper combs the current situation of the study of interpersonal grammatical metaphor and Faulkner’s novels, and then analyzes the types, distribution and functions of interpersonal grammatical metaphors in *That Evening Sun*. The research conclusions are as follows:

There are many grammatical metaphors in *That Evening Sun*, and the number of modality metaphors and mood metaphors are similar. In the case of modality metaphor, all the metaphors are subjective explicit metaphors, without objective explicit metaphors; in the examples of mood metaphor, interrogative mood metaphor appears the most, followed by declarative mood metaphor, and finally imperative mood metaphor. Grammatical levels are involved from vocabulary and phrases to sentences and texts. The interpersonal grammatical metaphor in the novel mainly acts on the characterization and theme of the novel. It has many

characteristics such as euphemism and implied polysemy. It plays a role in strengthening the speaker's point of view, arousing the reader's resonance, improving the persuasion possibility and indicating the relationship between the characters.

In the aspect of modality metaphor, the examples reflected in *That Evening Sun* are mainly explicit subjective metaphors. Explicit subjective metaphors are reflected by the means of form conversion, showing the author's flexible language skills, the full mastery of the characters and the careful arrangements of the plots. In terms of its characteristics and functions, the rational use of modality metaphors can emphasize the point of view, arouse the emotional resonance of the speaker, and display the personality of the speaker.

Mood metaphor is mainly used to display interpersonal information in novels. Firstly, through mood metaphor, the language can be made more euphemistic and gentler, which alleviates the oppressive feeling of the original command mood to the addressee and alleviates the conversation atmosphere; secondly, the implied meaning is indirectly expressed through metaphors of various moods, which makes a few words have multiple meanings, thus increasing the richness of speech. The author of the novel uses mood metaphor to express the speech acts of the characters in the novel. On the one hand, it highlights the relevant information of the characters, such as personality, relationship, identity, motivation, etc. On the other hand, it also has the function of explaining the background and promoting the plot. In addition, the construction of interpersonal meaning can also be realized through mood. The combination of speech function and mood can achieve the communicative intention of the characters. Although there are various reasons for people's different choices in the actual communication process, the study of mood metaphor can better help us understand and analyze the views, attitudes, social relations and intimacy of both sides of communication, so that we can better understand speech acts and make more appropriate judgments.

Although this paper takes interpersonal grammatical metaphor as the theoretical basis, there are several shortcomings. First of all, in the analysis of mood metaphor in interpersonal metaphor, different people have different opinions due to the influence of contextual factors, so there will be some errors in the recognition of various categories of modality metaphor and mood metaphor. Secondly, the qualitative data in this paper are all manually sampled by the authors, so it is not excluded that there are omissions and errors. In view of the shortcomings of the research, future researches on interpersonal grammatical metaphor of novel texts can be improved from the following aspects: first, when collecting, classifying and analyzing interpersonal metaphors, the error rate of human recognition can be reduced by combining with corpus and other relevant software, and the teachers and students can actively discuss and exchange opinions, making the results more scientific and accurate; secondly, we should take as many corpus as possible to make up for the lack of comprehensiveness, and at the same time make the characteristics and functions of modality metaphor and mood metaphor more accurate and objective; finally, we can also start with the Chinese version of Faulkner's novels and make a comparative analysis of interpersonal grammatical metaphor with the original, so as to enrich the research in

his field.

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Tendency of Overusing “no” Among Chinese-speaking Learners of Japanese: Insights from the B-JAS Corpus

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Abstract. This study examines the frequent overuse of the particle “no” (の) in noun-modifying constructions by Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese, drawing on data from the Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language (B-JAS). Focusing on cases in which an unnecessary “no” is inserted between adjectives or verbs and the nouns they modify, the research addresses potential cross-linguistic transfer from the Chinese particle “de” (的), whose function partially resembles “no” yet differs in essential ways. Data collection involved face-to-face spoken tasks—such as storytelling (ST), role-play (RP), and dialogue (I)—and descriptive tasks including picture description (D) and story writing (SW). All instances of “no” overuse were extracted and categorized using the Chunagon corpus application, enabling detailed frequency analyses of i-adjective and verb-modifier structures.

The findings indicate that “no” is overused most prominently with certain high-frequency i-adjectives (e.g., 小さい, ない), whereas misuses in verb-modifying contexts, though less numerous, remain significant. Analyses also revealed that cognitive factors—such as the structural complexity of modifying clauses—and learners’ native language background play key roles in shaping these errors. By illuminating how Chinese-speaking learners unconsciously adopt “de”-based habits, this study underscores the nuanced impact of first-language interference on Japanese language proficiency.

From a pedagogical perspective, these results highlight an urgent need for explicit teaching strategies. In particular, instructors should clarify contrasts between “no” and “de,” emphasize when “no” is unnecessary, and guide learners to recognize distinct patterns for adjectives versus verbs. Structured exercises, immediate feedback, and targeted practice can help students internalize more accurate noun-modifying constructions. Furthermore, the documented error trends offer practical insights for curriculum design, teacher training, and instructional materials, ensuring that common pitfalls are addressed directly.

Overall, by pinpointing the most frequent misuse patterns, this research not only contributes to our theoretical understanding of linguistic transfer and cognitive load but also provides actionable recommendations for improving pedagogical approaches in second language acquisition..

Keywords: Japanese as a second language, overuse of “no”, Chinese-speaking learners, corpus linguistics, linguistic transfer

1 Introduction

Reports have frequently noted the overuse of the particle “no” among Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese in noun-modifying constructions (Okuno, 2004; Suzuki, 2022). Concretely, this overuse manifests when learners

insert an unnecessary “no” into expressions where an i-adjective or verb should directly modify a noun—for example, kawaii no neko (“かわいいの猫,” “cute cat”), takai no tatemono (“高いの建物,” “a tall building”), and taberu no basho (“食べるの場所,” “place where [one] eat[s]”). Such misuses are particularly salient among Chinese-speaking learners, and prior research suggests that they stem from cross-linguistic transfer related to the similarities between the Chinese particle “de” (的) and the Japanese particle “no,” despite important differences in actual usage (Zhang, 2011; Suzuki, 2022).

Although both “no” in Japanese and “de” in Chinese function as particles that connect modifiers to nouns, their syntactic behavior differs considerably. For instance, in Chinese, an adjective typically requires “de” to modify a noun, as in kě'ài de māo (可爱的猫, “cute cat”). In contrast, Japanese requires “no” additional particle when an i-adjective or a verb modifies a noun directly. On the other hand, in certain structures—such as na-adjective modifiers or noun-to-noun modification—Japanese does require “no.” Because of these subtle distinctions, it can be particularly challenging for Chinese-speaking learners to master the appropriate use of “no”.

Although previous studies on “no” overuse have primarily relied on methods such as grammaticality judgment tasks (Okuno, 2004; Suzuki, 2022), the actual frequency and detailed patterns of misuse in near-spontaneous speech have not been examined in sufficient depth. While prior studies have yielded important insights, longitudinal and empirical investigations based on authentic learner output—especially among Chinese-speaking learners—remain scarce. As such, a data-driven approach rooted in naturalistic learner language is urgently needed.

To address this gap, the present study analyzes concrete patterns of “no” overuse among Chinese-speaking learners by employing face-to-face oral data from the B-JAS (Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language), a corpus developed by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The primary goal is to clarify the connection between overuse of “no” and the Chinese particle “de.” Through an empirical examination of corpus data, this study aims to provide new insights into how and why such misuse patterns occur among Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese, thereby contributing to a more detailed understanding of learner errors in noun-modifying constructions.

This study therefore aims not only to elucidate the linguistic and cognitive underpinnings of “no” overuse, but also to translate these findings into pedagogically actionable strategies for Japanese language instruction.

2 Relevant Studies

In the field of second language acquisition, numerous studies have focused on the overuse of the particle “no” in noun-modifying constructions by Japanese learners. This section reviews relevant prior research in chronological order, discussing both the findings and unresolved issues.

Okuno (2002) examined the factors leading to the overuse of “no” in noun-modifying structures through a longitudinal study based on oral interviews. According to Okuno, the primary cause of this misuse is the transfer of grammatical features from the learners’ native language, particularly for Chinese speakers, who often mistakenly insert “no” when adjectives or verbs modify nouns. Additionally, Okuno suggested that learners may use “no” as a strategy to explicitly mark the modification relationship when acquiring noun-modifying structures.

In a subsequent study, Okuno (2004) focused more closely on this strategy aspect, noting that learners tend to overuse “no” as a cognitive strategy to reduce processing load. Specifically, when the modifying structure becomes more complex, learners may insert “no” to simplify their mental processing. Okuno argued that

overuse of “no” should be understood in terms of both language transfer and cognitive load, and that both factors contribute to the phenomenon.

Kawazumi (2005) conducted a broad analysis of misuses related to kanji vocabulary among Chinese-speaking Japanese learners. Kawazumi observed that excessive reliance on the ideographic nature of kanji leads to frequent misuse, especially in terms of word class and usage. For instance, Chinese learners often omit “no” when it should be inserted between nouns, or conversely, improperly insert “no” in places where it is not required. Kawazumi positioned this as a phenomenon strongly influenced by native language interference, emphasizing the need for instructional focus on the subtle differences between the Chinese “de” (的) and the Japanese “no.”

Zhang (2011) systematically organized the overuse of “no” by Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese, presenting specific misuse patterns. Zhang noted that while “de” in Chinese and “no” in Japanese are very similar in terms of word order and the modification relationship, Japanese does not require “no” when adjectives or verbs modify nouns, while Chinese always uses “de” in such contexts. As a result, Chinese learners tend to overuse “no” in these situations. Zhang also pointed out that “no” is often omitted in noun-modifying contexts, highlighting the importance of categorizing and systematically addressing these misuses.

Suzuki (2022) experimentally investigated the overuse of “no” by Japanese learners, focusing on the acceptability of “de” in Chinese. Suzuki conducted acceptability judgment tasks with Chinese-speaking learners and demonstrated that the likelihood of using “de” increased with the length of the modifying phrase. This result suggests a close relationship between the length of the modifier and the overuse of “no,” proposing that learners may insert “no” to alleviate cognitive load.

Suzuki (2024) expanded on this by comparing Chinese-speaking, Korean-speaking, and English-speaking learners using the I-JAS (International Japanese Learners Corpus). Suzuki found that both Chinese and English speakers frequently overused “no” in i-adjective modification, while this tendency was less common among Korean speakers. Moreover, Suzuki observed that the overuse of “no” in verb modification was also frequent among English learners, but less so among Chinese learners. This finding suggests that, while native language interference is a factor, universal developmental sequences and cognitive processing issues in second language acquisition may also contribute to the misuse.

Based on the studies reviewed above, it can be concluded that the overuse of “no” in Japanese noun-modifying constructions is not due to a single factor. Instead, it arises from a combination of language transfer, cognitive load reduction, structural complexity of the modifiers, native language characteristics, and learners' second language development stages. However, prior research has often analyzed these issues from individual perspectives, with few studies offering an integrated and comprehensive examination. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by using corpus data to comprehensively investigate the overuse of “no.”

3 Methodology

To investigate the overuse of the particle “no” among Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese, this study employs a data-driven approach using the B-JAS (Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language). The corpus provides a rich collection of natural spoken tasks, making it a valuable resource for exploring learner behavior in real-world linguistic contexts. The focus is on identifying and analyzing overuse patterns in noun-modifying constructions, specifically in structures involving i-adjectives and verbs. This section outlines the data used and the analytical methods applied to extract and examine relevant instances of misuse, offering a detailed view of how learners use the particle “no” in various linguistic contexts.

3.1 Data Used

This study utilizes face-to-face survey data from the B-JAS (Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language), which was developed by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The B-JAS is a longitudinal corpus collected from 17 Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese. The data includes a range of tasks, such as storytelling (ST), role-play (RP), and dialogue (I), as well as newly incorporated descriptive tasks, including picture description (D) and story writing (SW).

Specifically, the data collection tasks include storytelling, where participants narrate stories based on comic strip panels; role-play, in which participants act out situations based on specific scenario settings; semi-structured interviews in the form of free conversation; picture description, where participants describe illustrations; and story writing, where the same comic strips used in storytelling are employed to write out the narrative. All data obtained from these tasks were transcribed, and both the audio (in mp3 format) and text files are publicly available.

For data extraction and analysis, the Chunagon corpus application, developed by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, was used. Chunagon utilizes the UniDic morphological analysis dictionary and offers advanced data search capabilities, allowing for detailed searches based on specific conditions such as part of speech, lexical form, and orthographic shape. For this study, the short-unit search function was specifically used to extract instances of "no" overuse in i-adjective modifier and verb modifier structures.

3.2 Analytical Methods

The analysis procedure for this study is outlined as follows. Initially, the short-unit search function in Chunagon was used to extract instances of "no" overuse in modifier structures. The specific search criteria were as follows:

Forward Co-occurrence:

1) The word immediately preceding "no" must be an i-adjective or verb.
2) Search conditions:
   - [Key] within 1 word
   - [Part of speech] classified as [Adjective] or [Verb]
   - [Orthographic form] matches "no"

Backward Co-occurrence:

1) The word immediately following "no" must be a noun.
2) Search conditions:
   - [Key] within 1 word
   - [Part of speech] classified as [Noun]

The search results obtained through these criteria were downloaded in CSV format and manually inspected. Only instances where "no" was overused were analyzed; cases where the structure was grammatically correct or where the search conditions did not match were excluded from analysis.

The extracted data were further classified into two categories: i-adjective modifier structures and verb modifier structures. For each structure, the frequency of occurrences was statistically analyzed. Representative misuse examples with high frequency were provided, and these examples were used to identify the typical features of misuse patterns.

Additionally, during the analysis, the potential influence of the Chinese particle “de” (的) on the learners' misuse of “no” was examined to better understand language transfer phenomena. The study also considered cognitive factors, such as the structural complexity of modifiers and the length of syllables, to determine whether the presence or absence of “de” in Chinese correlates with the overuse of “no” in Japanese.

Based on this systematic and detailed analytical approach, the study aims to clarify the nature of “no” overuse among Chinese-speaking learners and investigate its connection with language transfer and cognitive processing. This methodology provides new insights into the overuse phenomenon that previous research has yet to fully address.

4 Results and Discussion

This chapter presents an analysis of the overuse of the particle “no” in i-adjective and verb-modifying structures by Chinese-speaking learners, based on data extracted from the B-JAS (Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language). The analysis includes the frequency of occurrence and specific misuse examples, followed by a discussion of the features of these misuse patterns and their connection to language transfer.

4.1 Frequency Analysis of “no” Misuse in i-Adjective Modifier Structures

The frequency of overuse of “no” in i-adjective modifier structures is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of “no” Misuse in i-Adjective + “no” Constructions.

i-Adjective	Frequency
小さい (small)	46
ない (not)	10
多い (many)	8
古い (old)	6
暑い/熱い (hot)	5
新しい (new)	5
いい (good)	5
悪い (bad)	5
忙しい (busy)	4
甘い (sweet)	3
近い (close)	3
楽しい (fun)	3
寒い (cold)	3
やばい (terrible)	3
面白い (interesting)	2
長い (long)	2
優しい (kind)	2
赤い (red)	2

怖い (scary)	2
若い (young)	2
高い (expensive/ high)	2
かわいい (cute)	1
大きい (big)	1
固い (hard)	1
広い (wide)	1
素晴らしい (wonderful)	1
難しい (difficult)	1
寂しい (lonely)	1
おいしい (delicious)	1
軽い (light)	1
厚い (thick)	1
温かい (warm)	1
辛い (harsh)	1
深い (deep)	1

As seen in Table 1, the most frequently overused i-adjective was"小さい" (small) (46 occurrences), which accounts for a significant portion of the total misuse. Other common adjectives include "ない" (not) (10 occurrences), "多い" (many) (8 occurrences), and "古い" (old) (6 occurrences). This result indicates that Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese are particularly prone to overuse "no" when modifying nouns with certain i-adjectives.

The prominence of "小さい" in this data can likely be attributed to its frequent use in everyday language, coupled with the strong influence of the Chinese structure "小的～" (e.g., xiǎo de~), in which the particle "de" is obligatorily used. This habitual use of "de" in Chinese modification structures likely transfers into the learners' Japanese expressions.

The frequent misuse of "ない" is also noteworthy. While "ない" in Japanese functions as a negation auxiliary verb, Chinese-speaking learners often treat it adjectivally, leading to unnatural expressions such as "～のない + noun." This misuse seems to be influenced by the Chinese structure "没有的～" (méiyǒu de~), where "de" is used in a similar modification context.

4.2 Specific Misuse Examples and Their Characteristics in i-Adjective Modifier Structures

The following examples illustrate the overuse of "no" in i-adjective modifier structures:

1) (暑い)（の）感じです
2) (甘い)（の）ものが多いです
3) (小さい)（の）頃
4) (近い)（の）ほうがいいです
5) (楽しい)（の）毎日

6) (長い)（の）シリーズ
7) (新しい)（の）料理
8) (いい)（の）人
9) (悪い)（の）娘
10) (寒い)（の）ほうが好き
11) (怖い)（の）感じがあります
12) (寂しい)（の）時
13) (小さい)（の）子供
14) (おいしい)（の）もの
15) (深い)（の）授業

In these examples, the unnecessary insertion of “no” is evident, particularly in cases where i-adjectives directly modify nouns. In natural Japanese, a native speaker would express these phrases without inserting “no” (e.g., “暑い感じ” for “hot feeling,” “甘いもの” for “sweet things,” “小さい頃” for “when I was small”). However, Chinese-speaking learners often insert “no” due to the influence of the “de” structure in their native language, leading to these errors.

Notably, expressions like “小さい頃” and “近いほうがいい” are commonly used in everyday conversation, yet they frequently feature overuse of “no.” This suggests that learners have a persistent misinterpretation, influenced by their native language, that any adjective modifying a noun must be accompanied by a form of a modifier particle (e.g., “de” in Chinese).

Moreover, frequent errors also occur with seemingly simple expressions, such as “楽しい毎日” (fun daily life) and “新しい料理” (new dish), which should be naturally formed without “no.” These examples indicate that the basic rules for i-adjective modification are not fully internalized by learners.

4.3 Frequency Analysis of “no” Misuse in Verb Modifier Structures

Next, the frequency of overuse of “no” in verb modifier constructions is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of “no” Misuse in Verb + “no” Constructions.

Verb	Frequency
ある (to be)	10
話す (to speak)	8
行く (to go)	6
いる (to exist)	6
遊ぶ (to play)	5
書く (to write)	5
選ぶ (to choose)	4
できる (to be able)	4
する (to do)	4
帰る (to return)	4

作る (to make)	4
頑張る (to try hard)	3
探す (to search)	3
勧める (to recommend)	2
出す (to put out)	2
入る (to enter)	2
なる (to become)	2
見る (to see)	2
食べる (to eat)	2
教える (to teach)	2
歌う (to sing)	2
学ぶ (to learn)	2
思う (to think)	2
立つ (to stand)	1
対する (to face)	1
定める (to determine)	1
付き合う (to associate)	1
関する (to relate)	1
考える (to think)	1
繰り返す (to repeat)	1
寝る (to sleep)	1
申し込む (to apply)	1
読む (to read)	1
手伝う (to help)	1
経つ (to pass)	1
飲む (to drink)	1
違う (to differ)	1
やる (to do)	1
戻る (to return)	1
迷う (to hesitate)	1
守る (to protect)	1
見つける (to find)	1
歩く (to walk)	1
着ける (to wear)	1

In the analysis of verb modifier constructions, “ある” (to be) (10 occurrences) was the most frequently overused verb, followed by “話す” (to speak) (8 occurrences), “行く” (to go) and “いる” (to exist) (each with 6 occurrences), and “遊ぶ” (to play) and “書く” (to write) (each with 5 occurrences). These verbs are commonly used in everyday communication and descriptive expressions, and learners tend to overuse “no” when modifying nouns with these verbs.

4.4 Specific Misuse Examples and Their Characteristics in Verb Modifier Structures

The following examples demonstrate the misuse of "no" in verb modifier structures:

1) アニメの声の、(出す)(の) 人
2) 町は、そもそも、(立つ)(の) 目的
3) 子供たちと (遊ぶ)(の) ため、作った
4) 大学院に (入る)(の) こと を考えなければならない
5) 誰も (できる)(の) ほう が
6) 遅刻に、なり、(なる)(の) 時 は
7) 二度と (行く)(の) 場合 は
8) 周りの人とあんまり、(話す)(の) こと をしない
9) 山に (行く)(の) 道 は
10) 将来は日本語に (関する)(の) 仕事
11) ふるさとに (帰る)(の) 切符 が
12) 時間が (ある)(の) 時

These examples indicate that when learners use verb phrases as noun modifiers in Japanese, they tend to transfer the Chinese construction "verb + de + noun" (e.g., huó de zhù yì "doing something's meaning") unconsciously into their Japanese usage. For example, "子供たちと遊ぶため" (to play with the children) is translated as "和孩子们玩的目的" in Chinese, where "de" is always inserted to mark the modification relationship. Learners mistakenly apply this structure directly in Japanese as "遊ぶのため," resulting in overuse of "no."

This kind of misuse is clearly influenced by the learners' native language structure and shows how they transfer the syntactic patterns of Chinese, where "de" is obligatory in similar constructions, into their Japanese speech.

4.5 Comprehensive Considerations

In this section, the findings of the overuse of "no" in i-adjective and verb modifier constructions are further examined, with an emphasis on overall trends and the underlying factors.

First, the most notable misuse observed in i-adjective modifier constructions was with the adjective "小さい" (small), which accounted for 46 occurrences of misuse. Other frequently misused adjectives included "ない" (not), "多い" (many), "古い" (old), "暑い" (hot), "新しい" (new), "いい" (good), and "悪い" (bad), all of which are commonly found in everyday conversation and beginner-level textbooks. These adjectives are familiar to learners and are used frequently, which likely contributes to the higher frequency of errors.

The frequent misuse of "小さい" in particular can be attributed to its regular use in daily language, coupled with the significant influence of the Chinese structure "小的～" (xiǎo de~, e.g., "small de~"), where "de" is obligatorily inserted between the modifier and the noun. This habitual use of "de" in Chinese likely carries over to learners' Japanese expressions, resulting in the inappropriate insertion of "no."

The frequent misuse of "ない" (not) is also worth noting. While "ない" functions as a negation auxiliary verb in Japanese, Chinese-speaking learners often treat it adjectivally, leading to unnatural expressions like "～

のない ＋ noun," such as "ないの人" ("a person who is not"). This misuse seems to be influenced by the Chinese structure "没有的～" (méiyǒu de~), where "de" is used to mark the modification relationship.

On the other hand, the overuse of "no" in verb modifier constructions was not as prominent as in i-adjective structures, but it was still diverse in terms of content, and examples with grammatical ambiguity were notable. For instance, constructions like "入るのこと" ("the thing of entering"), "話すの時" ("the time of speaking"), and "できるのため" ("for the ability to do") appear to be grammatically viable on the surface, yet they are unnatural in Japanese. These errors are likely caused by a misunderstanding of the process of nominalizing verbs, confusion regarding the function of "no," and a misinterpretation of the grammatical structures "～のため" and "～のこと."

Particularly, "～のこと" aligns closely with expressions in Chinese such as "……的事情/……的东西" (…de shìqíng/…de dōngxi), which makes it a familiar structure for learners. However, the use of "no" in such expressions in Japanese is more limited, and learners often apply it inappropriately. As a result, "no" becomes overused in contexts where it does not belong, leading to errors.

Additionally, many of the verb misuse examples involved so-called functional or potential verbs, such as "ある" (to be), "いる" (to exist), and "できる" (to be able). These verbs have complex grammatical roles and can easily connect with nouns, making them more prone to errors with "no" being inserted incorrectly as a modifier.

Based on these findings, the overuse of "no" by Chinese-speaking learners is not merely due to a lack of grammatical knowledge. The primary factors are structural influences from the learners' native language (particularly the use of "de") and confusion with the multifunctionality of "no" in Japanese. Furthermore, the blurred boundary between grammatically acceptable use of "no" and its misuse complicates learners' ability to make correct judgments, making it more difficult for them to discern when and where "no" should be used appropriately.

4.6 Pedagogical Implications

The results of this study offer several meaningful implications for Japanese language education, particularly in contexts where Chinese-speaking learners constitute a significant portion of the student population. One key insight relates to the importance of explicit contrastive instruction. Given that the overuse of "no" in Japanese often stems from the habitual insertion of "de" in Chinese, learners may benefit from early-stage exposure to clear contrasts between these two particles. Instruction that presents side-by-side examples—such as "小さい頃" (when I was small) in Japanese versus "小的～" (small~) in Chinese—can assist learners in recognizing contexts in which the Japanese particle "no" is unnecessary, thereby promoting a more accurate understanding of modifier-noun structures.

In addition, this study suggests that cognitive load plays a notable role in the production of erroneous forms. As modifying structures become longer or syntactically more complex, learners appear more likely to insert "no" as a compensatory strategy. To mitigate this, educators might consider incorporating scaffolded exercises that gradually build from simple to complex noun-modifying clauses. Such instructional scaffolding can ease processing demands and help learners develop syntactic awareness without resorting to overgeneralized insertion of "no."

Another pedagogically relevant finding involves the frequency of misuse with high-frequency lexical items, particularly adjectives and verbs such as "小さい" (small), "ない", (not) "ある", (to be) and "できる" (to be able).These are not only common in learners' input but also prevalent in basic communicative situations. Therefore, targeted practice using these specific forms—through both oral production and written tasks—may

significantly reduce overuse errors. For instance, classroom activities that repeatedly prompt accurate use of phrases like "小さい子供" (small child) or "ないもの" (something that doesn't exist) can support the internalization of appropriate structures.

Furthermore, the findings highlight the need to enhance learners' form-meaning mapping skills. Beyond rote grammatical correction, instructional tasks that encourage semantic reflection—such as translation or paraphrasing between Chinese and Japanese—may help learners become more aware of when the semantic function of "de" aligns with "no," and when it does not. This awareness is particularly crucial in navigating syntactic differences between the two languages.

Finally, the recurring patterns of "no" overuse identified in this study have direct implications for teacher training and materials development. Curriculum designers and textbook authors may consider embedding explicit contrastive explanations of "no" and "de" in instructional materials, particularly in beginner and intermediate resources. Similarly, pedagogical grammar training for teachers—especially those working with Chinese-speaking learners—should include guidance on diagnosing this common form of interlanguage interference, along with strategies for providing corrective feedback that is both timely and context-sensitive.

Taken together, these pedagogical implications underscore the value of addressing cross-linguistic transfer in a structured and theory-informed manner. By aligning teaching strategies with the linguistic realities of Chinese-speaking learners, educators can not only reduce persistent overuse of "no" but also contribute to more accurate and confident use of noun-modifying constructions in Japanese. In doing so, the findings of this study may inform both classroom practice and broader curricular reforms aimed at enhancing grammatical accuracy in second language acquisition.

5 Conclusion

Using the B-JAS corpus, this study investigated the tendency of overusing "no" among Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese, focusing on i-adjective and verb modifier structures. The results revealed that, for i-adjective modifiers, frequent misuses of "no" occurred particularly with basic vocabulary items such as "小さい" (small) and "ない" (not). For verb structures, many expressions—such as "入るのこと" ("the thing of entering"), "話すの時" ("the time of speaking"), and "できるのため" ("for the ability to do")—showed unnatural insertions of "no." In each case, there was strong evidence of influence from the Chinese particle "de," which is commonly used in Chinese modification expressions.

Although the analysis was based on a limited number of learners and tasks, the findings illustrate the nuanced ways in which first-language interference affects the acquisition of Japanese grammatical structures. Specifically, they suggest that learners may rely on "de"-based syntactic habits from Chinese, which can persist even with frequent lexical items and familiar grammatical environments. The observed misuse patterns also reflect a potential cognitive strategy, in which learners insert "no" to reduce processing complexity in longer or structurally embedded modifying clauses.

These findings carry implications for Japanese language pedagogy. By identifying the lexical and structural contexts most prone to "no" overuse, this study offers practical insights that can inform instructional design. In particular, targeted classroom interventions—such as contrastive exercises between Japanese and Chinese modifier constructions, explicit feedback on common misuses, and step-by-step practice with complex noun modification—may help learners internalize appropriate usage patterns. Moreover, these results could support the development of teaching materials and teacher-training programs that address typical interlanguage tendencies among Chinese-speaking learners, especially regarding the distinctions between "no" and "de."

Future research may extend this work by analyzing a wider range of learner populations, proficiency levels, and task types, including comparisons with non-Chinese-speaking learners. Longitudinal data could further clarify how exposure and instruction contribute to shifts in modifier accuracy over time. By integrating corpus-based evidence with pedagogical applications, this study contributes both to the theoretical understanding of language transfer and to practical strategies for improving grammatical instruction in second language acquisition. It is hoped that such efforts will support more accurate and confident use of noun-modifying constructions among learners of Japanese.

Addendum

[1] This study was conducted using data from the "Beijing Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language (B-JAS, data version 2023.03)," which was jointly developed through the collaboration of three institutions: the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL); the Beijing Center for Japanese Studies at Beijing Foreign Studies University; and the School of Foreign Languages and Literature at Beijing Normal University.
All data extraction, tabulation, and analysis for this research were undertaken solely by the author. The author bears full responsibility for any errors or inaccuracies arising in the process.

[2] This paper is based on academic objectives and follows the B-JAS usage guidelines in every respect.
URL: https://www2.ninjal.ac.jp/jll/bjas (Accessed April 13, 2025)

Notes

1) All data pertaining to the overuse of "no" in this study are derived from natural discourse in the storytelling (ST), role-play (RP), dialogue (I), picture description (D), and story writing (SW) tasks included in the B-JAS. Descriptive writing tasks and other written-language tasks were excluded from the scope of this research.
2) This study focuses specifically on the overuse of "no" in i-adjective and verb modifier structures. Other types of "no" misuse, such as those in na-adjective or noun-to-noun modifications, are not addressed.
3) The frequencies presented in Tables 1 and 2 rely on the author's calculations based on short-unit searches via the Chunagon application. Minor discrepancies due to missed searches or interpretive differences may exist. The grammatical validity and classification of errors were determined by the author on a case-by-case basis, in light of relevant contexts.
4) Repetitions, interjections, and fillers (e.g., えー, あのー) in the learners' utterances were excluded from the error analysis. Only instances where the insertion of "no" could be interpreted as part of a grammatical structure were considered.
5) In using B-JAS, no prohibited acts, such as criticism of individual speakers, evaluation of utterances, or attempts to identify specific participants, were carried out in accordance with the corpus usage policy.

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基于语料库对文学作品的检索分析

——以尤金·奥尼尔《长夜漫漫路迢迢》为例

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摘 要：在文学批评领域，语料库研究方法日益凸显其重要价值。本文以尤金·奥尼尔的经典剧作《长夜漫漫路迢迢》为研究对象，借助 WordSmith Tools 这一软件，运用语料库语言学方法，深入剖析该作品的语言运用、情节推进、人物塑造和象征意义。在研究方法上，首先构建该作品的专属英文语料库，确保语料真实且具代表性；其次通过词表工具自动生成词表，详细统计该作品的形符数、类符数、标准类符形符比、平均词长、平均句长等数据，从词汇和句子层面量化分析该作品的文本难度与词汇多样性；然后利用高频词表挖掘出该作品的核心人物（Edmund、Tyrone、Jamie 和 Mary），并借助词图展示人物在文本中的分布，印证作品自传性质；接着运用索引功能，以核心人物词汇为关键词，基于语义韵分析人物性格特点；最后针对作品的象征意义检索“fog”一词，统计出现次数并分析其在不同情节中的象征变化。研究表明，该作品在文本上通俗易懂，具备良好的可读性；在情节构建上布局缜密，结构安排颇为巧妙；在人物塑造上，该作品的人物形象生动且鲜明；而在象征意义上意蕴深远，令人读完回味无穷。这种研究方法为深入解读文学作品提供了量化依据，有助于揭示作品的深层内涵和艺术价值，从而为文学作品的探索开辟出一条更新颖的路径。

关键词：语料库；文学分析；《长夜漫漫路迢迢》

Abstract: In the field of literary criticism, the corpus-based research method is becoming increasingly valuable. This paper takes Eugene O’Neill’s classic play *Long Day’s Journey into Night* as the research object, and with the help of the software WordSmith Tools, applies corpus linguistics methodologies to deeply analyze the language use, plot advancement, character portrayal, and symbolic meaning of this work. In terms of research methods, first, a dedicated English corpus of this work is constructed to ensure that the corpus is authentic and representative. Secondly, a word list is automatically generated through the Wordlist tool, and data such as the number of tokens, types, standardized type-token ratio, average word length, and average sentence length of this work are carefully counted to quantitatively analyze the text difficulty and lexical diversity of this work at the lexical and sentence levels. Then, the high-frequency word list is used to identify the core characters (Edmund, Tyrone, Jamie, and Mary) of this work, and a keyword plot is used to display the distribution of characters in the text, verifying the autobiographical nature of the work. Next, the Concordance function is applied, with the vocabulary of core characters as keywords, and the character traits are analyzed based on semantic prosody. Finally, for the symbolic meaning of the work, the word “fog” is retrieved, the number of occurrences is counted, and its symbolic changes in different plots are analyzed. The research shows that this work is easy to understand and has good readability at the text level; it has a meticulous layout and a clever

structural arrangement in plot construction; the characters in this work are vivid and distinct in character portrayal; and it has profound symbolic meaning, leaving a long aftertaste after reading. This research method provides a quantitative basis for in-depth interpretation of literary works, helps to reveal the deep connotations and artistic values of works, and thus opens up a more novel path for the exploration of literary works.

Key Words: corpus; literary analysis; *Long Day's Journey into Night*

一、引言

人们最初构建大型语料库的主要目的是为语言研究提供真实的语言样本。然而，近年来国内外许多学者开始将语料库研究方法拓展应用于文学批评领域。一部文学作品的文体风格主要包括词汇运用，句法结构，修辞运用和叙事方式等几个方面，所以想要研究一部作品的文体风格就必须深入探究其语言的具体运用。语料库在此方面找到了切入点，成为文学赏析和评论的重要参考资料。与传统方法相比，这种基于语料库的研究方法能够为研究文学作品提供更为可靠的量化依据，避免了传统文学评论中生硬套用非文学理论来进行主观臆断的不足。

美国著名剧作家尤金·奥尼尔的戏剧代表作《长夜漫漫路迢迢》是一部值得一读再读的经典之作，它以其独特的魅力和深刻的内涵，吸引了无数读者和观众，也激发了众多文学研究者的兴趣。所以国内对于尤金·奥尼尔作品的研究还是非常多的，在中国期刊网以“尤金·奥尼尔”为关键词进行检索，我们可以发现一共有 1786 篇相关论文，其中期刊论文 1384 篇，学位论文 402 篇；以“长夜漫漫路迢迢”为关键词进行查询，我们可以发现一共有 52 篇相关论文，其中期刊论文 42 篇，学位论文 10 篇。这 52 篇论文主要是从主题、情节、角色、象征意义等各个方面来对此作品进行解析。而本文则基于语料库语言学的研究方法，使用 WordSmith Tools 这一软件进行文本检索，并对该作品的文本进行量化分析，从新的角度来诠释这部作品在语言运用、情节推进、人物塑造及象征意义等方面的特点，以达到对该作品更理性和客观的分析。

二、基于词表的作品基本情况分析

本文借助 WordSmith Tools 软件中的 Wordlist 工具来自动生成词表，通过词表可以得出该作品的一些基本文本信息（如图 1 所示）：该作品的形符数为 45277，类符数为 4365，句子数为 4961，说明该作品篇幅较长；该作品的标准类符形符比为 41.36，低于 BROWN 语料库的 44.89，说明该作品虽篇幅较长，但词汇变化量并不是非常大；该作品的平均词长为 3.96，且一个字母词的数量为 4167、两个字母词的数量为 7859、三个字母词的数量为 9923、四个字母词的数量为 8689、五个字母词的数量为 5139、六个字母词的数量为 4054、七个字母词的数量为 2380、八个字母词的数量为 1356、九到十八个字母词的总数量为 1710，以上数据充分说明该作品中的大部分词汇长度在一至六个字母，基本属于简单词，所以词汇难度不大；该作品的平均句长为 9.13，句长标准差为 7.55，说明该作品的句子也不是很长，所以句子阅读难度也较小。

综上所述，我们可以发现：该作品用词比较简单，词汇难度相对较小，且句子不是特别长，理解难

度较小，这些特点都大大增加了其可读性。这也进一步证明，通过语料库检索文本所得出的量化数据有助于我们揭示文本的难易程度以及词汇的多样程度，为深入剖析文学作品的主题与情节、语言风格、修辞技巧以及人物形象等奠定坚实的基础。

图 1.《长夜漫漫路迢迢》的文本统计信息（部分）

N	1
tokens (running words) in text	45277
types (distinct words)	4365
standardized TTR	41.36
STTR basis	1000
mean word length (in characters)	3.96
sentences	4961
mean (in words)	9.13

三、基于高频词表和词图的故事情节分析

故事情节是分析一部戏剧作品的基本要素之一，而高频词汇的检索是运用语料库来分析文学作品的主要方法之一，因此二者的结合可以帮助我们更好地理解该作品。通过查阅词表中排名靠前的词汇，我们可以提炼出文本的核心信息，如故事的主题、主要人物、故事背景以及推动故事情节发展的关键线索等。通过词表我们可以看出（如图 2 所示）：文本中实词出现的频率从高到低依次是 I（1345 次）、You（1284 次）、He（793 次）、It（760 次）、She（501 次）、Edmund（405 次）、Is（373 次）、Me（326 次）、Tyrone（322 次）、Was（311 次）、Jamie（288 次）、Him（264 次）、Be（258 次）、Mary（258 次）、Have（225 次）、Know（159 次）、They（146 次）、Had（130 次）、Are（113 次）、Like（111 次）等。从出现频率较高的人名来看，这部作品中的主人公有四位，分别是 Edmund、Tyrone、Jamie 和 Mary，由此我们可以看出该作品的主要故事情节是围绕这四个人物展开的；从出现频率较高的动词来看，有 is、was、be、have、know、had、are、like 等，涵盖了一般现在时和一般过去时的动词，由此我们可以初步判断，该作品的故事情节既包括现在发生的事情，也包括过去发生的事情，是一部现在和过去并存的作品；从出现频率较高的人称代词来看，有 I、you、he、it、she、me、him、they 等，我们可以发现该作品对人称代词的使用是非常多样化的，尤其第一人称和第二人称出现的次数都分别高达一千多次，而且第三人称单数形式出现的频率也不低，都排在前五名，并且还包含了主格和宾格两种形式。我们知道，对话也是分析戏剧作品的基本元素之一，所以这一检索结果是十分符合我们对戏剧作品的认知的，因为只有大量的对话才会使用到各种各样的人称代词。

图 2.《长夜漫漫路迢迢》的高频词表（部分）

N	Word	Frequency
1	I	1345

2	You	1284
3	He	793
4	It	760
5	She	501
6	Edmund	405
7	Is	373
8	Me	326
9	Tyrone	322
10	Was	311
11	Jamie	288
12	Him	264
13	Be	258
14	Mary	258
15	Have	225
16	Know	159
17	They	146
18	Had	130
19	Are	113
20	Like	111

词图（Plot）这一功能的作用是创建词语的频率分布图，帮助我们可视化地分析该词在整个文本中的出现频率和分布情况。通过四位主人公的词图可以看出（如图 3 所示）：Edmund 是四位主人公中分布的最均匀的，也是出现次数最多的，这说明他在整个作品中都有出现，几乎是贯穿了全文。我们知道，《长夜漫漫路迢迢》是尤金·奥尼尔的一部自传性作品，剧中 Edmund 这一角色正是以他本人为原型进行创作的，而其他角色也分别对应了他现实中的家庭成员。该作品是尤金·奥尼尔站在他自己的角度来呈现发生在他们一家人身上的各种故事，在剧中体现为 Edmund 的视角，所以 Edmund 才会分布的那么均匀，这一检索结果是可以印证该作品的自传性质的；而 Jamie 是四位主人公中分布的最不均匀的，他在作品的前半段几乎都有出现，但从中间偏后半段，他有好几个大段空白完全没有出现，这说明当时主要是其他几位主人公在进行对话和交流，他是不在场的；Tyrone 总体分布的还算均匀，但在作品的前半段和后半段他都有一段较大的空白完全没有出现，这说明当时他没有参与到其他家庭成员的对话当中；Mary 总体分布的不是特别均匀，出现次数也是最少的，尤其在作品的后半段有一段非常大的空白她完全没有出现，直到结尾她才出现，这说明她后期有一大段时间是自己独处的时间，十分符合该剧的故事情节，当时 Mary 正疯狂地想要逃离令她痛苦和不安的现实，所以她在一个人吸食吗啡，以此来麻痹自己的神经，让自己短暂地回到过去，沉浸在过去的那些美好记忆中，不被任何人打扰。

图 3.《长夜漫漫路迢迢》的词图（部分）

N	Word	Hits	Dispersion	Plot
1	Edmund	405	0.901	
2	Tyrone	322	0.869	
3	Jamie	288	0.748	
4	Mary	258	0.764	

四、基于索引的人物塑造检索分析

“索引(Concordance)是语料库检索最基本的分析手段。它以某一个词或者词组作为关键词,利用检索软件检索出关键词及其所在行固定数量的语境词，并以关键词为中心在屏幕上显示出来。以关键词为中心,左右显示的词数构成了该关键词的跨距，跨距中的词构成了关键词的微型语境,或共现语篇”。[3]这种微型语境可以为人物的性格分析提供可靠的依据，而且在文学作品的分析中，语义韵词汇的使用也可以提供对人物形象更深层次的理解。

我们利用 WordSmith Tools 的 Concordance 功能，通过对 Edmund 一词的搭配检索发现，与之相搭配的词语大多是 miserably（出现 3 次）、frightenedly、bitter、bitterly、sharply、indignantly、wry、ironical、sadness、defensively、vehemently、dully、tormentedly、gloomily 等具有消极语义韵的词汇，从这些词可以看出作者在着力刻画一个内心敏感，处于极度负面情绪和心理状态的人物形象。确实，看过这部作品的人都知道 Edmund 是一个充满悲观主义色彩的人，这一点可以从他知道自己得了肺痨之后却仍然拒绝戒酒看出来。他对自己悲惨命运的病态顺从与他看待世界的方式一致，因为他创作的诗歌也是令人沮丧的。

我们通过对 Tyrone 一词的搭配检索发现，与之相搭配的词语大多是 vindictiveness、guilty、guiltily、explosive、sadly、defensive、uneasily、indignant、angrily、bitterly、resentfully 等具有消极语义韵的词汇，从这些词可以看出作者刻画了一个内心充满内疚感和矛盾的人物形象。在该剧中，Tyrone 作为一家之主，却没有尽到自己身为丈夫和父亲的责任，他因为自己童年贫困的经历而变得十分吝啬和节俭，但对购置地产却十分疯狂。在自己的妻子和儿子生病时，他甚至不愿意也不舍得花钱请好的大夫给他们治疗，从而导致自己的妻子药物成瘾，染上吗啡。他在一边感到内疚的同时，还在一边顽固地坚持着自己对金钱和地产的执念，是一个十分矛盾的人，也十分自私。尽管他心有内疚，却也没有做出什么改变，最终给整个家庭都带来了痛苦。

我们通过对 Jamie 一词的搭配检索发现，与之相搭配的词语大多是 bitter、weariness、boredly、dully、stung、maliciously、suspect、thickly、roughly、jealous 等具有消极语义韵的词汇，从这些词可以看出作者在努力刻画一个内心充满苦涩、恶意、怀疑和嫉妒的人物形象。Jamie 确实对自己的弟弟们有着强烈的嫉妒感，这一点尤其可以在他直接导致小尤金的死亡时体现出来，此行为反映了其内心的狭隘和阴暗面，在一定程度上影响了他对弟弟的态度与行为模式，致使其明知道自己生着病，还故意去靠近尚在襁

褓中的小尤金，让他被自己传染，最终死去。而 Edmund 其实是他们夫妇的第三个孩子，是 Mary 为了弥补失去小尤金的痛苦才选择生下了他。但是在 Edmund 出生之后，Jamie 依然嫉妒着这一个弟弟，所以一直在把弟弟引上不务正业的道路，在想办法带坏他，想让弟弟和自己一样一事无成，没什么作为，也许这样父母就不会更喜爱弟弟了。

通过对 Mary 一词的搭配检索，我们发现与之相搭配的词语虽然大多还是 worriedly（出现 3 次）、impatiently、indifferently、detached、pity、sharply、strickenly、frightenedly、violently、guilty、terrified、pitifully、guilt 等具有消极语义韵的词汇，但同时也有 tactfully、teasingly、dreamily、politeness、satisfaction 等具有积极语义韵的词汇，从这两种语义韵词汇的使用可以看出作者在刻画一个情绪起伏大、内心充满焦虑和不安、在各种状态之间来回切换的人物形象。在剧中，Mary 因为染上了吗啡，也因为担心着小儿子 Edmund 的病情，并且她一直为小尤金的死感到内疚和难过，所以整个人都有些神经质。她的情绪非常敏感，经常处于焦虑和不安当中，而且情绪的转变也非常快，仿佛她分裂出了不同的人格，时不时地在来回切换。因为她对家庭的现实是感到十分失望的，所以她宁愿沉浸在吗啡给她带来的短暂快乐和安宁中，在戒掉吗啡之后很快又再度开始吸食。

五、基于索引的象征意义检索分析

《长夜漫漫路迢迢》中最具有象征意义的词汇之一就是雾（fog），作为贯穿全文的重要线索，它具有非常丰富的象征意义。通过检索雾，我们可以发现 fog 在剧中一共出现了 23 次。在剧初，Mary 便感慨道: “Thank heavens, the fog is gone.” 标志着雾的消散与家庭阴霾的暂退。此时正值清晨，全家人因 Mary 看似戒毒成功而欢聚一堂，餐厅内洋溢着喜悦与希望，阳光透过窗户洒满房间。Tyrone 说道: “There’s no fog in the harbor.” 借此无雾之景寓意着家庭和谐与轻松的氛围。但实际上，整个家庭的气氛是由 Mary 决定的，虽然现在天气晴朗无雾，但她已经预言在先了: “We’re in for another night of fog, I’m afraid.” 果不其然，到了第二幕时空气中已经出现了一点儿迷雾，“with a faint haziness in the air which softens the glare of the sun.” 随着剧情的不断发展，Mary 背着家人再一次开始吸食吗啡。在她偷偷吸食吗啡的事情被发现后，全家人的情绪又跌入了谷底，整个家庭的氛围从一开始的和谐与轻松变成了无尽的职责与控诉。此时，文中描述道: “an early dusk due to the fog which has rolled in”，体现了雾的出现与家人情绪变化相呼应。之后，雾越来越浓，“the wall of fog appears denser than ever”。Tyrone 家被大自然持续弥漫的浓雾所包围，这雾不仅映衬着家庭成员情感的起伏，还逐步构建起一种深沉的悲剧氛围。它预示着剧情冲突的展开与推进，显著提升了戏剧作品的艺术魅力，让人深思且难以忘怀。

六、结语

上文展示了利用 WordSmith Tools 这一软件对《长夜漫漫路迢迢》这部文学作品进行的深入检索与分析。分析结果显示，该作品在文本上通俗易懂，具备良好的可读性；在情节构建上布局缜密，结构安排颇为巧妙；在人物塑造上，该作品形象生动且鲜明，给读者留下了深刻的印象；而在象征意义上意蕴深远，令人读完回味无穷。

综上所述，语料库语言学的研究方法凭借其信息存储量大、样本多样、语料真实可靠以及检索高效

精确等优势，在文学批评与鉴赏领域内展现出了独特的运用价值。通过使用这种方法来综合考量文学作品的文本特性、叙事结构、角色塑造以及象征寓意等多个维度，可以实现对作品感性体验与理性分析的有机结合，从而为文学作品的探索开辟出一条更新颖、更深入的路径。

然而，我们也应该清醒地认识到，尽管基于语料库语言学的研究方法为文学作品的检索分析提供了有力工具，但它并不能完全取代传统文学批评在作品鉴赏中的作用，而只是对传统研究方法的一种有益补充。语料库语言学的研究方法虽然具有一定的优势，但因文学作品内涵丰富多元，所以其有效运用还需以通读原著获得初步理解为前提。软件检索所得到的量化数据仅为基础，只有凭借文学研究者深厚的文学素养来深入剖析作品所处的时代背景、文化语境以及作者的创作意图，才能精准解读数据、挖掘作品深层意蕴，从而实现该方法与传统批评方法的优势互补，完整把握作品的价值。也就是说，只有将计算机的高效检索能力与文学研究者的文学批评能力相结合，语料库语言学的研究方法才能在文学作品的研究中彰显其真正意义。最后需要强调的是，将语料库语言学的研究方法引入文学批评领域目前仍处于初步探索阶段，该领域的发展潜力巨大，前景广阔。

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提升创意写作技能：

基于语料库的奇幻与玄幻网络小说对比分析

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摘要 随着网络文学的蓬勃兴起，大批文学创作者涌入创作行列，奇幻和玄幻网络小说的数量急剧增加。由于它们在文本风格、语言特征、主题等方面相互借鉴，导致了两者之间的界限变得模糊。现有研究多聚焦于文本定性分析，缺乏对作品系统性量化分析，导致创作者难以精准把握两类小说的核心差异。为了更准确的比较二者的共性和个性，本文基于自建语料库，采用计量风格学方法，从文本风格、高频词分布及主题建模三个维度进行定量对比分析。研究发现：（1）宏观文本风格上，采用词汇丰富度、文本可读性、句子离散度、句子破碎度、词类分布五项计量指标，通过独立样本 T 检验得出 P 值均大于 0.05，表明文本风格无显著差异，印证其同源演化特征；（2）微观方面，总结两类小说高频的共用词和独用词，奇幻小说更偏向“神秘史诗”感，叙事上注重心理描写、角色互动，玄幻小说更偏向“热血逆袭”感，强化角色个性和战斗张力；（3）通过 LDA 主题建模，将两类文本分别提取 60 个主题进行对比分析，可以看出二者既有一脉相承的基础，又有较明显的差异。前者依托西方史诗传统构建规则化魔法异世，后者根植东方文化基因演绎修真江湖。基于此，本文提出数据驱动的创意写作策略，指导创作者优化世界观构建、角色设计及情节发展，提升作品的沉浸感与文化辨识度。

关键词： 创意写作；奇幻网络小说；玄幻网络小说；语料库分析；计量风格学

1 引言

21 世纪以来，中国网络文学迅猛发展，其中幻想文学受到广大读者的喜爱并主要表现在网络奇幻文学和玄幻文学领域。奇幻文学起源于欧美并通过汲取神话、史诗的养分，依托中世纪封建时代的世界观为蓝本的价值观之上，发展成为一种重要的文学类型。从欧美奇幻小说到中国奇幻小说本土化的过程中，奇幻小说出现了两个方向的发展：第一种是仿西式的奇幻，在保持原本奇幻类型文本特征的基础上添加本土化设定（王恺文，2016）。它依旧是被称为奇幻小说。第二种则是彻底革命，大刀阔斧的改变原有设定，利用本土文化资源，构造全新的幻想世界，这种作品被称为“玄幻”和“仙侠”（陈晓明等，2017）。目前，学界对玄幻小说和奇幻小说的定义不尽相同，并没有统一的定论，两者之间更是存在交叉混淆的情况。姜淑芹（2021）梳理西方奇幻小说并分析其在中国大陆本土化的过程，认为近年来国内蓬勃发展的网络玄幻武侠小说本质上属于奇幻小说文类。高红梅（2015）指出中国玄幻小说受到英国现代奇幻文

学的影响，由于中国当代文化语境的制约发生了变异。黎慧（2019）则持不同观点，认为玄幻，奇幻，魔幻，科幻等称谓混淆在一起，“玄幻”在广义上包含了大部分幻想类小说，因此在文中统一称作玄幻。因此，关于如何定义奇幻小说和玄幻小说的定性研究在学界并未达成一致。

20 世纪 90 年代至今，我国网络小说的发展从萌芽到蓬勃发展，形成了大量的网络写手和庞大的读者群体。但由于对于奇幻小说和玄幻小说概念的混淆，对相关的创意写作也产生了困扰。“创意写作” 是所有创造性写作的统称，包括“创意”和“写作”两个部分。“创意”并不是毫无章法的天马行空，它有其独特的创作规律和写作的基本原理。创意写作是可学的，每个人都具有潜在被激发的创意能力（赖声川，2006）。创意写作要遵循“文类成规”的研究理论。“文类成规”是指在读者预期理解的范围内和创作者有所凭依的基础上展开写作，形成一种外在的可辨识性。它可以包括作品的形式、结构、内容、价值观等多个方面，是作者和读者共同遵守的。成规具有约束性，创意写作也建立在一定的类型规律基础之上。同时成规也具有生成性，促使作者具有创新、开放的创作精神。作家合理利用成规可以迅速进入写作状态，提高创意写作水平（葛红兵、许道军，2011）。因此，分析现有的作品对于创意写作者来说，是一条有效的学习途径。通过分析可以总结既有的方法规律，根据具体的成规要素尽快掌握创意写作要领、提升创意写作技能。

奇幻小说和玄幻小说的分析多为定性研究，鲜见学者基于大规模语料对二者进行定量对比分析。早在 19 世纪就有人将定量研究的方法应用到文学作品领域，不同的作品类型有其独特的风格，这些风格又可以在遣词造句中得到体现，这就形成了一门新的学科——计量风格学。20 世纪 90 年代随着互联网的发展，文本搜集从人工统计到计算机处理，文体学研究呈现出了 “语料库转向”（时季，2019）。20 世纪 70 年代，国内学者开始借鉴西方的研究方法，开始了汉语语言风格的研究。一批学者通过定量分析《红楼梦》语言风格对作者问题进行讨论，这一关于《红楼梦》作品风格的讨论开启了国内计量语言学应用于作品分析的先河。

综上所述，从西方奇幻小说发展到本土玄幻小说，这种分裂并非泾渭分明,也不是一日之功,故而造成部分作品分类的混乱（陈晓明、彭超，2017）。这不仅让读者难辨雌雄，更对创意写作造成了诸多困扰。使用计量风格学的研究方法，可以通过定量的数据分析，对比作品语言特征，得出更加准确的结论，很好的弥补了定性研究的不足，为创意写作提供了更为具体的指导。奇幻和玄幻小说在互联网时代多以网络为载体，因此本文建立一个包含网络奇幻小说和玄幻小说的语料库，语料来源是中国最大网络平台之一的起点中文网。[①]自 2002 年起点中文网成立起，便连载本土的幻想类小说，并且在首页将奇幻小说和玄幻小说做了很好的区分，方便对语料的分类爬取。

语料库包括网络原创奇幻小说和玄幻小说，并保证网络奇幻，玄幻小说两部分的语料字数基本一致，语料各 100M 字节，分别约为 2000 万词次。基于这个语料库，本文对两类小说文本进行文本风格计量、词频统计以及主题分析，从如下 3 个角度对两类网络文学特点进行探究：

1）在宏观上，网络奇幻与网络玄幻两类小说在文本风格上是否相同？

2）在微观上，两类小说在高频词的使用上有哪些异同？

① 起点中文网：https://www.qidian.com/

3）在内容上，两类小说的主题有何特点？

2 数据

本文初步构建了一个网络文学语料库，语料库构建步骤大致如下：

1）数据获取。使用 Python 编写爬虫软件，随机爬取了起点中文网首页作品分类中“玄幻”“奇幻”类小说，分别为 100M 字节。

2）数据清洗。对文本中的网站标语，乱码等进行处理。

3）分词和词性标注。整理完语料之后，采用 Python 中文分词第三方库 jieba 进行分词，词性标注。

本文的研究数据基于上述语料，共约 6200 万字，语料库数据基本情况如表 1 所示。

表 1：网络奇幻，玄幻小说语料库

文本类别	总字数	总词数	标点数	句子数	段落数
奇幻小说	31053450	21153663	3374005	957219	524852
玄幻小说	30975105	20939795	3301069	950377	520584

3 文本风格计量比较

本文提取了不同类型作品风格比较中较为常用，且已在多项实验中被验证有效的计量指标，包括词汇丰富度，文本可读性，句子离散度，句子破碎度和词类分布。在对各部分进行基本计量之后，将两类小说各平均分成十份小语料，每份约 10M，使用 SPSS 软件对每一类计量指标结果进行独立样本 T 检验，得出 P 值，根据 P 值就可以对相关系数是否具有显著性做出判断。P 值的标准是 0.05，P 值较小（通常 ＜0.05），表示结果具有统计显著性。

词汇丰富度

词汇丰富度（TTR)是指作者在文本中使用词汇的丰富程度，一般可以通过类符形符比反映出来。类符（type）指的是文本中不同的词，形符（token）指的是文本中所有的词。这两者的比值是反映文本词汇丰富度的重要指标。比值结果越高，文本中涉及的词汇范围就越广，词汇丰富程度就更高。公式如下：

$$TTR=Types/Tokens$$

文本可读性

文本可读性最早由教育学家 Dale 提出（张三乐等，2020）。文本可读性是指文本中内容和语言的难易理解程度。一般来说由于短句相较于长句，字数和修饰成分更少，语法更简单，理解起来会更简单。因此文本可读性可以从平均词长和平均句长反映出来。

平均词长是指文本中所有的总字数（N_s）和总词数(N_w）之比，公式如下：

$$\bar{L}_w=N_s/N_w$$

平均句长是指文本中总字数（L_t）和句子总数（N_{se}）之比，公式如下：

$$\bar{L}=L_t/N_{se}$$

句子离散度

句子离散度（D）是指文本中各个句子的句长（L_i）偏离平均句长（L_0）的程度，可以反映文本的节奏。句子离散度越高，说明句子长度变化越大，文本越富于变化，跌宕起伏；反之则平稳有序。公式如下：

$$D=\sqrt{\frac{1}{n}\sum\ (L_i-L_0)^2}$$

句子破碎度

句子破碎度是指句子中停顿的次数，也就是句子的零散程度，可以反映文本的语体色彩。句子破碎度越高，文本口语性更强；反之则书面性更强。公式如下：

句子破碎度=句子停顿次数/句子总数

两类语料对应计量指标及 P 值见表 2。

表 2：网络奇幻，玄幻小说文本计量数据及统计检验结果

		奇幻小说	玄幻小说	P 值
词汇丰富度	类符形符比	0.022	0.026	0.672
文本可读性	平均词长	1.468	1.479	0.894
	平均句长	32.441	32.592	0.775
句子离散度		25.529	29.567	0.851
句子破碎度		2.268	2.103	0.670

通过表 2 可以看出，网络奇幻和玄幻小说的词汇丰富度，文本可读性，句子离散度，句子破碎度这几个计量指标对应的 P 值均大于 0.05，因此没有显著差异性。在这些方面总结出的文本风格基本相同。这也可能是由于玄幻小说本身从奇幻小说发展而来，因而呈现出相似的用词，用句和行文结构。

词类分布

词类是词在语法上的分类，是词与词组合过程中体现出来的类别。在文本风格分析中词类的使用频率是构成文本风格的重要特征之一（张三乐等，2020）。表 3 是对网络奇幻小说，玄幻小说部分词类分布占比的统计。通过分词、词类标注得出部分实词、虚词在奇幻、玄幻两类小说的占比。并通过 SPSS 进行独立 T 检验得出 P 值进行对比分析。

表 3：网络奇幻，玄幻小说文本词类分布

实词	奇幻小说	玄幻小说	P 值	虚词	奇幻小说	玄幻小说	P 值
名词	0.3373	0.3324	0.983	拟声词	0.0848	0.0866	0.029
动词	0.3698	0.3736	0.925	连词	0.0699	0.0700	0.952
形容词	0.0624	0.0626	0.950	介词	0.0634	0.0613	0.921
数词	0.0013	0.0026	0.877	助词	0.0110	0.0105	0.846

经过统计检验可以看出网络奇幻、玄幻小说中名词、动词、形容词、数词、连词、介词、助词的 P 值都大于 0.05，数据之间没有显著差异。只有拟声词的 P 值小于 0.05，代表两类小说在拟声词的使用频率上具有显著差异性。

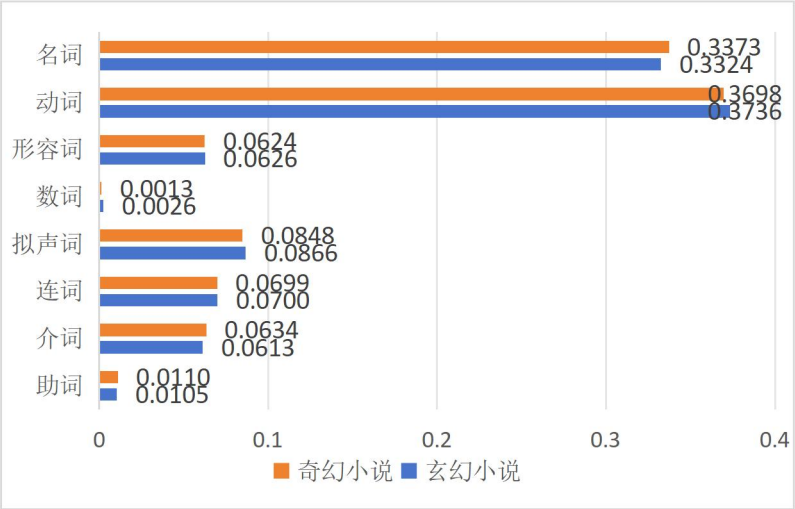
太叔钟冷笑道："呵呵，呵呵呵绝无可能！"……啪，啪，啪，一旁忽然响起零落的掌声。……不行，太便宜他了。"嘿嘿，嘿嘿嘿"太叔钟便立即咧嘴笑了起来。……回应他的只有裴南状若癫狂的笑声。"呵呵，哈哈哈哈！哈哈哈哈哈！"（选自网络玄幻小说《崇人》）

"刷刷刷"只见凌冽刀光不见人影。……"嗡嗡嗡"刀身颤鸣。……"呲呲呲"陆庆云大力呼吸几口。……"扑通！"尸体左右分开，几乎同时摔倒在地。"哗啦啦"血液，内脏等，仿佛乱倒的垃圾一样遍地都是。（选自网络玄幻小说《诸天聊天群：从傅红雪开始》）

上述例子选自部分网络玄幻小说，可以看出玄幻小说中有大量人物的语言动作和打斗场景的细致描写。通过拟声词可以传递声音，将声音通过具体拟声词表达出来。形象化的拟声词生动的再现人物、场面的语音、动作状态，增强语言的动作感，让人有身临其境之感，和读者产生深刻的共鸣。

为了更直观的对以上数据进行分析，根据表 3 的统计数据生成的条形图，如图 1 所示。

图 1：网络奇幻，玄幻小说词类分布



以上数据可以看出，网络奇幻、玄幻小说以动词为主，其次是名词。两类文本多涉及冒险、复仇、修炼等内容，其中不乏打斗、战争的描写因此使用了大量的动词。同时两类文本也设定在架空的世界，不同种族之间，角色众多，多使用名词。虚词中拟声词占比最大，也如上文的分析，可以通过拟声词传

递人物事物的声音，使得描写更加立体丰富。

4 高频词使用比较

高频词是比较两类文体风格的一个常用语言特征。相较于虚词，实词承载了表达意义的作用。在统计高频词时，本文选择使用频率较高且词义丰富的名词，动词，形容词进行统计分析。根据 jieba 分词数据库，统计网络奇幻，玄幻两类小说中的名词，动词，形容词，去除停用词（stopword），人名，地名。其中停用词是指一些没有什么意义的功能词，这些词极其普遍，却很少单独表达文档相关程度的信息。停用词主要包括英文字符、数字、数学字符、标点符号及使用频率特高的单汉字等。由于没有一个明确的停用词表能够适用于所有的文本，为减少统计噪音，提高信息提取的准确性，本文使用四个停用词表：中文停用词表（cn_stopwords.txt），哈工大停用词表（hit_stopwords.txt），百度停用词表（baidu_stopwords.txt），机器智能实验室停用词库（sc_ stopwords.txt）对停用词进行过滤。

4.1 不同词类下的共用词

统计出两类小说名词、动词、形容词前 500 高频词中的共用词，各取前 20 个。统计结果如表 4。

表 4：网络奇幻，玄幻小说按照频率排序的共用词

名词	身体相关词	身体，灵魂，眼睛，声音，目光，力量，实力，能量
	人物动物词	大人，神，精灵，龙，魔法师
	时空词	时间，空间，世界，帝国，大陆
	技能武器词	魔法
	其他	光芒
动词	动作，行为词	说，到，去，来，看，走，听，笑，做
	心理词	知道，想
	使令词	要，让
	可能，意愿词	会，能，应该
	动作趋向词	起来，出来
	动作始终词	出现，开始
形容词	表性质词	大，好，一般，小，强大，快，高，长，老，清楚，不错，惊讶，简单，恐怖，重要，强，明显，新
	表状态词	巨大，庞大

通过对不同词类共用词的比较，可以看出网络奇幻，玄幻小说在具体用词上的共性。表 4 粗略的将名词分为身体相关词、人物动物词、时空词、技能武器词和其他词；动词分为动作行为词、心理词、使令词、可能意愿词、动作趋向词和动作始终词；形容词分为性质形容词和状态形容词。

网络奇幻、玄幻小说共用名词中身体相关的词占比最高。在小说展开的过程中，人物是幻想类小说的灵魂，人物的塑造是小说的基础，因此从不同的角度对人物进行描写，例如“身体、灵魂、声音”等。由于网络小说篇幅较长，需要塑造多个角色，人物动物词也使用较多，如“大人、神、精灵”等。幻想类小说不受时空限制，发展出很多新的世界设定，异世界，鬼怪世界，主神世界等，因此文本中也出现较多对时空塑造的词，如“时间、空间、世界”等。小说在人物成长过程中往往伴随技能，能力的提升，因此包含技能武器类词汇。

两类网络小说共用动词中反映动作、行为的词占比最高。有血有肉的人物在不同的世界设定中升级打怪，经历一场场激烈紧张的战斗，因此需要对人物的动作行为进行细致的刻画。同时为了人物更加立体，心理活动的描写也必不可少。故事也是从一场场计谋战斗铺展开来。使令动词的使用也反映出不同种群之间，主角配角之间地位等级不同。

共用的形容词中表性质的形容词占多数。网络小说篇幅较长，主角配角等长相性格各不相同，为了使人物个性鲜明，增加代入感，会使用到不同的形容词，例如“大、小、强大、高”等。为了让人快速进入到剧情中，故事叙述会带有丰富的场景描写，强烈的感情渲染，如“恐怖、重要、庞大”等词的使用增加了故事的细节，营造氛围感。

通过总结共用词发现，网络奇幻、玄幻小说都使用了大量对人物、场景、技能描写的名词、动词、形容词，在架空的异世界的基础上，讲述人物通过对抗升级的过程。让读者跟随主角的视线去探索未知的世界。

4.2 不同词类下的独用词

统计出两类小说名词，动词，形容词前 500 高频词中的独用词，各取前 20 个。统计结果如表 5。

表 5：网络奇幻，玄幻小说按照频率排序的独用词

		奇幻小说	玄幻小说
名词	人物动物词	恶魔，主神，夫人，亡灵，魔师，牧师	师团，海神，皇子，将军，魔族，祖神，部队，魂师
	时空词	宇宙，教会，区域，圣域	地区，草原，大夏，天界，郡，宗门
	技能武器词	神器，魔法阵，烈焰	魂力，法力
	自然，天气词	冰，冰雪，雷电，岩石	冰雨
	身体相关词	——	魂，武魂，经脉
	其他	天干，天机，法则	——
动词	动作，行为词	着道，询问，抬头，靠近，主宰，带领，伸手，吩咐，等，转头，诅咒，惊呼，看，活着，死去	震撼，堕落，教，化成，印，咬，挥手，骂，崩碎，守，取得，打击，断，翻，喊，粉碎，宣布，

			逼，撞，搞
	心理词	念，想，思考	——
	动作趋向词	拿出	——
	动作始终词	开启	——
形容词	表示性质词	幽暗，浓烈，纯净，单单，锋锐，壮实，暗，绚丽，傲慢，清新，恭谨，阴暗，繁荣，宽敞，彪悍，远，强，爽快，友好	倔，绚烂，炽烈，黄，狂妄，犀利，矮胖，魁梧，紧急，臭，杰出，稚嫩，正规，薄弱，妖艳，险，精通，潇洒，荒唐，准
	表示状态词	不朽	——

通过对不同词类独用词的比较，可以看出网络奇幻，玄幻小说在用词上各具特色。表 5 粗略的将名词分为人物动物词、时空词、技能武器词、自然天气词、身体相关词和其他词；动词分为动作行为词、心理词、使令词、可能意愿词、动作趋向词和动作始终词；形容词分为表性质形容词和表状态形容词。

网络奇幻小说和玄幻小说最大的区别在于故事的背景和设定，一个偏西式，一个偏中式。奇幻小说背景、世界观、人物思维带有西方色彩，拥有魔法等超现实设定。小说往往会构想出神话和宗教体系，同时受到奇幻鼻祖《魔戒》的影响，因此奇幻小说的名词使用“恶魔，主神，牧师”等极具西方色彩的人物词，时空词“教会，圣域”同样充满西方背景。小说人物使用的技能武器也偏向“魔法、神器”一类的词。玄幻小说是有中国特色的幻想小说，以中国的东方幻想元素为基础，融合西方魔幻、动漫文化等，从而形成的中式玄幻小说。在人物设定上以东方元素的“师团、皇子、将军、部队”为主，也有西方色彩的“海神、魔族、魂师”等词。时空词也融入本土化特征，如“大夏、郡、宗门”。通过技能武器词和身体相关词可以总结出玄幻小说多以“魂”为中心，是因为玄幻小说以中国传统玄学设定为主，同时很大一部分是“玄幻觉醒武魂”类小说，其中以《斗罗大陆》为代表，讲述唐门外门弟子唐三来到武魂的世界斗罗大陆的故事。对于自然、天气的描述奇幻，玄幻小说也各有不同，这是根据具体故事需求进行的描写。

动词方面，网络奇幻小说和玄幻小说都以动作行为类动词为主，奇幻小说更具有西方仪式感“询问、吩咐”，玄幻小说更注重角色互动“抬头、伸手、转头”。奇幻小说独有的心理词“想、思考”体现更细腻的心理活动侧重角色内心成长，玄幻小说则更依赖外部动作推进情节发展。针对本文搜集整理的语料，反映出奇幻小说描写更加生动，细腻。

形容词方面奇幻小说多集中于以下几个方面。例如对环境的描写“幽暗，清新，宽敞”；
人物性格的描写“傲慢，恭谨，彪悍，爽快”；以及情绪情感的描写“浓烈，纯净，锋锐”。还包括状态形容词“不朽”。玄幻小说主要集中在人物性格方面，比如“倔，狂妄，犀利，潇洒，荒唐”以及人物外表“矮胖，魁梧，稚嫩，妖艳”。从以上看出奇幻小说的描写更加细致，丰富，不仅体现在人物性格方面，还有环境和情绪情感的表达。而玄幻小说多是对人物的塑造。覆盖面不如奇幻小说全面，这一结论也和上述动词的分析相吻合。

总之，通过分析网络奇幻、玄幻小说独用词，可以看出二者基于西方、东方的不同设定背景，在具体用词上各有不同。奇幻小说更偏向“神秘史诗”感，叙事上注重心理描写、角色互动，战斗风格充满仪

式感，塑造神圣、邪恶对立的氛围。玄幻小说更偏向“热血逆袭”感，叙事节奏快，战斗中更加杀伐果断、暴力直接，强化角色个性和战斗张力。

5 主题比较

文学作品的主题是作者在作品中探索和表达的核心问题。主题的表现形式并不一样，有些比较明确，一眼就可看出；有些则比较隐晦，需费一番工夫来琢磨。定量分析可以从概率的角度更准确的提取文本主题，因此本文使用 LDA 主题抽取模型对网络奇幻，玄幻小说的主题进行对比。LDA 是 Latent Dirichlet Allocation（潜在狄利克雷分配模型）的缩写，它是一种无监督的算法，作用是从一份文档中提出文档的主题，以及主题中的词语。在 LDA 模型中，文档是由词语组成主题，再由主题组成的文章。在主题中，有词语的一个概率分布，概率越高表示与主题的关联性越大。相对的，文档中有一个主题概率分布，概率越高代表与文档的相关性越高。

使用 LDA 主题建模，网络奇幻、玄幻小说各指定 60 个主题，每个主题显示最能表达该主题的前 20 个词。由于篇幅限制，每类小说选择两个主题生成词云图进行比较。图 2 是奇幻类小说的两个主题，图 3 是玄幻类小说的两个主题。

图 2：奇幻小说魔法、能量主题



图 3：玄幻小说法力、修炼主题



根据 LDA 主题建模，本文将网络奇幻小说主题总结为“魔法、学徒、能量、魔兽、力量”等，将网络玄幻小说主题总结为“法力、山寨、修炼、陛下、祭祀 ”等。（见附注）

由于玄幻小说从奇幻小说发展而来，构建非现实的世界，强调想象和超自然，角色有魔法或超能力的设定。因此在主题上有相似之处。值得注意的是，两类小说有 11 个相同的主题，其中包括“魔法、身体、力量、感觉、实力、时间、世界、攻击、能量、强者、目光”。故事背景一般在架空的异世界，或是魔幻世界、或是修仙世界，不同族群（如人族、魔族、神族等）之间的博弈，体现“攻击、力量、世

界、强者”等主题。在对抗的过程中描写英雄旅程和角色成长。脱离现实世界的角色通过魔法体系与超自然要素不断成长，在不同的时间阶段展示自己的身体、力量、实力的变化。

两类小说的主题不同之处也和上文分析相关。奇幻小说多构建西方贵族制与神权社会，如“教会、骑士、主神、学徒”，突出信仰冲突；玄幻小说常描绘东方宗门王朝与江湖体系，如“剑宗、山寨、皇子、陛下”，聚焦资源争夺与权力斗争。奇幻小说的“恶魔、亡灵、圣域”等词，植根于西方神话与史诗传统，如“圣域”象征神圣领域的神魔对立；玄幻小说的“太极、阎罗殿、青龙”等词汇，则源自东方哲学与民间信仰，如“太极”隐喻阴阳平衡的修真法则，“阎罗殿”投射生死轮回的民间想象，文化符号的差异直接塑造了两类小说的世界观底色。奇幻小说多出现奇幻生物和传说生物，如“精灵、幻兽，死灵，巨蜥”；玄幻小说借鉴中式武侠背景，辅以道、佛、神魔等东方元素，例如“经脉，丹田，穴位，太极”是中医里常用的说法。对比奇幻小说，玄幻小说较少带有天马行空的奇幻色彩，而是更加接地气，例如“山寨，火把，银针”等词和日常生活息息相关。

通过对网络奇幻、玄幻小说主题的分析，可以看出二者既有一脉相承的基础，又有较明显的差异。不同派别、种族在异世界中发起战争，又各自充满代表自己文化的元素。奇幻的创作充满超自然色彩，而玄幻更具有现实主义色彩。

6 结论

随着互联网时代的发展，奇幻小说和玄幻小说在网络上吸引了大量的读者，然而目前学界的定性研究缺乏对作品系统性量化分析，导致创作者难以精准把握两类小说的核心差异，进而对创意写作产生困扰。为了更准确的比较二者的写作规律，本文通过自建语料库的方式，对两类小说进行定量分析，从文本风格、具体词汇以及主题分析三个方面，多层次进行对比，帮助作家在以下几个维度把握具体的创意写作规则。

从宏观上，由于玄幻小说是在西方奇幻小说的基础上发展而来，因而两者之间的用词丰富度、行文结构相近，文本风格并无明显差异。

从微观具体词汇方面，通过计算高频词的方式统计出两类小说名词、动词、形容词中的共用词、独用词。相同方面，两类小说均构建脱离现实的异世界，通过身体、能量、技能相关词汇，强调角色能力成长。以动态、简练为主，推动快节奏剧情发展，并追求直观、夸张的修饰风格，以服务快节奏叙事和“爽感”体验。不同方面，两类小说虽共享异世冒险与力量成长的核心框架，但通过词汇选择与文化符号的分野，奇幻小说以西方史诗的神秘性吸引读者，玄幻小说则以东方修真世俗张力形成独特风格。二者共同构成网络文学中“东西方幻想”的二元互补格局，满足不同文化背景读者的审美需求。

网络奇幻与玄幻小说通过主题词的差异化选择，在力量体系、社会结构、战斗风格、叙事节奏及文化根源上形成鲜明对立，前者依托西方史诗传统构建规则化魔法异世，后者根植东方文化基因演绎修真江湖，二者共同丰富了华语网络文学的多元生态。

附注：网络奇幻、玄幻小说部分主题

	主题	奇幻小说	主题	玄幻小说
1	魔法	魔法，魔法师，元素，幻兽，光系，防御，攻击，火系，咒语，实力，光芒，能量，强大，面前，眼中，消失，时间，冰雪，深渊，魔法力	法力	法力，经脉，丹田，气旋，之中，体内，穴位，空间，太极，原本，武魂，大师，时间，身体，实力，力量，感觉，强大，高手，声音
2	学徒	学徒，死灵，法术，魔药，书籍，提升，书库，巨蜥，骑士，吸血，戏法，跪伏，精神，痛苦，畸变，造物，誊写，戏法，学生，男子	山寨	山寨，骨头，鱼泡，火把，匪人，上山，陆地，银针，审问，胖子，真气，寨主，陆地，后代，主人，军队，打劫，马车，位置，山谷
3	能量	能量，力量，发出，身体，光芒，感觉，声音，黑暗，体内，剑 ，魔法师，精灵，脸上，面前，骷髅，心中，一眼，大陆，帝国，目光	修炼	修炼，灵气，力量，丹田，说道，功法，学生，修道，法决，宗门，真气，黑线，微生物，经络，东西，黑色，拔火罐，之中，丹药，炼丹
4	魔兽	魔兽，雷电，银电，晶核，隔绝，宠物，空间，巨型，雄性，神兽，老大，开口，真人，彩蛋，风魔，狂乱，造物，蜥蜴，山顶，黑	陛下	陛下，皇宫，剑宗，太和殿，植物，微臣，阎罗殿，长老，大军，卫士，皇子，大夏，居士，青龙，王朝，修炼，皇位，系统，后代
5	力量	身体，力量，魔法，感觉，心中，帝国，发现，自然，空间，大人，一声，说道，实力，东西，攻击，灵魂，声音，事情，明白，身上	祭祀	震撼，帝国，祭祀，大人，军团，魔法，地区，大陆，精灵，一点，人类，司徒，陛下，殿下，力量，军队，台上，宗主，挑战，后代

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中老年人汉语语言功能异常快速筛查量表汉化修订及应用

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摘要. 随着中国人口老龄化加剧，语言功能筛查工具的研发需求显著提升。本研究针对国内快速评估工具匮乏的现状，对国际成人与老年人语言障碍筛查测试（DTLA）进行系统化本土改造。原量表虽具备快速筛查（10 分钟）和多维度评估优势，但直接汉化存在文化与语言适配障碍。为此，我们结合汉语语言特质和文化背景创新调整测试内容，通过预测试优化，确保了测试项目的文化适宜性和指导语清晰度。研究纳入超过 200 名健康中老年人群和 39 名失语症患者，通过多阶段验证发现：健康人群与患者的测试成绩存在显著差异，证明其筛查区分能力；与传统评估工具同步施测结果高度一致，表明诊断可靠性；时隔六个月两次评估结果稳定，证实其结果的稳定性；所有子测试均展现强相关性，体现其可信性。值得注意的是，该量表对语言障碍的识别准确率可达 98%，同时保持 79.5%的特异性，显示出优异的诊断性能。该量表不仅为中老年语言障碍的早期识别提供可靠工具，更为认知健康管理体系的优化奠定基础。未来研究将深入探讨该量表在不同方言区域和文化背景下的适用性，持续完善中国特色的语言健康评估体系。

关键词：语言评估；失语症；信度；效度；汉语适应；筛查工具

1 背景

语言作为人类认知功能的核心支柱，其神经基础与社会文化属性共同构成了多维交互系统[1]。其复杂性不仅体现在隐喻理解、语境推断及情感表达等高级功能中[2]，在老年群体中尤为凸显——正常老化与病理损伤均可导致该网络的功能异常，进而引发社会参与能力衰退。

全球老龄化进程加速使得语言功能异常逐渐成为各国可能面临的社会挑战。根据中国国家卫生健康委员会《2021 年度国家老龄事业发展公报》，截至 2021 年末，中国 60 周岁及以上人口达 2.67 亿（占总人口 18.9%）。在此背景下，老年人语言相关认知障碍患病率随年龄增长呈上升趋势[3]。

除自然衰老所致的语言能力退化外，多种与衰老共病的神经系统及精神疾病亦可能显著损害语言功能。脑血管损伤（如中风）或创伤性脑损伤均可能引发获得性语言障碍，包括失语症（损害语言的理解、表达、阅读及书写能力）[4]、构音障碍（发音肌肉控制失调）[5, 6]和失用症（运动计划缺陷）[7]。其中，约三分之一的左大脑中动脉卒中患者会发展为失语症[8]，其严重程度存在显著异质性，轻症者偶发词汇提取困难，重症者则可能仅能产出电报式语言[8]。由于语言障碍直接削弱患者的自主交流能力，导致社会孤立与心理健康风险升高，失语症被视为卒中后最具社会性致残的后遗症之一[8]。因此，精准区分健康老龄化产生的语言老化与病理性语言损伤，并通过标准化评估明确受损维度（如听理解、复述、命名等），是制定个体化语言康复方案、重建社会参与能力的前提。

语言障碍的标准化评估体系构建是神经语言学与康复医学交叉领域的重要议题。国际上，自 20 世纪 60 年代起，以英语为代表的语言障碍研究已建立起较为成熟的评估框架，代表性工具包括波士顿诊断性失语症检查（Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination, BDAE）、西方失语症成套测验（Western Aphasia Battery, WAB）等。这些工具系统评估语言的理解、产出、阅读、书写四大模块，并整合音系、语义、句法等语言学层级分析。以 WAB 为例，其通过听辨指物、复述句子、图片描述等任务，量化失语症患

者的理解力、复述能力及自发言语流畅性，其效度信度已通过多项跨国研究验证[9]。然而，综合性的语言评估量表虽能实现多维度语言功能评估，但其 1 小时以上的施测时长超出老年人及患者的耐受阈值，在急性期患者或社区筛查场景中可行性受限；快速筛查工具（如快速失语筛查量表(Quick Aphasia Battery, QAB)[10]）虽将施测时间压缩至 15 分钟内，但忽视了书写能力的系统评估。此外，这些语言评估工具更多的聚焦于失语症患者的损伤诊断，而缺乏针对老年群体的语言功能筛查工具，这使得成人及老年人语言障碍筛查测试（Detection Test for Language Impairments in Adults and the Aged, DTLA）等少数涵盖老年常模数据的工具显现出独特价值。

DTLA 由 Macoir 团队[11]于 2017 年开发，是一款兼顾高效性与敏感性的跨年龄段语言筛查工具。其设计初衷是解决传统量表在老年人群及多病因语言障碍（如卒中后失语症、阿尔茨海默病相关语义退化）中的适用性局限。DTLA 通过 9 项核心任务（图片命名、复述、语义流畅性、工作记忆、阅读、听理解、单词书写、自发造句、语义配对）在 10 分钟内覆盖语言加工的关键维度。

原始法语版 DTLA 的验证研究纳入四组人群：健康成人（n=561，平均年龄 63.96 岁，标准差 9.21）、卒中后失语症患者（n=17）、原发性进行性失语患者（n＝4）及阿尔茨海默病患者（n=20）。结果显示，其内部一致性信度（Cronbach's α=0.84）与重测信度（间隔 6 个月, t (19) = -1.63, P= 0.12）优异[11]，且在 80 岁以上老年人中也具有极高的可靠性[12]。跨文化适应性上，DTLA 凭借模块化设计与任务普适性，已成功改编为土耳其语版，并展现出良好的信效度和评估可靠性[13]。据 Macoir 透露，该量表目前正在被翻译成英语、西班牙语、德语和意大利语，未来将有更多语言版本相继发布。由此可见，DTLA 具有良好的语言灵活性或兼容性，可以根据特定的语言和文化背景进行一些轻微的修改，从而改编成不同的语言版本。

基于此，本研究以跨文化心理学理论为指导，通过“跨文化适应性调整-信效度验证-临床应用”三个阶段递进研究，对 DTLA 进行系统性汉化修订。本研究的核心目标在于构建兼具文化适配性与临床实用性的汉语版 DTLA（Chinese version of DTLA, CDTLA），填补我国中老年语言障碍快速筛查工具的空缺，为“健康老龄化”战略下的语言健康管理提供标准化工具，同时为日语、韩语等非拼音文字国家的跨文化量表修订提供方法论范式。

2 研究 1：DTLA 的汉化修订

2.1 DTLA 的汉化修订

通过与原作者建立合作并获取正式授权后，组建双语专家组完成双盲翻译-回译流程：首先由来自魁北克大学的两位法-英语双语心理学家将法语原版独立译为英文，经多轮比对整合形成标准英文版；随后由两名精通英语（CET-6）的心理学研究生独立进行汉译，经回译验证确保概念等价性，最终通过与原作者协商确定中文初版。

在文化适配过程中，研究团队依据汉语语言特征及中老年人认知特点对量表进行系统性改编，以适应中国文化背景。

图片命名任务：由主试向被试逐次展示图片，要求被试对图片进行准确命名，以此评估被试的词汇提取与语义表达能力。原量表设计基于两个核心心理语言学变量：语义范畴（生物/人造概念各 3 项）和词频（所有图片名称均为低频词）。任务共包含六张标准图片，通过平衡生物概念与人造概念的呈现比例，确保评估的多维度覆盖。在文化适应性调整中，研究团队首先完成概念对等转换：从中国标准图片库 551 图片库[14]中，筛选出葡萄、长颈鹿、乌龟、哨子四张既符合汉语文化认知，也符合原量表的图片。

再将原量表中的网球拍、草耙分别替换为羽毛球拍和扫帚以提升生态效度。新增 6 张对照图片（生物概念/人造概念各 3 项），通过蔡清词频库[15]严格筛选所有项目，确保命名目标词均满足低频词标准（每百万字出现次数＜10 次）。图 1 对比呈现了汉化版 CDTLA（A/B 平行版本）与原版 DTLA 在图片命名任务中的视觉刺激材料。

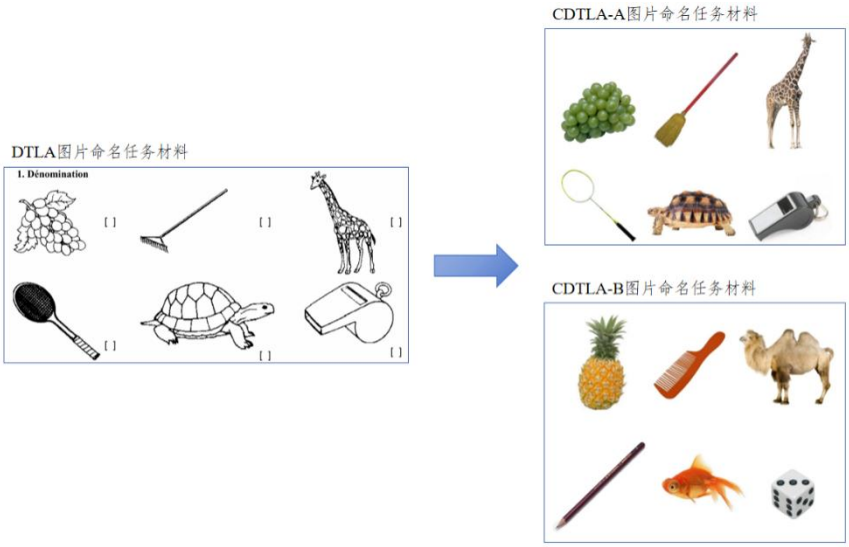


图1 CDTLA（A/B）和DTLA图片命名任务材料

复述任务：主试清晰朗读语言材料后，要求被试即时完整复述，以此评估被试的语音回路与语义表达能力。原量表设计聚焦于两个心理语言学变量：语音复杂性和音节长度（单词/非词：三音节；句子：17-18 音节）。该任务共包含三个层级的复述材料——三个三音节单词、三个三音节非词及三组长复句（2×17 音节+1×18 音节）。在文化适应性调整中，研究团队针对汉语韵律特征实施系统性改编，将原版三音节单词/非词转换为双字词/非词结构，对长复句进行语序优化，形成 15 字与 17 字组合的汉语句式，在维持句法复杂度的同时符合汉语表达习惯。为增强测量稳定性，增设平行版本 B 组复述任务（双字词/非词各三组，15 字/17 字复句各两组），其语音复杂度参数与主任务组实现严格匹配。图 2 呈现了汉化版 CDTLA（A/B 平行版本）与原版 DTLA 在复述任务中的材料。

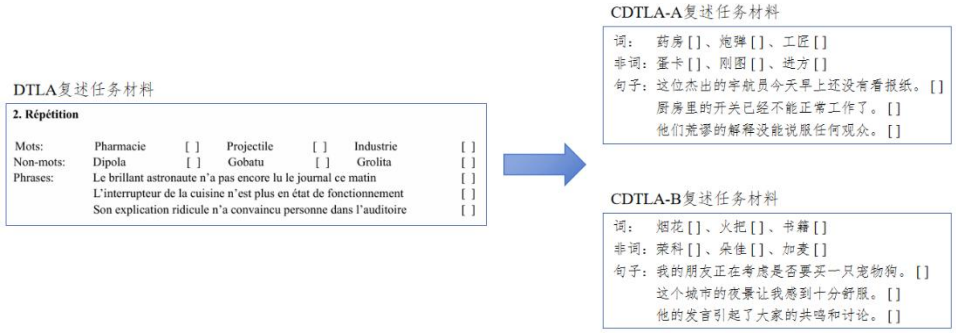


图2 CDTLA（A/B）和DTLA复述任务材料

语言流畅性任务：主试要求被试在一分钟内尽可能多地说出指定范畴的词汇，以此评估语义检索效率与语言产出能力。原量表采用让被试在一分钟内尽可能多地说出“D”字母开头的单词。在文化适应性调整中，研究团队将任务转换为“一分钟内列举水果名称”。

工作记忆评估任务：原量表任务为主试清晰朗读数个单词后，要求被试根据每个单词的首字母，按字母顺序来重复单词。原量表设计时考虑的心理语言学变量包括：词频（高频词），音节长度，意向性

（意向性高的具体词）。在文化适应性调整中，我们根据原量表的制定要求，对该题进行改编，引入韦氏智力测验数字广度的倒背范式[16]，选用蔡清词频库[15]中高词频、高意象性的双字词构建阶梯式难度任务（1-5 词的序列）。在主试清晰朗读数个词语后，要求被试将每个词语都倒着复述。平行版本 B 组平均词频、语音复杂度均与 A 组实现严格匹配。该范式转变有效剥离字母排序任务中的文化偏倚，更精准量化中老年群体的工作记忆。图 3 呈现了汉化版 CDTLA（A/B 平行版本）与原版 DTLA 工作记忆评估任务的材料。

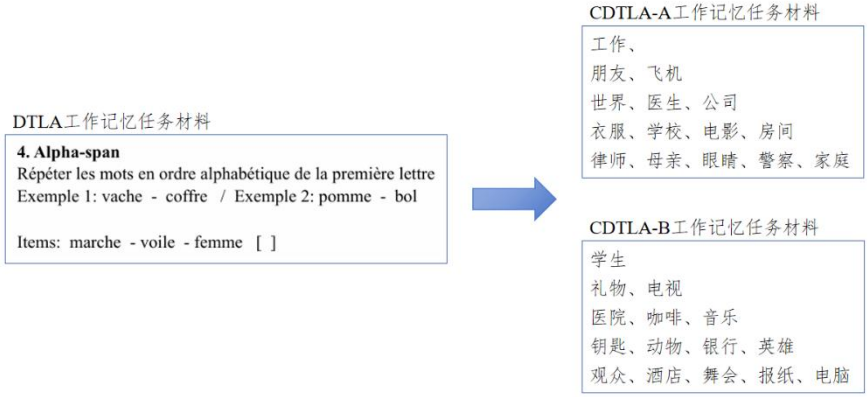


图3 CDTLA（A/B）和DTLA工作记忆任务材料

听写任务：主试以标准发音朗读目标词汇后，要求被试准确书写同音字词，以评估语音-正字法转换能力和书写能力。原量表设计基于三项心理语言学变量：词汇频率（低频词），正字法复杂性，音节长度。在文化适应性调整中，先将原量表单词翻译成双字词，在蔡清词频库[15]查找词频，严格维持低词频与正字法复杂度，对于不符合中国文化的词语（例如“Archange”大天使长），从蔡清词频库[15]查找合适的词语进行替换；对三个非词，我们根据原量表的制定要求，构建了三个两个字的非词。另根据原量表设计时考虑的心理语言学变量，编制平行版本 B 组，确保 B 组与 A 组实现严格匹配。

自发书写任务：主试要求被试独立构思并书写完整句子，句子中需包含主语、谓语、补语，以此评估句法生成能力、语言产出自主性和书写能力。该任务文化迁移能力强，直接进行翻译应用。

阅读任务：主试呈现书面语言材料后，要求被试准确朗读所呈现的材料，以评估语音解码与词汇识别能力。原量表设计整合三项心理语言学变量：词汇频率（低频词），正字法复杂性，音节长度。在文化适应性调整中，先将原量表单词翻译成双字词，在蔡清词频库[50]查找词频，严格维持低词频与正字法复杂度。对于不符合中国文化的词语，从蔡清词频库[50]查找合适的词语进行替换；对三个非词，我们根据原量表的制定要求，构建了三个双字非词。另根据原量表设计时考虑的心理语言学变量，编制平行版本 B 组。

听理解（视-听觉匹配）任务：主试呈现视觉图片，以标准发音朗读目标句子，要求被试判断句子内容和图片内容是否一致，以评估听理解与跨模态加工能力。原量表所提供的三个句子分别是不同形式的被动句，对其翻译后，也调整语序为三种不同形式的被动句。图 4 呈现了汉化版 CDTLA（A/B 平行版本）与原版 DTLA 工作记忆评估任务的材料。

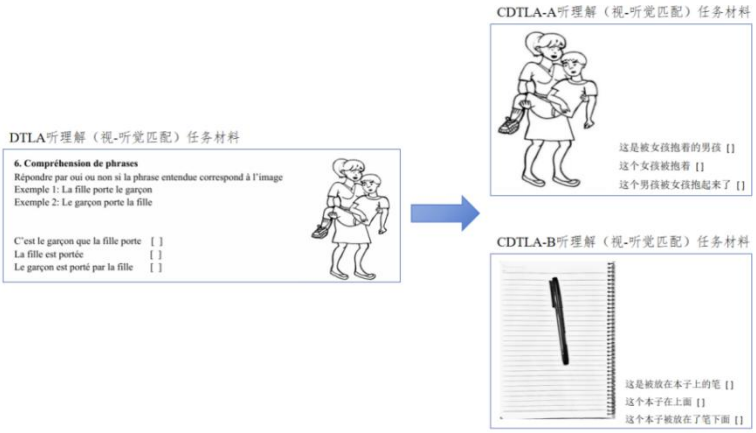


图4 CDTLA（A/B）和DTLA听理解（视-听觉匹配）任务材料

语义辨析任务：主试同步呈现目标刺激与双选项刺激，要求被试快速判断目标刺激与哪项刺激语义关联强度更强，以评估语义理解与跨模态加工能力。原量表设计依托两项心理语言学变量：语义范畴（生物/人造概念各 2 项）和语义关联类型（联想/范畴各 2 项）。在文化适配过程中，考虑到中国老年人受教育程度较为一般，在专家建议下，我们将本题中单词调整为图片，图片均从 551 图片库[14]中挑选，新任务遵循原量表编制原则，总共包含四个项目，两组为生物概念的判断，两组为人造概念的判断。其中各一项为语义联想匹配，各一项为语义范围匹配。平行版本 B 量表采用相同设计原则。图 5 呈现了汉化版 CDTLA（A/B 平行版本）与原版 DTLA 语义辨析任务的部分材料。

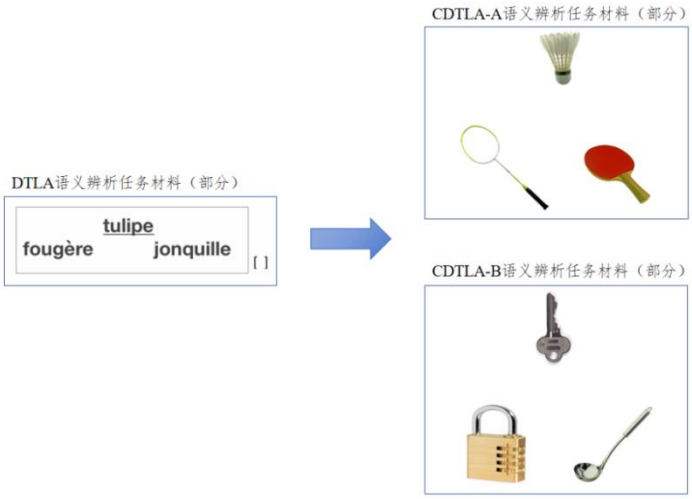


图5 CDTLA（A/B）和DTLA语义辨析任务的部分材料

在初步版本修订过程中，我们形成了 AB 两份 CDTLA 量表，以进行预实验。

2.2 CDTLA 的预测验

2.2.1 被试招募

健康被试纳入标准：（1）母语为汉语；（2）年龄在 45 岁及以上；（3）自我报告良好的精神和身体健康(即没有神经系统疾病史，目前无未治疗的精神疾病、创伤性脑损伤或未治疗的可能干扰认知表现的疾病，无明显听觉和视觉障碍，无严重躯体障碍)且 MMSE (Minimum Mental State Examination，MMSE)评估通过；（4）语言功能正常，可以沟通交流；（5）受教育程度在 2 年及以上。

失语症患者纳入标准：（1）母语为汉语；（2）脑卒中或脑外伤引起失语症；（3）当前病情相对稳定；

（4）受教育程度在 2 年及以上。痴呆、盲、聋、哑或有语言障碍病史的患者被排除在外。

被试都在安静的房间里单独接受测试，患者在病房中单独接受测试，任务的执行没有任何时间限制。

预实验阶段共招募了 77 名健康被试（平均年龄＝62.06 岁，标准差＝9.127；平均受教育程度＝8.481 年，标准差＝4.9799；MMSE 平均分数＝27.97，标准差＝1.905）和 7 名失语症患者（平均年龄＝56.71 岁，标准差＝7.847；平均受教育程度＝8.071 年，标准差＝3.1941；MMSE 平均分数＝16.57，标准差＝13.352），被试人口统计学信息见表 1。所有被试均采用非概率抽样方法招募，均自愿参与且条件允许参与，获得知情同意。

表1 被试人口统计学信息表

		健康被试	失语症患者
年龄（岁）（Mean±SD）		62.06±9.127	56.71±7.847
性别	男性（n,%）	22（28.6%）	7（100%）
	女性（n,%）	55（71.4%）	0（0%）
受教育程度（年）（Mean±SD）		8.481±4.9799	8.071±3.1941
MMSE得分（Mean±SD）		27.97±1.905	16.57±13.352
脑卒中类型	脑出血（n,%）		5（71.4%）
	脑梗死（n,%）		2（28.6%）

2.2.2 实验过程

进行预实验时，所有被试均进行 MMSE 和 AB 两版 CDTLA 的施测。完成测试后，收集施测过程中被试对图片或口头陈述的困惑与主试感知到的困难。根据预测试中发现的问题，对量表指导语进行调整。使用 SPSS 对被试在 AB 两个版本的 DTLA 中的得分进行皮尔逊（Pearson）相关性分析。

2.2.3 预测验结果

使用 SPSS 对被试在 AB 两个版本的 DTLA 中的得分进行 Pearson 相关性分析，结果显示被试在 AB 两个版本的 DTLA 中的得分显著相关（$r = 1.000$，$p < .01$），说明 AB 两份量表的题目差别不大。据此，我们选取了 AB 两份量表中更能被中国被试理解的项目以及更贴合原量表的项目，形成终版 CDTLA 及其指导语。

3 研究 2：CDTLA 的信度和效度

3.1 被试招募

被试纳入条件与研究 1 相同。本研究共招募了 205 名健康被试（Healthy participants， HP，平均年龄= 61.08 岁，标准差=10.09）和 39 例失语症患者（Patients with aphasia， PWA，平均年龄= 64.59 岁，标准差=10.60）。被试的人口统计信息如表 2 所示。CDTLA 的验证过程的示意图见图 6。

表2 研究2中被试的人口统计学信息

组别	度量	收敛效度	区分效度	重测信度	内部一致性
HP	年龄（岁）（Mean±SD）	67.29±16.55	60.86±11.2	58.15±9.09	61.08±10.09

	性别	男性（n，%）	9 (52.9%)	27 (64.3%)	9 (45%)	96 (46.8%)
	受教育程度（年）（Mean±SD）		11.5±8.61	7.91±2.62	7.9±+2.38	7.89±3.81
	MMSE 得分（Mean±SD）		27.82±2.6	28.02±2.1	28.65±1.53	28.36±4.49
PWA	年龄（岁）（Mean±SD）		60.47±10.42	60.43±9.45		64.59±10.6
	性别	男性（n，%）	15 (88.2%)	14 (66.7%)		28 (71.8%)
	受教育程度（年）（Mean±SD）		7 .82±3 .55	7.45±3.61		7.18±3.46
	MMSE 得分（Mean±SD）		11.06±11.88	11.43±10.75		12.85±10.4

注：重测信度中参与者的人口统计信息是第一次测试时的信息。



图6 CDTLA验证过程的示意图

3.2 收敛效度

3.2.1 实验过程

为验证收敛效度，共招募了 17 名健康被试（平均年龄＝67.29 岁，标准差＝16.552；平均受教育程度＝11.5 年，标准差＝8.6132；MMSE 平均分数＝27.82，标准差＝2.604）和 17 名失语症患者（平均年龄＝60.47 岁，标准差＝10.423；平均受教育程度＝7.824 年，标准差＝3.5529；MMSE 平均分数＝11.06，标准差＝11.877）。所有被试均进行了以下测试：MMSE、CDTLA、WAB 全套测试，韦氏记忆量表(第四版)数字广度子测验。

将收集到的数据导入 SPSS 20.0 用 Pearson 相关系数分析被试在不同任务上的表现之间的关联。

3.2.2 实验结果

被试在不同任务上的表现之间的关联结果见表 3。CDTLA 量表的图片命名任务、复述任务、语言流畅性任务、工作记忆任务和 WAB 量表的图片命名任务、复述任务、语言流畅性任务、韦氏记忆量表(第四版)数字广度任务的相关系数分别为 0.988、0.910、0.910、0.947，表明测试间具有很强的相关性；CDTLA 量表的听理解任务、语义辨析任务和 WAB 量表的动作指令任务、图画理解任务的相关系数分别为 0.748、

0.655，表明测试间具有强相关性。可见 CDTLA 具有良好的收敛效度。

表3 其他测试与CDTLA子测试之间的相关性

CDTLA 子测试	WAB 图片命名	WAB 复述	WAB 语言流畅性	数字广度子测验	WAB 动作指令	WAB 图画理解
图片命名	.988**	.881**	.870**	.860**	.773**	.856**
复述	.841**	.910**	.722**	.787**	.664**	.614**
语言流畅性	.846**	.748**	.910**	.881**	.728**	.727**
工作记忆	.861**	.828**	.827**	.947**	.716**	.727**
听理解	.797**	.742**	.622**	.726**	.748**	.667**
语义辨析	.710**	.648**	.671**	.701**	.512**	.655**

注：**. 在 .01 水平（双侧）上显著相关。*. 在 0.05 水平（双侧）上显著相关。

3.3 区分效度

3.3.1 实验过程

为测试能否通过 CDTLA 的分数区分健康被试和失语症患者，招募 21 名失语症患者（平均年龄＝60.43 岁，标准差＝9.448；平均受教育程度＝7.452 年，标准差＝3.6121；MMSE 平均分数＝11.43，标准差＝10.750）和 42 名健康被试（平均年龄＝60.86 岁，标准差＝11.2；平均受教育程度＝7.905 年，标准差＝2.6185；MMSE 平均分数＝28.02，标准差＝2.101），两组的年龄（Mann-Whitney U 检验 p=0.759＞0.05）、性别（Fisher 精确检验 p=0.541＞0.05）、教育程度（Mann-Whitney U 检验 p=0.545＞0.05）均相匹配。

用 SPSS 对两组被试在 CDTLA 上的表现进行独立样本 t 检验，以验证量表的区分效度。

3.3.2 实验结果

采用独立样本 t 检验来比较健康组和失语症患者在 CDTLA 上的表现。结果表明失语症患者组在 CDTLA 上的评分显著低于健康对照组（F = 33.66，p<.000），说明 CDTLA 具有良好的区分效度。

3.4 重测信度

3.4.1 实验过程

重测信度的评估通过对 20 名健康被试进行间隔 6 个月的两次 DTLA 施测（首次测试时，平均年龄＝58.15 岁，标准差＝9.086；平均受教育程度＝7.9 年，标准差＝2.3819；MMSE 平均分数＝28.65，标准差＝1.531），两次施测的结果用 SPSS 进行双向混合模型下的组内相关系数（Intraclass correlation efficient, ICC）和 Pearson 相关系数分析相关性，来评估 CDTLA 的重测信度。

3.4.2 实验结果

20 名被试间隔 6 个月接受了两次 CDTLA 施测，第一次测试（T1，T1 平均分=91.30，标准差=4.868）和第二次测试（T2，T2 平均分=90.20，标准差=6.305）中表现的相关系数为 0.946，表明两次施测的分数具有强相关。第一次测试（T1）和第二次测试（T2）之间的组内相关系数结果见表 4，ICC＝0.916＞0.9 （95% CI: 0.800–0.966, p<0.001），表明量表具有优秀的跨时间稳定性，即 CDTLA 具有优秀的重测信度。

表4 第一次测试（T1）和第二次测试（T2）之间的组内相关系数

	类内相关性[b]	95% 置信区间		使用真值 0 的 F 检验			
		下限	上限	值	df_1	df_2	Sig
单个测量	.916[a]	.800	.966	22.682	19	19	.000
平均测量	.956[c]	.889	.983	22.682	19	19	.000

注：双向混合效应模型，其中，人员影响是随机的而测量影响是固定的。[a]. 无论是否存在交互效果，估计器都相同。[b]. C 型类内相关系数使用一致性定义 — 从分母方差中排除之间测量方差。[c]. 计算此估计时假设交互效果不存，否则就不可估计。

3.5 内部一致性信度

3.5.1 实验过程

为验证内部一致性信度，共招募了 205 名健康被试（平均年龄＝61.08 岁，标准差＝10.089；平均受教育程度＝7.885 年，标准差＝3.8099；MMSE 平均分数＝28.36，标准差＝4.485）和 39 名失语症患者（平均年龄＝64.59 岁，标准差＝10.595；平均受教育程度＝7.179 年，标准差＝3.4612；MMSE 平均分数＝12.85,标准差＝10.401）。所有被试均进行了 MMSE 和 CDTLA 量表施测。使用 SPSS 计算 Cronbach's α。

3.5.2 实验结果

对于构成 CDTLA 量表的 8 个子测试（除了语言流畅性任务，因为它的值不是数值，而是由被试说出的词语数组成），计算 Cronbach's α，得到的 Cronbach's α数值为 0.885，在 0.8 和 0.9 之间，表明 CDTLA 具有良好的内部一致性。

4 研究 3：CDTLA 在失语症患者中的临床应用

本研究旨在结合我国国情和临床经验，探究 DTLA 在失语症患者中的适用性，并通过 ROC 曲线分析，对量表的敏感性、特异性进行验证，探寻量表的最佳区分分数线。

4.1 临床应用

4.1.1 被试招募

本研究共纳入 39 例失语症患者（平均年龄=64.59 岁，标准差=10.595；平均受教育程度=7.179 岁，标准差=3.4612；MMSE 平均分数=12.85，标准差=10.401）。失语症患者的纳入标准与研究 1 相同。

4.1.2 实验过程

所有患者均完成了 MMSE、CDTLA 和完整的 WAB 评估。采用 SPSS 进行皮尔逊相关分析，首先评估全体失语症患者 DTLA 与 WAB 评分的相关性，随后根据 WAB 评估结果联合临床诊断进行失语症亚型分类，进而对各亚型患者分别进行 DTLA 与 WAB 评分的相关性分析。

4.1.3 实验结果

失语症患者在 CDTLA 上的表现（平均分数=41.50，标准差=25.904）和在 WAB 上的表现（平均分数=50.67，标准差=31.734）的相关系数为 0.926，表明两份量表的分数具有强相关，可见它们在评估失语症方面的一致性。

根据 WAB 评估结果联合临床诊断进行亚型分类（失语症亚型分类见表 5），由于部分失语症亚型样

本量不足（n<5），本研究仅对 Broca's 运动性失语（n=13）、Anomia 命名性失语（n=13）及 Global 完全性失语（n=6）三组进行后续分析。Anomia 命名性失语组的 CDTLA 与 WAB 呈中度相关（r = 0.632, p = 0.200）；Broca's 运动性失语组的 CDTLA 与 WAB 呈强相关（r = 0.766, p = 0.020）；Global 完全性失语组，由于数据非正态分布，使用 Spearman 相关分析，结果显示两组呈强相关（ρ= 0.794, p = 0.059）。

表5 失语症亚型分类

失语症类型	人数	WAB 分数	DTLA 分数
Anomia 命名性失语	13	86.73	68.69
Broca's 运动性失语	13	30.58	27.62
Global 完全性失语	6	10.15	10.17
T.M.经皮质运动性失语	3	65.77	53.67
T.S.经皮质感觉性失语	1	64.8	32
Wernicke's 经皮质感觉性失语	1	35.5	24
Conduction 传导性失语	1	71.5	54
Isolation 经皮质混合性失语	1	18.1	17

综合数据显示，CDTLA 与 WAB 在整体语言功能评估中具有高度一致性，支持其临床适用性。亚型分析提示不同失语症类型（如 Broca 型与 Wernicke 型）可能影响 CDTLA 与 WAB 的亚项相关性强度（如命名任务 r=0.665-0.910），但因亚组样本量不足（n=5-12），统计功效受限（p>0.05/部分亚组），结论需谨慎解读。综上，CDTLA 可有效实现失语症患者的语言功能快速筛查（10 分钟完成），其与金标准 WAB 的整体强相关性为社区及临床场景中的初步评估提供了可靠工具。未来需扩大亚型样本以验证细分效度。

上述结果表明，CDTLA 与 WAB 在整体层面具有较高的评估一致性，亚型分析表明 CDTLA 和 WAB 的评估相关强度可能受失语类型影响，但受限于亚组样本量，相关分析统计效力不足，需谨慎判断。从所进行的分析中，我们可以得出结论，总体上，CDTLA 在失语症患者中也具有良好的临床应用价值，可以对患者的语言状态进行快速的筛查。

4.2 ROC 分析

4.2.1 被试招募

本研究共纳入 39 例失语症患者（平均年龄=64.59 岁，标准差=10.595；平均受教育程度=7.179 岁，标准差=3.4612；MMSE 平均分数=12.85，标准差=10.401）和 205 名健康被试（平均年龄＝61.08 岁，标准差＝10.089；平均受教育程度＝7.885 年，标准差＝3.8099；MMSE 平均分数＝28.36，标准差＝4.485）。失语症患者和健康被试的纳入标准与研究 1 相同。

4.2.2 实验过程

对 205 名健康被试和 39 名失语症患者的 CDTLA 分数进行受试者工作特征（ROC）曲线分析，以验证 CDTLA 区分失语症患者与健康对照的准确性，并通过计算最大约登指数（YI）来确定最佳区分分数线，其中 YI=敏感性+特异性-1。

此外，还进行了接收器操作特性（ROC）曲线分析，以评估诊断准确性和效率。最佳截止点由计算最大约登指数（Youden Index, YI）确定，其中 YI=敏感度+特异性-1。

4.2.3 实验结果

ROC 分析结果见图 7，曲线下面积（AUC）为 0.948（95%CI：0.908-0.988），具有统计学意义（$p<0.05$），表明汉化版 DTLA 具有良好的诊断准确性和效率。找到约登指数最大的点（约登指数＝敏感度+特异度-1）对应的测试结果变量值就是最佳的区分分数线。对于 CDTLA，最佳区分分数为 64.5，即当 CDTLA 总分为 64.5 分时，对判断被试是否患有失语症的诊断价值最大，此时量表的敏感性为 0.98，特异性为 0.795。

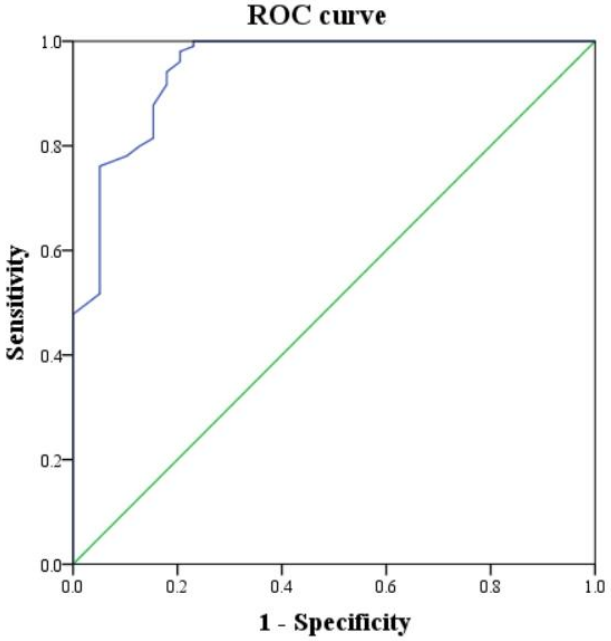


图7 CDTLA对健康被试和失语症患者识别的ROC曲线图

5 综合讨论

5.1 讨论

本研究立足于全球老龄化背景下语言健康维护的迫切需求[17]，针对我国卒中后失语症发病率逐年升高[18]，而本土化评估工具匮乏的现状，通过三个阶段性研究，系统地构建了兼具文化适应性与临床实用性的中文版语言筛查工具 CDTLA。

语言作为人类认知与社会互动的核心载体，其功能障碍不仅影响个体生存质量，更会影响个体的社会适应能力、人际关系、情感表达与沟通、职业能力及心理健康等[1]。然而现有汉语评估工具普遍存在两大局限：其一，西方量表汉化版本因受原量表结构束缚，难以充分评估汉语特有的语言现象；其二，常用的失语症标准化工具施测耗时过长（如 WAB 需 60-90 分钟）导致应用困难[10]。本研究通过文化适应性调整、心理测量学验证和临床诊断效能检验的三个研究，成功开发出符合汉语语言学特征与文化认知图式的快速筛查工具，为应对老龄化社会的语言健康挑战提供了工具。

研究一，DTLA 的汉化修订。在语言测试中，文化适应的问题至关重要，因为语言的认知能力受到个人母语的特殊特征和语言特性的影响，这在失语症中尤其如此。本研究采用双重正译回译与预测试，在保留原 DTLA 九大维度评估框架[11]的基础上，通过系统性文化适配与心理测量学验证，解决了汉语语

言障碍评估中的两大核心问题：文化效度不足与标准化数据缺失。在文化适配层面，CDTLA 整合了汉语类型学特征与本土认知经验，对原版量表的任务材料与任务范式进行重构实现了文化适应性调整：用中国蔡清汉语词频数据库[15]中的高频词与低频词和中国 551 图片库[14]中符合中国认知图式的视觉刺激对原量表中的一些词汇和图片进行替换调整；将语音流畅性任务从“计时一分钟说字母 D 开头的单词”重构为“计时一分钟说水果名称”；依据汉语语用习惯调整被动句式，降低句法理解偏差。相较于原量表，这些改进显著提升了老年受试者的任务理解度，预测试显示 AB 两版 CDTLA 得分显著相关（p<0.001），表明文化适配有效降低了项目偏差。另外值得关注的是工作记忆任务范式的创新，将原 DTLA 中“主试叙述几个单词，被试需根据这几个单词的首字母顺序复述单词”，调整为“主试叙述若干双字词，被试需倒序复述所有词汇”，这一改进既规避了原版 DTLA 依赖字母顺序的语言特性与汉语缺乏音序排列的结构性矛盾（汉语自身无固定字母排序规则），又通过倒叙任务评估被试的工作记忆能力和抑制控制能力[19]，更契合汉语双音节词汇的认知加工特征[20, 21]。

研究二，CDTLA 的信度和效度的验证中，通过对 205 名健康人与 39 例患者的施测和数据处理，证明 CDTLA 在测量学指标的优势。原版 DTLA 内部一致性 Cronbach's α为 0.84[11]，CDTLA 的 Cronbach's α提升至 0.885，这可能源于文化适配后项目理解度的改善；原版 DTLA 重测信度通过对间隔 6 个月的两次施测成绩进行配对样本 t 检验来验证（t（19）= -1.63，p = .12）[11]，CDTLA 中，我们通过对间隔 6 个月的两次施测成绩进行 Pearson 相关性分析（r=0.946）和 ICC 的计算（ICC＝0.916, 95% CI: 0.800–0.966, p<0.001）证实了量表具有优秀的重测信度；在收敛效度层面，CDTLA 量表的图片命名（r=0.988）和复述任务（r=0.910）与对应 WAB 子测试的相关性，较原版 DTLA 研究（r=0.78-0.817）[11]有所提升，这可能得益于图片命名任务中的物品选择更贴近中国被试的日常经验，复述任务中的语境也更符合文化背景，这些调整有助于提高被试对任务的理解和执行，从而增强了 CDTLA 量表子测试与 WAB 子测试的相关性。而听理解任务相关度（r=0.748）略低于原版（r=0.895）[11]，可能与汉语被动句的语用复杂性有关[22]。

研究三，CDTLA 在失语症患者中的临床应用证实了 CDTLA 在临床上的应用价值，失语症患者在汉化版 DTLA 和 WAB 的表现的相关系数为 0.926，表明两份量表的分数具有强相关，可见它们在评估失语症方面的一致性。从所进行的分析中，我们可以得出结论，总体上，汉化版 DTLA 在失语症患者中也具有良好的临床应用价值，可以对患者的语言状态进行快速的筛查。规范性数据的建立是 CDTLA 科学性与临床实用性的核心。基于健康中老年人群的常模数据（n=205）及卒中后失语症患者的数据，绘制 ROC 曲线，曲线下面积 AUC=0.948，且敏感度极高。找到约登指数最大的点以确定临界值分数，此时的截断分数为 64.5，展现出卓越的敏感性（0.98）与可接受的特异性（0.795）。这意味着该工具能够准确识别 98%的潜在失语症患者，同时将健康人群的误诊率控制在 20.5%。尽管特异性相对敏感性而言较为一般，但契合该筛查量表的功能定位，其核心目标是通过最小化假阴性，尽可能多的识别出语言障碍者，从而为后续精准评估（如 WAB、BDAE）和康复干预争取时间。总的来看，CDTLA 5-15 分钟的施测时长，在时间-效益比上相对于传统综合性量表具有显著优势。与 WAB 高达 0.926 的相关性（r=0.926）验证了其作为初步筛查工具的准确性，而模块化设计受损语言模块的鉴别提供了可能。

本研究构建的 CDTLA 不仅填补了汉语语言障碍筛查工具的本土化空白，更深层次地揭示了非拼音文字体系下语言评估工具开发的普适性规律。从跨文化心理学视角，本研究验证了双盲翻译模型在声调语言评估工具的翻译中的适用性[23, 24]。在老龄化社会的语言健康管理实践中，CDTLA 仅需 10 分钟的筛查效率显著降低了社区医疗场景中的操作门槛。

5.2 研究局限性及展望

本研究仍存在一定的局限性。首先，受地理位置限制，本研究健康对照组及卒中后失语症患者的招募主要集中于浙江省杭州市及嘉兴市，尽管采用随机抽样策略，但区域文化同质性可能限制研究结论对其余方言区（如粤语）人群的适用性。此外，样本群体的平均受教育年限为 7.89 年（健康组）与 7.18 年（患者组），可能有更高的教育和文化水平来理解所遇到的测试项目。第三，病理人群的纳入标准限定为卒中后失语症，未涵盖其他病因导致的获得性语言障碍（如原发性进行性失语症等），而不同病因的语言损伤模式在神经机制与行为表现上存在异质性，可能影响量表的生态效度。第四，由于体量原因，所招募的被试（健康组 n=205，失语症患者组 n=39）数量有限，对于某些亚组分析（如对不同失语类型的分析）仍存在统计效力不足的问题，后续需通过多中心合作扩大样本规模以验证量表的鉴别能力。此外，由于 CDTLA 的验证周期限制，重测信度评估仅对健康被试进行间隔 6 个月测试，未能验证患者群体在康复干预背景下的分数稳定性，这可能低估疾病进程中测试敏感度的动态变化特征。

未来研究可通过延长随访周期、纳入多样化方言及教育背景群体、扩展至其他病因导致的获得性语言障碍群体等方式提升工具生态效度，同时结合神经影像学指标（如灰质体积、白质完整性）构建多模态评估框架，进一步解析语言障碍的神经行为关联机制。

5.3 结论

本研究针对中国中老年人群的语言认知特征与文化背景，汉化修订并验证了首个标准化、规范参考的汉语失语症快速筛查工具 CDTLA。研究证实，普通话版 CDTLA 的构建是中国中老年人群在失语症筛查方面的一个重要进展。该工具凭借良好的信效度、高效的施测效率（平均耗时 5-15 分钟）及优异的诊断准确性（AUC=0.948），可代替 WAB 等耗时较长评估工具实现社区卫生服务中心的快速筛查，也适用于医院内对卒中后失语症患者的初步筛查，从而为后续精准评估提供有效补充，为语言障碍的早期发现和干预提供关键技术支撑。后续研究应持续拓展其在方言群体（如粤语）及特殊人群（低教育水平、农村群体）中的应用验证，通过动态常模更新机制确保该工具在中国多样化老龄化社会中的持续适用性。

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位置敏感对互动功能的影响

——以留学生自然口语“就是”为例

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摘要：本研究基于互动语言学理论和会话分析方法，探讨东南亚留学生自然口语中“就是”话轮的特征，其位置敏感性是如何影响互动功能的。文章对收集的总时长 246 分钟，共计 63282 字的东南亚留学生自然会话语料进行转写分析，明确界定“就是”话轮，并总结其特征；研究进一步考察了“就是”在话轮中的倾向性位置分布，并比较了母语者与二语者之间的差异。最后，文章探讨了母语者与二语者在使用“就是”时位置敏感性的差异，以及这些差异如何影响其在互动中的功能。研究表明“就是”在留学生口语中承担多种互动功能：（1）应答反馈功能；（2）引出新信息功能；（3）话语填充功能。尽管母语者和二语者在使用“就是”的话轮位置分布上大体相似，但在“就是”位于话轮之首时，两者之间存在显著差异。此外，母语者和二语者在使用“就是”的序列位置差异也显著影响了其互动功能。

关键词：位置敏感语法；互动功能；“就是”；序列位置

一、引言

目前对于口语语法方面的研究日益增多，但是在互动语言学视角下，“就是”这一话语标记在自然口语中的具体表现及其互动功能仍探讨不足，尤其表现在东南亚学生口语中的使用情况更是现有研究。

回顾以往文献研究，我们能发现目前前人对于“就是”的研究主要集中在以下几个方面：张谊生（2002）从共时和历时的角度探讨了“就是”的在书面语上的篇章衔接（cohesion）功能，分别为：让步、解说、递进、条件、选择和转折这六种功能。张惟、高华（2012）采用了会话分析的方法，考察话语标记“就是”在会话中的分布和功能，其功能多表现在可以作解释说明标记，也可以做修补的标记，还可以作为停顿填充词来保持话轮。姚双云和姚小鹏（2012）的研究则是认为“就是”在自然口语中的功能可以分为三种：应答标记、话轮发端语和停顿填充词。李先银、刘明萱（2024）则基于互动语言学视角考察“就是”的填充用法需要满足四个标准：不做句法成分、可以删去、没有真值语义、话语输出存在困难。

前人研究，首先，前人研究重点多集中在“就是”的语法化或话语功能的传统视角上，较少从位置敏感性角度开展对于“就是”互动功能的影响；其次是，关于留学生口语话语标记的研究中，“所以”等话语标记受到较多关注，而聚焦于“就是”则相对较少；三是，尽管有研究者指出语料研究最好从日常语料中选取，但实际操作中仍多使用非自然语料，本研究采用东南亚学生自然口语语料，更真实反映留学生的实际语言使用情况；三是，现有研究主要关注母语者，而缺乏针对二语，尤其是东南亚学生口语中“就是”的研究。

鉴于以上的研究现状，尝试分析东南亚学生自然口语中的“就是”话轮，揭示其话轮特征、分布规律

对于互动功能的影响。通过对比分析母语者与二语者之间“就是”的使用情况差异及其互动功能的差异，深化我们对“就是”这一话语标记的理解，同时也为汉语作为第二语言教学中的口语教学和汉语二语习得等领域提供参考和启示。

本文的语料源于广西大学东南亚留学生的自然话语。本文语料共计 246 分钟，按转规范转写（转写规范见附录），转写字数共计 63282 字，共发现“就是”428 个。其中用于东亚学学生口语中的“就是”共计 245，用于母语者自然口语中的则为 147 个。

二、“就是”位置分布情况

语法形式产生于特定的序列类型，并由特定的序列类型和序列位置塑造而成，其互动功能对序列位置具有敏感性（Schegloff，1996）。一个语法形式在话轮中的不同位置可能会有不同的互动功能。下面是本文对于“就是”的位置分布的情况的简要描写。

2.1“就是”话论位置

位置一：话论之首

（1）语境：谈论马来西亚说的语言

01 A: 但是实际上好像马来西亚的华人不怎么说马来话是吧(?)
02 马来学生: 就是我们一般也不说(.)但是如果我们跟别人沟通(.)
03 他不会汉语(.)我们也不会优先说马来语(.)我们都是说英语
04 A: 所以这样(.)不管是谁(.)你用一个所有马来西亚人都能听懂的话(.)
05 来给可能未来要来中国学习的这个马来西亚人嘱咐几句

位置二：话轮之中

（2）语境：谈论对比赛的感想

01 A: 对对对(.)你觉得你那个比赛六分钟成功吗(?)成功在哪儿(?)失败(?)
02 泰国学生: 怎么说(.)就是①我那次<@我那个比赛(.)@>就是②在(..)
03 就是在在比赛之前，我就是[一直在改。
04 A: <@害]@>
05 泰国学生: [因为我是那种废话的](.)就是③一直在说什么什么废话什么的话(.)
06 说的太多了(.)我们秦老师就是③教我就说你是老师的(.)
07 话你要少一点(..)要多让学生他们说多说的(.)
08 所以我就是④一直在跟自己说(.)我一定要(.)

位置三：话轮之尾

（3）语境：谈论汉语课堂学习

01 泰国学生：主要是我们主办法就是想找那种刚接触(.)就是什么(.)

02 就是汉语还没接触特别久的，就是=

03 A: 真的要学这个东西

04 泰国学生：真的要学

05 A: 我就觉得他们一个(.)

06 就是从早上到晚上一直在我的坐在那边也是挺(.)无聊的

07 泰国学生：<@对@>

我们可以看到，“就是”在话轮中的分布为以下情况，如表 1 所示：

表 1“就是”在留学生口语话轮位置的分布及使用频次（比例）

分布位置	话轮首	话轮中	话轮尾	共计
分布次数（%）	32（11.39%）	245（87.19%）	4（1.42%）	281（100%）

表 2“就是”在母语者口语话轮未知的分布及使用情况（比例）

分布位置	话轮首	话轮中	话轮尾	共计
分布次数（%）	27（18.37%）	117（79.59%）	2（1.36%）	147（100%）

从表 1 可以看出来，位居话轮之尾的“就是”仅占 4 例，占比 1.42%；话轮之首的有 32 例，占比 11.39%；而话轮之中的高达 245 例，占比 87.19%。由此可见，“就是”在话轮中位置分布灵活，但多居于话轮之中。在留学生口语中，“就是”的使用偏爱话轮中位，某种程度上来说，“就是”在扩展当前话轮方面有一定的作用，说话者可以通过引入其主观看法，适当延长当前话轮，推进交际，同时引导听话者进行话轮的回应。

从表 2 来看，母语者使用“就是”的情况，“就是”话轮分布灵活，主要集中在话轮中的位置。大体的分布情况和留学生口语中的分布情况一致。但在母语者使用“就是”并且位居话轮之首的“就是”时，常常以“就是说”的形式出现，我们可以看到在母语者口语中使用“就是”已使其意义从最初的一个表判断的谓词性短语逐步发展成为表衔接的连词，发生了虚化（张惟、高华，2012）。

2.2 留学生口语中“就是”序列位置

会话序列（conversational sequence）能够反映语法形式在一段会话中与前后话轮之间的关系（田咪、姚双云，2020）。所以在本文中，我们不仅考察了“就是”在话轮中的分布情况，同时我们也考察它在序列结构中的位置。“就是”在序列结构中主要分布在回应序列、XX、XX 上。

2.2.1 序列位置一：相邻对后件

会话序列的核心组织形式是“相邻对”（adjacency pairs），它包括前件（first pair part）和后件（second

pair part）。我们从收集到的语料看到，留学生使用“就是”经常位于“发起——回应”中相邻对中的后件，即回应序列。

（4）语境：谈论学校举办水灯节

01 A: 我跟杨老师就吃完饭回来(.)他去他说我买咖啡吧(.)
02 等他的时说我一看微信哟(?) 在咱们楼底下做水灯
03 泰国学生：对我(.)我们学生就是①穿泰国服装去(.)我也穿(.)
04 但是我是去比赛的(.)不是去放水灯的
05 A: 他们是不是大多数人都在碧云湖这儿放的水灯(?)
06 泰国学生：就是②学校能放的地方估计也就是③那
07 A: 我们上次朗诵那个纪念碑(.)22 级的本科班就在那儿那放(.)
08 估计也就我也是第一次跟他们过水灯节

我们从例（4）中，参与者老师和越南学生（02—03 行）构建的“发起——回应”相邻对中，“就是”具有回应性特征，表达泰国学生对于说话者 A 所说的内容做出的情感上的反映，这表明了泰国学生完全赞同 A 话语的观点，同时这也辅助越南学生开启相邻对后件的话语组织。

2.2.2 序列位置二：插入扩展序列

（5）语境：谈论大学专业学习

01 越南学生：其实真的我(1.0)我觉得(.)我读完大学(.)我都没什么专业的知识
02 A: 嗯（轻微）嗯哼(?)
03 越南学生：就是专业知识太薄了(1.0)我是觉得这样走下去(.)我觉得不行
04 A: 那你原来学的什么(?)
05 越南学生：我原来学的是会计会计
06 A: 嗯(?)

插入扩展是由相邻对前件的受话人发起的，处于相邻对“就是”在回应先前序列的同时引发序列扩展。“就是”通过回应先前序列的同时业引发序列的扩展。例（5）中，越南学生在 06 行相邻对前件和 02 行相邻对后件中插入了一个由“就是”构建的“相邻对前件后插入扩展”（post-first insert expansion）序列。03 行越南学生先是对 02 行老师对于他学没什么专业知识的困惑或疑问的回应，其次也引发下来 04 行老师关于他专业学的什么的提问。

2.2.3 序列位置三：后扩展序列

（6）语境：谈论泰国教育系统的情况

01 A: 这个是很深的一个矛盾(.)那泰国有没有类似这样的(?)
02 泰国学生：就比如说(.)我这个小学是有一些项目(.)好像就是①(.)怎么说(1.0)
03 也是有一些课本什么的(.)就是②也是经过政府的(1.0)他们会看(.)

04　　我也不知道是什么样的一个情况(.)就是③我们有自己的书(.)

05　　还有他们的书(.)[这样=

06　A:　　直接把书给你们，原来是这样

07　泰国学生：就是④政府他们好像是去谈的(.)就是⑤一有一些书我们不用(.)

08　　好像是不用付钱(1.0)但是他们会给

09　A:　　这是基督教给的吗(?)

010　泰国学生：不是(.)是政府提供课本的

011　A:　　哦哦(?)是义务教育

例（6）中，序列在泰国学生和 A 构建的相邻对后并没结束。在 07 行中，泰国学生通过“就是④”开启了后扩展，将话题回到由 06 行被 A 所插入的话轮打断了的会话序列。07-08 行中泰国学生通过继续解释这些书怎么来的，同时也修正 06 行中“书是直接给的”的一话轮。在 07-08 行泰国学生完成解释后，引发了 09 行的序列扩展。

2.2.4 序列位置四：序列结束序列

（7）语境：谈论汉语学习报班

01　A:　　就专门去学汉语了

02　越南学生：对(.)我就白天在家自己学习(.)晚上去语言中心学习

03　A:　　那当时报了个多长时间的班啊(?)

04　越南学生：嗯=(1.0)我当时报的是应该是三个月(.)三个月

05　A:　　@那没有要上完一个学期呀(?)

06　越南学生：呃=三个月(.)就是

07　A:　　但是你时间到你不知道自己在学什么

08　越南学生：确实(.)但是还有一段时间(.)就是(1.0)比如说老师有时(.)有那个工作(.)

09　　然后那天就不学了(.)然后改为另(.)对

010　老师:　　反正上够那么多节

011　学生:　　对对对

例（7）中 06 行中的“就是”可以作为泰国学生阻止序列扩展的话语资源，推动当前话题的结束。说话人 A 在 03 行提出报班时长的疑问。04 行越南学生优先对 A 的质疑进行回应，表示时间为“三个月”，这表明对于 03 行 A 所提供的话题被越南学生接受。但 A 明显不接受这样的解释，并继续发问，表示质疑；06 行中越南学生感到被冒犯，这里关于学习报班的话轮完成并在话轮尾试图用“就是”表示反驳态度，用以引导话题的结束，遏制关于“报了三个月汉语学习班”这个话题的延续。

2.2.5 序列位置五：修正序列

（8）语境：谈论台湾教学和大陆教学差异

01　A:　　台湾特色的汉语和我们这儿教的有很多地方不一样。能举点例子吗？

02 泰国学生：我那个(.)我不知道是(.)<@就是①好像别人听好像听得出来(.)

03 那我自己好像也是没有察觉到@>

04 A: 有没有被别人纠正过(.)那你为什么这么说(?)你这个是台湾说法(.)

05 在大陆我们=

06 泰国学生：就是②在轻声方面。对对对(?)应该是轻声(.)我们就是③没(.)

07 不会很(.)那那么还有一些音(.)很就是④不会怎么说呢(?)应该就是⑤

08 在轻声方面就是⑥一些字(.)我就是⑦我们就是⑧会强调他们的音调(.)

09 说的就是⑨会很明显(.)轻声就不明显这样

010 A: 但是这边有很多轻声(.)普通话水平测试必读轻声词语表

011 泰国学生：是=

例（8）中 02-03 行，泰国学生在说话的时候出现了组织困难的情况。他在说话的时候一时想不起来自己要说什么，或者找不到合适的词语来表达，不知道该如何表述想说的内容。在这个话轮中，泰国学生就采用了多个“就是”进行话语填充，为自己的思考争取充足的时间，同时也在不断的修正自己的话语。

2.3 母语者和二语者“就是”序列位置差异

2.3.1 相邻对前件和后件

从我们收集到的语料看到，母语者使用“就是”的情况和留学生不同，母语者偏向于使用“就是”经常位于相邻对中的前件，大多用于引入信息。

（9）语境：谈论马来西亚的学校入学情况

01 A: 就是说(.)那个大学只能让女孩子去上

02 马来学生：如果是(1.0)外国男人的话也可以(.)应该

03 A: 原来是这样(?)=

从例（9）我们可以看到，A 在 01 行通过“就是说”来引入一个具体的话题或观点，即关于某个大学只允许女孩子上学的说法，暗示了接下来的话轮是对前面提到的某个观点或信息的进一步解释或澄清。01 行中 A 可能听到了一个关于某大学只允许女生入学的传闻，并试图像受话者确认这一信息的准确性。在接下来的话轮中，02 行马来学生提出了一个相反的观点，即如果是外国男人的话，也是可以上这个大学的。这是对前面话轮中 A 提到的“只让女孩去上”这一信息的澄清。接下来的话轮中，A 接收到新信息，在 03 行通过语调上扬和语调的延长表示了对马来学生观点的接受和理解。

在汉语会话中，“就是”的序列位置在母语者和二语者之间存在显著差异。相比较而言，母语者使用“就是”更常见于会话序列相邻对的前件，它在这里扮演着开启话题和引导对方回应的角色。这个用法体现了“就是”在构建假设性陈述和设定对话框架中的关键作用，往往用来引入新话题、提出假设或重述前文信息，以此作为对话的出发点。可以为说话者自己的观点或信息提供了语境，也为听者预期即将到来

的对话内容设定了基调。例如，在讨论某个特定主题时，母语者可能会说“就是关于那个项目，我觉得……”，既表明即将讨论的内容，也为听者提供了一个思考和准备回应的框架。

在二语者的使用中，“就是”则集中出现在会话序列相邻对后件，主要承担着回应和解释的功能。二语者通过“就是”来确认回应、和解释前述信息，以此推动话题的深入和发展。这种用法显示了二语者在对话中对信息处理和反应的策略，他们可能需要额外的话语工具来确保自己的观点被理解，或在对话中寻找合适的切入点。

三、“就是”的互动功能

“就是”的互动功能对序列环境具有敏感性，不同的序列环境位置，其互动功能不尽相同。在现代汉语书面语中，“就是”主要具备四种用法：a.动词短语，表判断、解释；b.副词，表范围，情态；c.语气词，表语气；d.连词，表关联。自然口语中的“就是”也具备上述用法。同时，自然口语中的“就是”也可以做话语标记，实施多种功能。本文这个部分则是对“就是”的互动功能进行描写，并考察各种功能语序列位置之间的关系。

3.1 应答反馈信息

“就是”是由表应答的“是”转化而来的，“就是”中的“就”基于着力肯定某一命题的功能（屈承熹，2006），在这里起到了强化语义的功能。在自然口语中，“就是”能够体现说话人的主观情态。相比较“是”、“对”，“就是”具有强化性的应答功能，可以凸显主观肯定，其传递语气的力度大于“是”和“对”。

（10）语境：谈论汉语学习方法

01 A: 所以那个时候你下了课(.)你自己去学汉语(.)怎么学呢(?)抄写吗(?)

02 越南学生：对对对（.）就是①（.）就是②抄写(.)因为没有朋友聊天(.)我就抄写(.)

03 记住汉字然后自己读(.)就比如说我一个人走路的时候(.)我会说汉语(.)

04 自己跟自己说@然后我就读(.)<@我就自己对自己聊天@>

05 纠正自己的发音，但[是=

06 A: 自己]纠正自己(?)

07 越南学生：对(.)就是③这样(.)我听我听(1.0)老师说好像我发音跟老师不太一样

当同义的两个语言要素同时出现在一个话轮中时，主观性弱的要素先出现，主观性强的后出现，原因是说话者首先需要反映客观事实的语言要素，实现“达意”；其次是表达主观感受，实现“表情”（姚双云、姚小鹏，2012）。我们可以看到例（9）中，02 行越南学生对 01 行 A 的提问进行肯定的的回答，“对”和“就是①”都表达出了对疑问的赞同，“就是①”怎表明完全赞同肯定，语气较强。同样的，在 A 和越南学生构建的应答序列中（06-07 行），也是通过“对”+“就是”进行强化性应答，这是符合人的认知状况和表达习惯的。

（11）语境：谈论在泰国做家教

01　A：　　以前你也教泰国学生是吗(?)

02　泰国学生：嗯(.)就是在泰国的时候(.)去在一个商场里面的那个辅导班教的

03　A：　　那待会儿我们可能还要聊一下这个事情

例（10）中，02 行泰国学生在收到 A 明确交出话语权的提示后，通过“就是”承接话语权，用“就是”占据话轮，开始解释自己在泰国是如何进行家教的。01 行中，A 就做家教这件事情，提出问题，明确指示需要泰国学生做指定应答。泰国学生在 02 行，首先先正面回答了 A 发出的提问，并且在接下来的话轮中开始表达自己的观点，也对自己的观点做了解释。

“就是”位于应答序列中时，不仅具有认同功能，也同样可以用于反驳观点。

（12）语境：谈论学生家庭成员背景

01　泰国学生：我(.)我父亲就是①台湾人(1.0)

02　A:　　不是泰国人吗(?)

03　泰国学生：是台湾人(.)就是②

04　A：　　哦(?)这样啊(?)他和你妈妈是怎么认识的(?)

05　泰国学生：是之前我妈妈](.)我母我母亲从参与 15(.)他参与 15 岁就是去台湾念书

06　A：　　是这样认识的(?)怪不得(1.0)有台湾口音

例（11）中，03 行泰国学生对 A 的提出的质疑进行回应，但 A 的提问可能让泰国学生感到有些尴尬和冒犯，因此在话轮尾试图用“就是②”表示反驳，同时也肯定强调自己的观点“父亲就是台湾人”，引导话题的结束，遏制关于“自己父亲是否为台湾人”这个话题的延续。A 接收到泰国学生想结束这个话题的信息则是在 04 行进行次生话题，推动谈话延续。

该类的“就是”的序列结构、互动功能及语言形式之间的关系如表 2 所示：

表 3 提问序列进行应答的“就是”的序列结构、互动功能及语言形式

序列结构	互动功能		语言形式
提问序列	询问信息		疑问表达
应答序列	认同	明确回应，强化肯定	对、是+就是
		解释性应答反馈，表明态度	就是+解释信息
	不认同	反驳观点，结束当前话题	就是+（新话题）

同时，“就是”也可以运用到告知信息序列进行回应的序列中，如表 3 所示：

表 4 对告知信息序列进行应答的“就是”的序列结构、互动功能及语言形式

序列结构	互动功能	语言形式
告知信息	告知信息	直陈性表达

回应序列	认同	接收信息，表示赞同	就是+观点表达
	不认同	反驳观点，提出主观感受	就是

3.2 引出新信息，投射话题延续

“就是”作为话轮发端语（resumptive opener），其作用是设立话题，即“认识网络里已经存在的一个谈论对象确定为一个话题，这个话题虽然在前文当中并没有出现过，但在人们的知识领域里，它和语境中的已有的话题存在某种联系”（方梅，2000；姚双云和姚小鹏，2012）。

（13）语境：谈论文艺汇演

01 A: 对(.)那我们比赛的时候你有才艺(.)那你的才艺是什么呢(?)
02 泰国学生：就(.)就怕自己准备不了
03 A: 嗯（？）=
04 泰国学生：=就是①准备一个朗诵(.)
05 就是②之前我们学院不是有举办一个朗诵比赛(.)然后我就拿那个(.)
06 我之前被(.)好像是那次也是有点忘词(1.0)忘词了(.)就是③拿那个来(.)
07 就是④就是再练一下(.)然后再拿出去表演这样
08 A: 哦(.)哦（?）所以这次没忘词=
09 泰国学生：=这次好像也是没有忘词了(.)但是也是有点紧张(.)
010 因为就是⑤也是面对了更专业的评委老师
011 A: 对(.)上次我们不专业
012 泰国学生：没有(.)不是

例（12）中，两人谈论这一次的文艺汇演。01 行 A 对泰国学生此次参加的会演的才艺发出提问，请求与泰国学生确认。04 行泰国学生首先用“就是①”引导话语，对 A 进行了肯定回应，告知 B 这次参加会演的才艺是朗诵。“就是①”作为言谈单位开始的左界标志，预示着即将进入一个新的话轮（turn-entry），泰国学生即将从受话者到说话者的一个角色的转变。上文并没有没有出现过关于“朗诵”才艺的信息，它并不是一个已知信息（典型的话题都表示已知信息，所以我们不能说“朗诵”典型的话题）。“朗诵”才艺这个信息是介于已知信息和未知信息之间的，属于所谓的“半新半旧”的信息（史金生和胡晓苹，2013）。

这个 04 行的“就是①”的作用是引入话题，在人们的认知里，“朗诵”和学校举办的“文艺汇演”是具有认识上的连带关系的，然后泰国学生有通过“就是②”，引出新的信息，展开对于朗诵比赛的更多信息的解释，使话题可以延续。听话人可以通过自己的背景知识推知。这也是一种延伸手段，用语提示受话人对言语内容的关注，体现出交互的主观性（姚双云和姚小鹏，2012）。04 行中泰国学生通过对于“朗诵”的解释，在 08 行 A 的上扬语调表明理解了，这是消除认识级差的一个过程。

表 5 引出新信息话题投射延续“就是”的序列结构、互动功能及语言形式

序列结构	互动功能	语言形式
发起序列	表达说话者立场	直陈性表达
引导序列	补充解释信息，引入新话题	直陈性表达+就是+次生话题

3.3 话语填充

基于李先银（李先银、刘明萱，2024）对于“就是”话语填充用法的四项标准：（1）补充当句法成分；（2）可删减；（3）无真值语义；（4）话语输出困难，伴随迟疑、停顿、语音拖长等现象。

（14）语境：谈论汉语教学大赛

01 A: 对对对(.)你觉得你那个比赛六分钟成功吗(?)
02 成功在哪儿(?)有失败的地方吗(?)在哪儿(?)
03 老挝学生：怎么说(1.0)就是①(1.0)我那次(.)我那个比赛(.)
04 就是②(1.0)=在(.)就是③在(.)在比赛之前(.)我就是④(1.0)一直在改
05 因为我是那种废话的就是⑤(1.0)一直在说什么什么废话什么的话
06 说的太多了(.)我们秦老师就是⑥教我就说你是老师的
07 话你要少一点(.)要多让学生他们说多说的
08 所以我就是⑦就是⑧说(1.0)就尽量能做到老师的万分之一
09 这样就能学到就好
010 A: 这个视频是拍的(?)你还是拍他自己
011 老挝学生：就是⑨拍他自己(.)他们(1.0)他自己(.)就是⑩(1.0)录给我看

例（13）中，我们可以看到在输出“就是①”、“就是②”、“就是④”以及“就是⑤”的时候话语都伴随有停顿、迟疑和语音拖长的现象，这也就说明了，老挝学生在描述汉语教学大赛的时候出现了话语组织困难的现象。他在输出后续话语的时候，不知如何组织语言，不知道该如何表述想说的内容。这这个语境下，老挝学生大量采用“就是”填充进话轮，为自己的思考争取充足的时间。

（15）语境：谈论来某大学的原因

01 A: 没想到我们的这个专业在马来西亚都这么有名(.)那你是通过网络
02 马来学生：呃(1.0)就是①网络找找(.)哦哦(.)网络搜索就是②(.)对(?)
03 网络搜索最好的学校。哎也不是(.)
04 呃=就是③(1.0)好像(.)是什么来着(?)我就是④搜索(?)好像就是⑤=
05 呃(1.0)大概我这个专业其实我本来选的也不叫环境设计
06 我本来想选的就是室内设计(.)然后我就看到有环境设计
07 我就好奇它到底是什么东东
08 A: 那就是还行

例（14）中，马来学生向 A 提出了自己是了解某大学的原因。马来学生在最开始不知道怎么描述在网络上搜索到相关信息，遇到了遣词的困难，所以在 02 行他就采用了“就是①”进行话语的填充，争取充分的思考时间之后就将前面输出的“网络找找”修正为“网络搜索”，并且在他完成话语修复之后，又输出了一个“就是②”，实现了肯定的强化。在 04 行中，马来学生出现了记忆困难的现象，一时之间记不起来要说的是什么，他一时间忘记了自己在网络上搜索的是什么，于是他就用了“就是”进行填充，并且“就是”在话轮中反复出现（就是③、就是④、就是⑤），同时也混合使用了“呃”、“什么来着”、“好像”等多个填充手段。在争取到一定的思考时间后，他想起了搜索的内容是什么，最后进行输出。

表 6 话语填充“就是”的序列结构、互动功能及语言形式

序列结构	互动功能	语言形式
陈述序列	陈述观点，表明立场	直陈性表达/疑问表达
修正序列	修正话语信息，标记迟疑	多个“就是的使用”

3.4 总结

我们对收集到的 428 例，留学生所使用的“就是”的情况进行统计。数据表如表 5：

表 7 留学生口语“就是”各互动功能的使用频次（比例）

功能	应答反馈	引出新信息	话语填充	共计
频次（比例）	36（12.8%）	49（17.4%）	196（69.8%）	281

表 8 母语者口语“就是”个互动功能的使用频次（比例）

功能	应答反馈	引出新信息	话语填充	共计
频次（比例）	10（0.7%）	80（54.4%）	57（38.8%）	147

在“就是”的三种互动功能中，使用最为频繁的是“话语填充”，共计 196 例；其次为“引出新信息”，共计 49 例；再次为“应答反馈”，共计 36 例。这就表明在留学生自然口语中，“就是”在互动交际中的主要互动功能是话语填充功能，主要用于修正话语和标迟疑。

人的注意力和工作记忆资源是有限的，任务复杂度的增加会影响语言产出的流利度（Skehan，1998；李先银、刘明萱，2024）。这也就意味着留学生在复杂任务中话语产出的复杂性提高，相对应的他们的流利度则会降低，二者呈现此消彼长的关系。我们这里谈论的流利度的降低指的是话语中停顿、反复修正和填充使用过多。这也就解释了留学生在使用“就是”作为填充手段要比母语者更多的情况，即他留学生由于汉语水平受限，在解释相对复杂的任务的时候，会选择一定的交际策略进行交际，常常需要使用填充，以减少他们的交际阻碍，从而推动整个话语能流畅进行而不受阻。

四、结论

本研究从互动语言学视角考察了东南亚留学生自然口语中“就是”的互动功能，并讨论了“就是”话轮序列位置对互动功能的影响。研究表明，自然口语中“就是”有应答反馈、投射话题延续、话语填充等互动功能。

研究表明，“就是”在留学生口语中具有多种互动功能，主要包括应答反馈功能、引出新信息功能和话语填充功能。其中，话语填充功能是使用最为频繁的一种，这主要归因于留学生在面对较难话题时，会采用“就是”作为话语填充手段，以减少交际阻碍，推动话语流畅进行。此外，我们还发现“就是”在话轮中的位置分布灵活，但多居于话轮之中，这在一定程度上说明了“就是”在扩展当前话轮、推进交际和引导听话者进行话轮回应方面的作用。

在序列位置方面，不同的序列位置影响“就是”的互动功能。在回应序列中，“就是”主要起到认同或反驳观点的作用；在插入扩展序列和后扩展序列中，“就是”则用于引入新信息或延续话题；在序列结束序列中，“就是”可以作为阻止序列扩展的话语资源，推动当前话题的结束；而在修正序列中，“就是”则多用于话语填充和标记迟疑。

本研究仍存在一些局限性。本研究仅对东南亚留学生的自然口语进行了分析，尚未能与母语者进行详细的对比分析。在以后的研究中，我们希望能够通过对比母语者和二语者使用“就是”的使用差异，进一步了解两者的不同，并探索更多关于位置敏感性和互动功能的关系。此外，我们还可以继续拓展研究范围，考察其他话语标记在留学生口语中的使用情况和互动功能，以丰富和完善相关研究。

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附录：转写符号及说明

(.) 小于等于 0.2 秒的停顿
= 即时延续
<@ @> 边笑边说的话语在两个@之间
[ ] 话语交叠的部分
@ 笑声
(1.0) 一秒及以上的停顿
(?) 语调单位结尾音高走势：高升
<u>下划线</u> 研究对象

主观性互动观视角下“被 X 给 V”构式的生成理据与构式特征

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摘要：“被”字句是汉语学界的研究热点，针对其的形式特征与主观性的研究取得了丰硕的成果，但是学界并未对新的下义构式“被 X 给 V”引起足够的重视，且在方法论上也较少考虑不同语言范畴互动对主观性解读所带来的影响。鉴于此，本文在主观性互动观视角下对“被 X 给 V”构式的生成原因与构式特征进行探讨。通过分析发现，构式的形成的动因主观性拉链作用，即“被”字句随着使用频率而削弱了主观性，而它的形成机制表现为“被”字句和“给”的双向选择，具体表现为为“被”字句吸收“给”来补偿其磨蚀的主观义和“给”被“被”字句预设的强主观性激发出主观性潜势。该构式形成后，主观性标记“给”与“被”字句各个成分进行了新的互动，使得其主观性特征和形式特征与传统“被”字句相比存在些许不同之处。该构式的主观性差异同时体现在移情义和评价义上。前者在于移情对象转向言者的浮现和移情义的强化，后者在于评价义的强化，具体表现于和表主观认识的语言标记共现频率增加。受语言范畴互动所带来的语义与句法限制，该构式与“被”字句的形式特征差异在于施事句法角色的不可省略性、受损动词的准入比例提高和受损施事的准入比例提高。

关键词：“给”、“被”字句、主观性、移情、主观性标记

1. 引言

汉语是主观性突显的语言，汉语重视的是标记说话人的主观评价(董秀芳, 2016)。即使是语言共有的结构，汉语也比其他语言多了一层主观性的浸染——被动句就是这样一种结构。在汉语中，被动句除了常规的形式句法功能之外，还传达着“不如意”与“出乎意料”义，通过强调受事的“受损”和“受控制”来表达出说话人对受事的“移情”(沈家煊, 2002)。但是这种主观性可以反过来作用于句法形式，其改变了主谓宾中句法主语强意愿性和施事性的特征，使其成为移情焦点(宋文辉, 2004)，从而让原本不符合逻辑的主谓宾句变得可以理解，如(1)所示：

(1) a. *阴雨困住了远道的客人。　　b. 远道的客人被阴雨困住了。 (张伯江, 2002)

阴雨不具有强意愿性和施事性，因此无法成为控制受事“客人”的主语，无法构成主谓宾句，而被动句因其对受事移情的功能处于前位，准入施事的要求降低，无需具有强意愿性，因此(1b)成立。

由此可见，被动句是一个非常特殊的构式，因为它一直是汉语研究的热点。被动句构式根据被动标记的不同分为“被”字句、“叫”字句、“让”字句和“给”字句四种构式。它们在共同传达移情义的同时又携带各自所独有的主观性特征(祁文娟, 2013)。其中“被”字句是被动构式研究的经典，学界针对其进行大量研究，取得了丰硕的成果，但是较少关注受事前加入“给”的特殊下义构式，如“俺这孩子死得好苦，也不知是被满先生给打死扔到河里的”(爱新觉罗·勋锐 《讲演聊斋》)。学界较少专门探讨该类构式表达了何种主观性，也未重视其与没有“给”的上义被动构式的不同之处。鉴于此，本文对该“被”字句中的下义构式的“被 X 给 V”进行研究，以期探究“给”的插入如何形成，并表现了怎样特殊的主观性和构式特征，从而尝试揭露“给”对“被”字句的作用机制。

2. 文献综述

2.1. “被”字句的形式研究

19 世纪末，《马氏文通》（马建忠, 1898）首次专列“受动字”,指出“如受者居主次则为受动句”——被动句第一次得到正式关注。在此基础上，学者们展开研究。王力（1943）认为被动句的主要形式是使用“被”字，不对“被”字句和被动句进行区分。随后龚千炎（1980）区分广义和狭义被动句，前者包括了无标记被动句与有标记被动句，后者指使用了被动标记的句子，其中典型的被动标记有“被、叫、让、给”等。“被”字句的类别被“发现”后，学者们开始运用形式主义对“被”字句展开语法描写。

对于被字句的定义，邢福义（2007）提出“被”字句式简称“被”字句，是以介词“被”作为标志的句式。黄伯荣和廖序东（2017）对定义和分类进行进一步总结，被动句是在核心动词前，用介词被（让、叫、给）引出施事或用“被”表示被动的主谓句。

关于“被”字句的分类，学界并未有统一定论，但都是根据施事是否出现和被动标记的选择的维度进行讨论。邓思颖（2004）根据施事是否出现以及是否保留受事宾语，将“被”字句根据直接/间接、长/短进行划分，得到四个类别。陆俭明（2004）将被动标记的性质作为一级分类维度，把被动句分为三大类，以施事的有无作为二级分类维度进行细分，具体分为明显标记的被动句、准标记被动句、无标记被动句。上述的分类使得“被”字句的研究进一步精细化，但是对于分类的子类仍旧存在些许争议。

学界对“被”字句的语法描写还在于“被”属于何种词性。赵元任（1968）的《汉语口语语法》与朱德熙(1982)的《语法讲义》都将”被”视为介词,这种解释定性简单，但是无法解释“被”的悬空问题（preposition standing）。与介词说相反，Feng（1990）、吕叔湘将“被”看作被动标记，与动词紧密附着。但是当“被”被副词性成分修饰时，附着关系又非必然。(安丰存, 2007) 随后，部分学者将前两种假说融合，认为“被”具有被动标记和介词的双重地位（石定栩 & 胡建华， 2005；邓思颖, 2008），较好地解释了“被”的词性所属，但也难以解释所有类型的“被”字句（邓思颖, 2008）。

2.2. “被”字句的主观性研究

虽仍然存在一些争议，形式主义视角下的研究很好地揭示了“被”字句所蕴藏的信息，但是这些研究无法揭示“被”字句作为主观性句式的特点，因此学者们对“被”字句的主观性展开了研究。王力(1980)认为“汉语被动式的作用基本上是表示不幸或不愉快的事情”，指出了汉语被动式承担了“不如意”的语义色彩。王还（1983）发现所谓不如意不愉快是由后面动词所代表的动作引发，指出了被动句的不如意义来源。早期的主观性研究指出了被动句所承载的主观性来源，但并未探究被动句承担何种具体的主观性，也为把“被”字句进行单独研究。

随着 Kuno & Kaburaki（1977）的移情(empathy)理论传入中国，学者们开始以此为基础探讨被动句的主观性，也逐渐以不同类型的被动句分别探讨。Tang (1986)按照 Kuno & Kaburaki 的思路从汉语出发提出话语中表达说话人“移情”焦点一些原则和“移情”的程度等级(speaker’s empathy hierachy),指出句式的变换都与“移情”有关，如(2)所示：

(2) a. 张三打了李四。　　B.李四被张三打了。

第一句为纯客观的报道，而“被”字句的使用让说话人的移情焦点从张三转向了李四，实现了移情。Zhang (1994)从历时的角度证明汉语的“被”字句是“移情”的产物。这些研究证明了“被”字句所携带的主观性为“移情”，使得会话参与者与受事感同身受——“被”字句的基本移情义也得到了学界的统一认定。在移情义的基础上，学者们对“被”字句主观性的独特作用与发展进行阐述，宋文辉发现，“被”字句的主观性机制使用过度导致了施事意愿性下降，从而使得不合法的句子变得合法。祁文娟(2013)通过与“让”、“叫”、“给”等被动句进行对比，指出“被”字句中说话人对受事的移情等级最高，主观性也最强。同时她还发现，“被”字句不仅可以表示“不如意”，在少数情况下也会出现“如意、积极”的现象。黄蓓(2023)从历时的角度对这种现象进行考察，她发现“被”的“遭受”义在唐五代之前只涉及受损动词，在唐朝开始出现中性甚至正面动词。对此，她认为是“主观性的推链作用”导致的主观性的减弱。另外，她还发现为了补偿“被”字句主观性的减弱，清朝时期出现了“被 X 给 V”构式来与“被”字句最开始的主观性对等，而这个“给”与被动句中的“给”被动标记不同，属于主观性标记(黄蓓, 2016a)。

综上，对于“被”字句形式研究对其语义句法特征进行了详细的描写，使得“被”动句的语法描写有了科学的定论。同时“被”字句的主观性研究揭示了“被”字句如何表达说话人对受事的移情从而激发同情，并展现了该主观性与其他构式的区别和历时发展，揭示了汉语“被”字句的独特性。但是，对于新出现的“被”字句下义构式“被 X 给 V”还未引起足够的关注，未有学者对其主观性成因与具体的主观性进行专门的讨论。另外，主观性是由构式语境与词项共同作用形成的，而先前学者的主观性研究大多脱离语境，单讨论词项(黄蓓, 2016b)，致使结论片面，难以提出广泛适用的理论，对此黄蓓(2023)提出主观性互动观为主观性研究提供方法论。因此，本研究欲采用主观性互动观的视角来分析“被 X 给 V”构式的生成共时理据与特征信息。

3. 生成理据

黄蓓(2023)通过历时语料调查发现“被”字句所传达的受损义随着朝代的更替而逐渐减弱。在汉代，标准“被”字句形成，并且大部分动词均为受损义，如“必被庶人之恐。”(刘向《战国策》)，但是随后准

入的动词受损义开始减弱，如“今被徐庶举荐，先主志心不二，复至茅庐。”(佚名 《三国志评话》)。虽然现今“被”字句的准入语义仍然是受损为主，但是非受损成分的准入说明其由受损义所带来的主观性受到削弱——这种随着历时被磨蚀主观性的过程被称为主观性的推链作用。而“被X给V”构式产生于清朝，并且准入语义的受损程度大于“被”字句，因此“被X给V”源于对推链作用而削弱主观性的“被”字句的补偿，主要功能便是提升原有“被”字句的主观性。但是这种动因意味着“被X给V”并未经历了一个完整的构式化，它仅是构式在构式在句法、语义、语用、篇章上的微调(麻金星, 2015)，属于一种构式微调，内部结构仍然附属于“被”字句。

历时化的语料和构式化理论说明了“被X给V”的发展动因和位置，但是难以解释“被X给V”形成的共时理据，即为何通过“给”来补偿主观性，“给”又为何在该构式中位置固定，而这种可以通过构式与词项间的双向作用来解释，具体表现为词项对主观性构式的选择和构式对词项主观性潜势的激活。

3.1. “给”对“被”字句的主观性选择

主观性互动观强调构式语境与词项的双向互动，首先表现为词项对主观性构式语境的选择作用。构式不会空具有主观性，它是一个客观义与主观义的连续统，其所表达的主观性的强弱与特征为其所填入的词项来选择，偏离了合适的词项，其主观性就无法表达出，如(3)所示：

(3). a. They very much missed her. b. *They got up late so they very much missed the bus. (黄蓓: 2009 26)

“Very much”构式的主观性主要作用于对形容词、动词程度的强化，但是并非在任何情况下该构式都可以被激活，(3a)中的miss作“怀念”义，属于心理动词，可以被强化，而(3b)中的miss不属于心理动词，因此无法被该构式修饰，致使不合法表达生成，说明构式的主观性激活受到词项的选择，只有合适的词项才可以从而成功激活构式主观性。激活的方式为主观性同性相吸，即具有类似主观性信息的词项激活构式类似的主观性——“给”在该构式的应然性正是遵循着类似的逻辑。

“给”是一种强主观性标记(黄蓓, 2016a)，具有移情(寇鑫 & 袁毓林, 2018)的功能，它的作用之一是让语句中的受损义过渡到说话人身上从而引起对言者的移情。如(4)所示：

(4). a. 那犯人给跑了。 b. 那犯人跑了。

b. 苹果给吃了。 d. 苹果吃了。

这两组话的唯一区别在于“给”的有无，没有“给”的句子为一种客观的事实描述，但是当加入了“给”之后似乎着这个事件的受影响对象，而当这个受影响对象难以捕捉时便会锁定言者，表现出语句所描述的事件伤害到了言者从而造成移情。

“给”的这种主观性与“被”字句的主观性性质类似，相互产生了吸引，得以插入“被”字句。同时“给”所准入的动词受损义占压倒性多数(黄蓓, 2023)，移情义强于“被”字句，它在进入“被”字句时与原移情义发生互动，带动了其主观性，满足了“被”字句补偿主观性的需求。因此，“给”的准入来源于其与“被”字句的主观性同质性和对“被”字句强主观性的激活，这也预示若出现了具有同样移情功能的标记也会产生类似的强化作用。

3.2. “被”字句对“给”的主观性激活

主观性互动还在于构式语境对词项主观性潜势的激活。词项也不会单具有主观性，它实际上是客观性——主观性的连续统，词项的主观性派生于客观义，从属于经验编码，只有在语境需要的时候才得以前景化，这种被特定语境激活而产生的主观性被称为词项的主观性潜势。虽然主观性不属于句法范畴，但它是以句法信息的形式表现出来，因此词项连续统中不同的位置可能绑定了不同的句法信息，同一个词项主观性的不同也暗示着句法功能和位置的不同，如“你是聪明人”的“聪明”为客观的“赞美义”，形式功能为修饰语，而“你是大聪明”为主观的“讥讽义”，形式功能为表语。(主观性与句法信息并非百分百对应，只是存在一定的倾向性，词项的不同主观性仍可能共享类似的句法信息)。“给”也存在不同主观性程度的形式，具体分为给予义实词、致使义实词、被动标记与纯主观性标记，它们承载了不同的句法信息。而“被”字句因加强主观性的需要预设了强移情的主观性，只有作为主观性标记的“给”可以满足其构式调变要求。构式语境对作为主观性标记的“给”进行了激活，同时带来的还有“给 VP”的句法信息，因此在“被 X 给 V”构式中“给”只有于动词前才可确保插入的“给”可以强化其移情义。如(5)所示，只有第一句可以得到符合语法的解读。

(5). a. 你的良心被狗给吃了。　　b. *你的良心被给狗吃了。　　c. *给你的良心被狗吃了。

综上，“给”的出现源于其强于“被”字句的移情义，而“给”句法位置的固定源自于构式预设的强主观性对其主观性潜势的激活从而带来的句法信息。这两种作用没有先后之分，属于平行发生，词汇与构式语境相互作用，最终形成了具有强主观性的“被 X 给 V”构式。

4. 主观性特征

“被 X 给 V”作为“被”字句的下义构式，它的核心主观性与“被”字句近似，都是通过受损义来传达出移情的效果。但词项对构式主观性具有浸染作用(黄蓓, 2023)，任何新准入的词项会影响原有的构式稳定，因此 “给”还会与“被”字句的各大成分互动，产生出独特的主观性。

4.1. 凸显说话者的移情

虽然“被”字句和“给”的主观性都是移情，但是他们的移情逻辑有所不同——“被”字句是通过施事和动词所组合而成的受损义对受事产生不可逆的影响从而对受事产生的移情，而“给”是通过建立说话人与言语事件的利益关系来实现对说话人的感同身受——在移情方式与移情对象均有所不同，如(6)所示：

(6). a.犯人跑了。　　b.被犯人跑了。　　c. 犯人给跑了。

(6a)为客观的叙述，描述了一个罪犯以违法的方式逃脱监狱的事件。(6b)为主观性表达，它首先叙述了一个由消极施事“犯人”与表非预期的动词“跑”的受损事件，随后通过表影响义的“被”字句来说明受损事件对处于主语位置的受事或受影响者产生了负面作用，但是该句话通过主语的隐秘来优先联想到构建会话主导方——言者，从而实现对言者的移情。(6c)则不尽相同，它是通过构建一个受损事件然后通过

主观性标记“给”来说明受损事件对言者的损害从而实现移情。虽然两句话都是最终导向了言者移情，但是“被”字句需要依靠可感知受事的缺失,而“给”可直接导向言者。

同时，若“被”的受事可以被感知，也可以转换为言者移情，如“我写出来 1500 万字，这东西有价值的最好证明就是它被国民党查禁了。”(李敖 《李敖对话录》)，受事为“我”写出来的书，但是由于对于非生命的移情优先度较低(Kuno & Kaburaki, 1977)，难以引起移情，移情对象转向了与受事利益直接相关的“我”，即言者——“被”字句的言者移情也可以以受事为媒介通过可感知的利益关系来实现，但是这种可感知关系需要在语境或背景信息中容易推导，而“给”则无需依靠与受事的利益关系。因此，无论是哪种逻辑，“给”都更容易导向言者。

当“给”准入“被”字句时，它的主观义产生逻辑也会融入。但是因其与“被”字句的逻辑相斥，它们在主观性互动的过程中呈现出一种对抗的关系，使得一部分语例融入“给”的主观性逻辑，另外一部分则保留“被”字句的主观性逻辑。通过对 BCC 多领域语料库的调查，部分“被 X 给 V”语例已经融入了“给”的主观性逻辑，在与受事无显性利益关系的情况下，转向了言者的移情。如(7)所示：

(7). a. 萨达姆老在家呆着，被人给弄个死老(死了)……所以得出一结论：宅男是没什么好下场的。(微博)

b. 编剧写的是周乙没死，还要写续集，但却生生被导演给拍死了。 (微博)

(7a)的言者并非是想让听话人与萨达姆建立移情关系，让人们感受萨达姆是如何被折磨死的 。言者的主要目的是想要通过萨达姆在家而死的事件从而和“宅男没好下场”建立联系，从而让听话人移情于自身，即“宅男”——而这种类比的方式因“给”而具有可能性，它可以让听话人知道萨达姆在家被弄死这个事件是要为了体验和言者类似的感受的，从而更好地方便后面结论的提出。若删去了“给”，听话人则很难从萨达姆和言者之间建立起同为“宅男”的利害关系，移情就会走向萨达姆，那么得到这个结论就会显得突兀。(7b)也有类似的功效，若删去了“给”，更多的传达对周乙的移情，而非周乙被拍死了这件事情对言者的影响。

虽然已经出现了直接导向言者移情的出现，但是语料库中大部分语例仍然难以直接导向言者，只有当言者与受事呈现出可明显感知的利害关联时才可推导。因此，“被 X 给 V”的移情义仍然受到“被”字句主导，“给”与其的互动中呈现的主观义冲突被整个构式压制，只有部分情况可以会突破构式语境的限制。但是虽然其未成为主要生成逻辑，这种对“被”字句主观性的突破说明了“给”的成功渗透，给“被 X 给 V”带来全新的主观性。

4.2. 移情程度的提高

上文已经阐述了“被 X 给 V”构式的移情义对比“被”字句的提高，因此该节详细说明该构式在哪个方面能够体现出移情程度的强化。首先，根据 Kuno & Kaburaki(1977)的事件参与者移情等级理论，言者移情强度最高，听者次之，第三者最低，Traugott(1989)也指出主观化的趋势就是言者导向，因此无论从共时还是历时角度，转向言者的移情都是最高的。虽然“被”字句的移情对象可以到言者，其但是这种移情程度有形式上的限制，需要言者与受事建立联系，而“被 X 给 V”某种程度上突破了这种形式的限制，提

高了对言者移情的倾向，说明“被 X 给 V”的移情强度要高于传统“被”字句。

其次，无论是“被”字句还是“给”，它们的移情来源均是事件所传达的受损倾向，因此“被 X 给 V”的移情义语义构成也是受损义，与“被”字句并无差别，这两者的移情差别体现为受损义的差别。但是受损义并非单纯由动词编码，受损事件是由施事和动词的消极语义共同造成的，前者说明对受事的控制程度和受损倾向，后者说明对受事的实际影响，二者都能够造成对受损义，当两者均为负面词项时，会产生出强烈的受损表达，从而更加容易移情，当然能够造成移情的受损事件并非需要两者均为负面语义，若一方的受损程度足够高可以拉动另一方的受损义也可产生受损事件。因此，容易引发移情义的受损组合为[负面施事+非负面动词]、[非负面施事+负面动词]、[负面施事+负面动词]，其中[负面施事+负面动词]的移情程度最高，不容易引发移情的义的组合为[非负面施事+非负面动词]。

因此，“被 X 给 V”的移情程度的提高就表现为[非负面施事+非负面动词]事件产出倾向的降低和[负面施事+负面动词]事件的产出倾向提高，分别说明移情倾向的加强和移情极值的提高。为了证实这种假设，本文使用了语料库进行对比分析，“被 X 给 V”的语料选自于 BCC 多领域语料库所拥有的 1281 语例，通过人工清理重复构式和非“被 X 给 V”构式，最终保留 1269 个语例，而“被”字句选取了平行的“被 XV”语料库中词频超过 200 的典型事件来代表语言使用者对于“被 XV”的施事和受事的选择和搭配，共计 23059 条语例。

确定好语料后，本文也对调查对象进行了圈定，确认施事或动词是否真的会造成受事控制和损害，会造成消极影响的划分为负面词项，反之则为非负面词项。由于负面与非负面的界定涉及到主体的认识，随着识解主体的变化而发生变化，为了尽可能确保客观分类，对负面/非负面施事和负面/非负面动词的界定规则如下：

1). 为了防止其他主观性成分的干扰，只选取分析对象、受事和最基本的句子结构，排除其他成分，如“(我)被妈妈说中了不到五点我又饿了”分解为“(我)被 X 说”和“(我)被妈妈 V”。这也预示着部分动词的补语不计入分析，如“吹走”和“吹开”统一记录为“吹”。

2). 移情的程度会随着受事的对象而改变，当移情对象为言者，即“我”时，移情度最高，但是移情程度的最低值难以找到，因为“第三者”与“我”的距离理论上有无限长，如“我的妈妈的舅舅的弟弟……”。因此确定受损义时，受事采用为言者，即“我”。

3). 为了确定纯粹的受损义施事/动词，在分析时同时采用主动形式与被动形式，从而排除掉进入被动式被被动构式赋予受损义的词项，如“看见”在主动形式时未表现出受损义，在被动形式时则有受损义，并非纯粹的负面动词。

分析好每个语例施事与受事的负面性后，对它们所呈现出的组合进行记录和统计，具体如下。

表 1. 受损事件组合表

	非负面施事+非负面动词	负面施事+非负面动词	非负面施事+负面动词	负面施事+负面动词	总计
被 X 给 V	50	18	835	366	1269
被 XV	9283	0	9148	4628	23059

通过数据分析可以发现，与“被 XV”相比，“被 X 给 V”的出现［非负面施事＋非负面动词］组合的比例大大减少，从 40.2%降到 3.9%，同时［负面施事＋负面动词］组合出现的比例也得到了一定的增长，从 20%升到 28.8%，说明“被 X 给 V”构式的移情倾向和移情极值都高于“被 XV”构式，证明了“被 X 给 V”的移情程度强于“被 XV”构式。

同时，该数据还发现无论是两个构式［负面施事＋非负面动词］组合的出现频率都非常低(被 XV 构式并非不存在[负面施事+非负面动词]的模式，只是语料库只选取了频次超过 200 的模式组合，其中没有出现该模式，但是即使扩大频次范围到 100 也仅出现一个，“被(鲜血)染”，说明该模式在被 XV 中的出现频率极低)，共现频率高的组合也大部分为［X 染］，如［鲜血染］、［怒气染］，这说明在两个构式主导受损义仍然来源于动词，施事起到一个强化受损义的作用，难以压倒动词从而编码完整的受损事件。

4.3. 评价义程度的强化

评价义分为态度义和情感义，而移情就是将情感投注于对象，并间接表达了对于受损对象的移情和造成损害事体的厌恶，因此移情义和评价义紧密相连（胡清国 & 王光和. 2019）。这就说明“给”和“被”字句在表达移情义的同时都涉及对移情对象和事件的评价，而且评价义的极值也较高，因为它们有时候需要和表主体评价的语言范畴共现从而说明言者主体的认识，如认识域标记“了”(肖治野 & 沈家煊, 2009)、评注性副词等，去掉则会导致不符合逻辑的表达产生，具体如(8)所示:

(8). a. 很佩服那些人怎么可以做得出那种事，不怕有报应的吗？还是良心和良知被狗吃<u>了</u>！(微博)

b. 我的青春<u>并</u>没有被狗吃。 (微博)

c. 再后来又骤然听说还准备让我们主持国地财三家联合晚会，<u>差点</u>给跪<u>了</u>。 (微博)

这三句话均表达出对事件的评价，(7a)表达的是[言者认为]那些人做的那些事没有道德，(7b)则是[言者认为]自己的青春没有得到浪费，[7c]表达[言者认为]突来的晚会让自己压力很大，它们所评价的内容都与原本所编码的事件“狗吃”、“跪”有所偏离，这种偏离的解读依靠主体评价范畴“了”、“并”(温锁林, 2009)、“差点”(林娟 & 郭锐, 2024)结合来成立，而当这些范畴去掉后，评价义减弱，描述义凸显，不符合逻辑的事件使得句子可接受度降低——说明当被字句和“给”搭配的事件出现脱离经验编码的语义时，便会和其他主观认识范畴共同作用凸显评价义。但是它们因为涉及到事件编码，有时候在表评价的语句中也承担着一定的描述义，不会脱离原本的经验编码，如上文(6b)和(6c)都表示对结构本身编码的事件的评价，甚至有时会单纯地表示描述义，如“不料在路上被人撞倒”，因此“被”字句和主观性标记“给”联系的句式都涉及一个描述义——评价义的连续统，体现为对原始经验编码的脱离程度。

当“被 X 给 V”形成时，这两个连续统因性质相似也相互融合，从而形成高于“被”字句的评价义，具体表现为与主体评价范畴的结合程度高。虽然表描述义的结构也会与表主体认识的标记结合从而浸润出主观性，但是受到主观性同性相吸的作用，表主观认识的范畴会倾向于和具有类似主观性的结合，因此评价义较强的构式往往可以通过与类似主观性功能标记的结合程度发掘。通过对语料库的调查，“被 N 给 V”构式与“了”、评注副词等主体评价标记共现的频率占压倒性优势(虽然位于句尾的“了”可能是主体认识标记也可能是体标记，但所调查语料库中的“了”多与表推测意义的副词和情态动词共现，说明大部

分为主体认识标记)，而“被”字句中虽然与主观认识范畴共现的语例出现次数较多，但是并未成为“被”字句的主导倾向，因此相较于“被”字句，“被 X 给 V”可以更加稳定地表达评价义，说明其评价程度的强化。

综上，“被 X 给 V”构式新准入的“给”的主观性和“被”字句的主观性产生了互动，从而表现出全新的主观性，首先，“被”字句和“给”的移情逻辑相互碰撞，使得“被 X 给 V”浮现出凸显言者的移情义，但是受到“被”的压制，整体还是呈现出受事导向的移情义。其次，“给”和施事和动词所构成的事件进行互动，增加了移情极值和移情倾向。最后，当“被 X 给 V”更容易和表主观认识的范畴互动，拥有更强的评价义。

5. 形式特点

“被 N 给 V”属于“被”字句的下义构式，携带了“被”字句本身所具有的构式信息，同时因其加入了主观性标记“给”，会带来与原始构式不尽相同的信息——与“被”字句相比，这种构式信息也存在于形式特征。

5.1. 施事无法省略

传统“被”字句中的施事省略后不影响其语义和主观性的表达，但是在“被 X 给 V”构式中施事的省略会导致不符合语法的表达生成，如(9)所示：

(9). a. 张三被李四打了。　　b. 张三被打了。

c. 张三被李四给打了。　　d. *张三被给打了。

上述(8a)、(8b)、(8c)均符合语法,但是(8c)不符合常规的汉语表达，说明“被 X 给 V”构式由于“给”的准入带来了不同的句法结构。这种现象是由“给”的选定性造成的，构式语境对词项主观性潜势的激活作用使得作为主观性标记的“给”被激活，而其他类型的“给”暂时退出图形，但是会随着语用环境和句法环境的改变而前景化，施事的无法省略正是防止其他形式的“给”被激活。作为被动标记的“给”句法信息为“给(X)V”与作为纯主观性标记的“给 V”类似，差别仅在于施事。若省略施事该构式中的“给”可能被解读为被动标记，如此一来会使得“被 X 给 V”构式的强主观性消失，另一方面会与原有的“被”被动标记重叠，造成冗余，因此(8d)被判定为不符合语法。

受事的不可省略也从另一个方面反应了“给”的唯一性。构式可分为“事件框架”和“副事件”，副事件描述了构式的具体内容，可以受到其他因素的改变,而事件框架较为稳定，构建出了构式的核心图式(吴可 & 王文斌, 2020)。在该构式中，“给”因其加强主观性的作用融入了“事件框架”成为了核心图式，从而使得构式的发展要保证“给”不受到影响，因此选择不省略施事，对副事件进行调整。

5.2. 负面动词准入比例提升

“被 X 给 V”构式中“给”与施事和负面动词结合，加强了受损事件的出现倾向和受损极值，提高了移情义，而这种“给”同样也在单独和动词进行互动提高了负面动词准入构式的比例。为了进行验证，本文

对“被 X 给 V”语料库和“被 XV”语料库按照负面/非负面动词进行重新，比较其间的差异，具体如下：

表 2. 受损动词准入表

	负面动词	非负面动词	总计
被 X 给 V	1201	68	1269
被 XV	15291	7768	23059

根据图表所示，“被 X 给 V”中负面动词的比例(94.6%)大大超过了“被 XV”中负面动词的比例(66.3%)，说明“给”与动词互动提高了受损动词准入的比例，这种差异主要是因为评选义动词的消失，评选义动词，如选举、表扬、评为是被动表述式用于褒义表达的主要代表(王振来, 2004)，它和“被 X 给 V”的主观性特征相悖，不容易被准入构式。因此，“被 XV”中的评选类动词“称为”(1711 例)、认为（554 例）、誉为(422 例)等几乎不再在“被 X 给 V”中出现（上述三个动词均为在“被 X 给 V”语料库中找到语例）。除此之外还有部分进入被动构式后才有消极义的中性动词如“看见”的减少，这些共同造成了准入差异的形成。

5.3. 负面施事准入比例提升

同样，“给”也会和施事进行单独互动从而提高负面施事准入的比例。为了验证，同样对语料库依照施事进行整理，具体如下：

表 3. 受损施事准入表

	负面施事	非负面施事	总计
被 X 给 V	384	885	1269
被 XV	4909	18150	23059

通过数据可知，“被 X 给 V”构式对于负面施事的准入比例(30.2%)大于“被 NV”构式准入负面施事的比例(21.2%)，说明“给”提高了负面施事准入的比例。但是无论是何种构式，负面施事的准入比例都只占少数，且大部分非负面施事为泛指类名词，比如“人”，它在“被 X 给 V”语料库中出现 168 次，在“被 XV”语料库中出现 12595 次，比例均接近 10%，说明施事的受损义仍然得到具体的语境解读，证明了“被 N 给 V”和“被”字句的主要移情义来自于动词的观点。

6. 结语

本文摆脱了现在汉语主观性研究的传统路径，采用构式与词项的互动视角来对“被 X 给 V”构式进行深入探究。“被 X 给 V”的构式的动因源于主观性的补偿，它的形成源于“被”字句和“给”的双向选择。其独特的主观性信息在于移情义和评价义的强化和凸显言者的移情义浮现。它的构式特点在于施事无法被消除且动词和施事编码受损义的比例大大提高。这种构式的特征并非在一生成就存在的，而是准入的新词项与旧成分发生新的互动而产生的，进一步验证了主观性互动观的科学性。同时，“给”并非只进入“被”字句，其同样也作用于“叫”字句、“让”字句甚至是“给”字句等其他被动构式，它们因被动标记所携带的不同底层语义而体现出不同的主观性，该文对“被”字句和“给”的互动探讨可以对“给”和其他被动形式的互

动提供些许启示。未来将以此为基础，延伸至被动构式的其他成员，以期更好地揭示“被动句”的演化历程并证明主观性互动观的合理性。

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Navigating Academic Writing: Insights from a Blended Learning Case Study in EAP

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Abstract:

Blended learning has become a widely adopted educational strategy, driven by technological advancements and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. While there is substantial research on the challenges faced by international students in academic writing, limited studies focus on Chinese international school students in blended EFL and ESL contexts. This demographic encounters unique academic writing challenges in blended learning environments, which have not been thoroughly examined (Wei et al., 2024). Additionally, the integration of technology in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs in such settings requires further exploration. Although some studies highlight the use of tech tools for enhancing learning, research is lacking on how these tools can effectively improve the academic performance of Chinese ESL students (Kohnke and Jarvis, 2021). This paper addresses these gaps by presenting a case study on a blended EAP course designed for Chinese tertiary ESL students at a community college. It examines students' perceptions of a customized course integrating a process-writing approach with a blended academic writing curriculum that combines online and in-class tasks. Specifically, it explores the impact of this approach on student engagement, motivation, and course satisfaction. The course focused on teaching students to construct genre-specific texts, develop basic research skills, and strengthen their use of lexico-grammatical resources. Over 13 weeks, 68 undergraduate students participated in the program, which involved face-to-face lessons, self-paced online activities, and the submission of essay outlines and drafts for feedback. Data were collected through questionnaires and interviews. Findings suggest that the blended learning framework, emphasizing process writing, provided meaningful opportunities for face-to-face interaction, collaborative activities, and guided independent learning. Students reported high levels of motivation and satisfaction with both in-class and online components, noting improvements in research essay writing skills and personal growth in the writing process. Peer and teacher feedback played a significant role in facilitating essay revisions and enhancing work quality. In conclusion, the study highlights the potential of blended learning and process-writing techniques in EAP curricula to foster a deeper understanding of the research process and improve academic writing skills, offering valuable insights for educators.

Keywords:

Blended learning, EAP, academic essay writing, online learning

Introduction

Blended learning has emerged as a transformative educational strategy, driven by technological advancements and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. The integration of digital tools, computer-assisted learning, and blended approaches has reshaped modern education, requiring educators to incorporate Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into their teaching practices. By combining the strengths of face-to-face instruction with the flexibility of online learning, blended learning creates dynamic and interactive environments that extend beyond traditional classrooms. This is particularly relevant in teaching writing, where face-to-face instruction often lacks sufficient time for practice and feedback, while fully online learning may struggle to provide meaningful interaction and timely support.

Academic writing, especially paragraph writing, is a foundational skill that requires a clear structure, including a topic sentence, supporting sentences, and a concluding sentence. However, teaching writing effectively remains a significant challenge, particularly for students with lower proficiency levels. Novariana et al. (2018) identify cognitive and grammatical issues as major obstacles in paragraph writing, with students frequently struggling with punctuation, capitalization, spelling, content development, and organization. Grammar-related challenges, such as subject-verb agreement, pronoun reference, and the use of connectors, further compound these difficulties. Rao (2019) emphasizes that writing is often perceived as the most demanding language skill, requiring extensive practice and guidance. Many students, particularly those in community college settings, find it difficult to grasp paragraph structure, resulting in poor writing performance.

To address these challenges, process writing techniques have been implemented in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs. This step-by-step approach involves multiple drafts, with teachers providing meaningful feedback during face-to-face sessions and through online exercises. Teacher feedback is critical in fostering student progress, enabling learners to identify areas for improvement and refine their writing skills. However, as Sari and Wahyuni (2018) note, delivering high-quality feedback requires significant time and effort from educators, while students need adequate time to process and apply this feedback. Feedback must therefore be meaningful, timely, and consistent, striking a balance between excessive and insufficient input.

While extensive research exists on the challenges faced by international students in academic writing, limited studies focus on Chinese international school students within blended English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) contexts. This demographic faces unique academic writing challenges that remain underexplored (Wei et al., 2024). Additionally, although technological tools in EAP programs have been recognized for enhancing learning, there is a lack of research on their effectiveness in improving the academic performance of Chinese ESL students (Kohnke and Jarvis, 2021).

This study seeks to address these gaps by exploring the use of blended learning combined with peer feedback in an academic writing context. A case study was conducted on a blended EAP course designed for Chinese tertiary ESL students at a community college. The course integrated a process-writing approach with a blended academic writing curriculum, combining face-to-face lessons, online self-paced activities, and iterative feedback on essay drafts. An online learning management system facilitated interactive and collaborative learning, enabling students to engage with peer feedback by evaluating and reflecting on their classmates' work. This process allowed students to refine their drafts, seek further teacher feedback, and produce improved final essays.

Over 13 weeks, 68 undergraduate students participated in the program, which focused on teaching genre-specific writing, developing research skills, and strengthening lexico-grammatical resources. Data were collected through questionnaires and interviews to evaluate the students' perceptions of the teaching and learning methodologies, particularly the tailor-made process-writing technique. Findings suggest that the blended learning framework, emphasizing process writing, provided meaningful opportunities for interaction, collaboration, and guided independent learning. Students reported high levels of satisfaction with both in-class and online components, noting improvements in research essay writing skills and personal growth in the writing process. Teacher and peer feedback emerged as critical factors in facilitating revisions and enhancing the quality of their work.

In conclusion, the study highlights the potential of blended learning and process-writing methodologies in EAP curricula to foster a deeper understanding of the research process and improve academic writing skills. Preliminary observations suggest that the integration of face-to-face instruction with online self-paced learning enhances student engagement, motivation, and writing performance. These findings offer valuable insights for educators and encourage the adoption of blended learning strategies and process-writing techniques to support students in developing their academic writing skills and achieving better learning outcomes.

Literature Review

In recent years, the popularity of online English teaching and learning has surged, driven by technological advancements and the global impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Blended learning, which combines traditional face-to-face instruction with technology-mediated activities, has emerged as a particularly effective approach for English writing instruction. While online learning has demonstrated positive outcomes, students continue to value the interaction and guidance provided by in-person instruction. This literature review explores the application of blended learning in English writing courses, its effectiveness, and the challenges associated with its implementation.

A. Benefits of Blended Learning in English Writing Instruction

Blended learning offers a flexible and dynamic approach to education, providing students with a wider range of learning options and resources. According to Meyers et al. (2024), this approach enhances access to learning materials and improves the overall quality of education. By emphasizing course content, blended learning activities boost students' academic performance and foster the development of 21st-century skills, including both soft skills (e.g., communication, teamwork) and hard skills (e.g., technical proficiency). These skills are further reinforced as students engage in diverse activities both inside and outside the classroom through online platforms, leading to increased confidence in this instructional method.

Singh and Singh (2017) highlight that blended learning creates opportunities for students to actively communicate with peers, enhancing their communication, teamwork, problem-solving, and learning abilities. Additionally, the online component of blended learning enables students to participate in classroom activities anytime and anywhere, promoting self-directed learning and fostering a positive attitude toward both face-to-face and blended learning modes (Nathan & Rajamanoharane, 2016).

B. Research on Blended Learning in Academic Writing

Blended learning has gained significant attention for its potential to improve academic writing skills. Several studies have explored its application in English writing courses, examining its effectiveness and identifying key elements for successful implementation.

1. **Chen (2021)** focused on the importance of English writing skills in Taiwan's academic institutions and introduced a blended learning course for English majors. The study revealed improvements in linguistic performance, longer and more complex writing, and positive student perceptions. Key components of the course included instructor guidance, diverse writing practices, blogging, online resources, well-planned lessons, and a supportive learning community. However, the study emphasized the irreplaceable value of real-time teacher interaction in a physical classroom for effective writing instruction.
2. **Liu (2021)** applied blended learning in a Business English Writing course to address challenges such as limited class hours and large class sizes. The course incorporated web-based autonomous learning to increase students' exposure to sample texts and employed cooperative learning activities to promote writing practice.
3. **Zhou and Zych (2018)** developed a blended learning teaching model based on connectivism and the writing process approach. This model significantly improved students' English writing abilities in areas such as content relevance, sufficiency, organizational structure, and language expression.
4. **Hassan et al. (2021)** assessed the effectiveness of blended learning in enhancing English writing skills among ESL learners at a Malaysian polytechnic. Their findings revealed substantial improvements in students' writing performance.
5. **Wilson et al. (2018)** conducted a study at a large urban community college in the United States to examine the effects of a technology-driven course redesign on retention and achievement in a developmental writing program. The redesigned program incorporated online and face-to-face components, allowing students to complete the program in less time compared to traditional formats. Despite initially lower placement test scores, students in the redesigned program caught up and performed comparably to those in the traditional program in subsequent tests and English courses. This study highlights the importance of identifying critical factors for effective writing instruction.

Based on the studies mentioned, several common features of a blended learning course have been identified. These include instructor guidance, diverse writing practices, sample texts, cooperative learning activities, online resources, a supportive learning community, and an emphasis on a writing process approach.

C. Challenges in Blended Learning for Academic Writing

While blended learning has demonstrated a positive impact on English writing skills, challenges remain in identifying the key elements necessary for effective writing instruction. This is particularly true in the context of academic research essay writing, where the interplay between instructional design and student learning

outcomes requires further exploration. According to Ludwig and Tassinari (2021), technology-enhanced learning offers learners greater flexibility by enabling them to select when and where they learn, control the pace and content of their studies, and decide on the social dynamics of their learning experience but successful language learning in online settings demands that learners possess the ability to self-motivate, sustain their motivation and engagement, make informed decisions, and self-regulate their learning process.

To address these challenges, researchers have developed tailor-made process-writing approaches that combine online and in-class writing tasks with detailed teacher and peer feedback. These approaches aim to create a deliberate learning environment that enhances students' ability to write academic essays. As Wiburg (1995) noted, student learning is the result of intentional or unintentional design by teachers, schools, curriculum developers, and communities (as cited in Wilson et al., 2018).

Blended learning has proven to be a valuable approach for improving English writing instruction, offering flexibility, enhanced resources, and opportunities for skill development. However, the success of blended learning depends on careful instructional design, the integration of technology, and the preservation of meaningful face-to-face interaction. Future research should continue to explore the critical factors that contribute to effective writing instruction in blended learning environments, particularly in the context of academic research essay writing.

Methodology

The study was conducted within the English for Academic Studies (Business) I module at Hong Kong Community College, which aims to enhance the English proficiency of Year 1 students in business-related academic and professional contexts. The participants consisted of 64 students who had achieved Level 3 or above in the English subject of the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examination (HKDSE), a standardized assessment used as a benchmark for English language proficiency.

The 13-week module focused on developing academic writing skills, particularly in research-based essay writing. A tailored process writing approach was adopted, incorporating elements of blended learning. Key components of the course included:

- **Core Activities**: Data collection, case study analysis, outline writing, questionnaire design, feedback sessions, and grammar revision.
- **Supplementary Materials**: Online exercises, cooperative learning activities, and sample essays to reinforce learning beyond the classroom.
- **E-Learning Platform**: Moodle was utilized to facilitate a collaborative learning environment where students could share ideas and engage in cooperative exercises.

The study employed a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative data collection. A post-module questionnaire was administered to gather students' perceptions of the course design, including teaching and learning content, methodology, and instructional modes. At the end of the module, students were invited to

complete a voluntary questionnaire to evaluate their learning experiences and perceptions of the course design. The questionnaire aimed to address the following research questions:

1. How did students perceive their engagement with blended learning in their studies?
2. How did students evaluate the overall course design, including teaching and learning approaches?

The study sought to explore:

- Students' perspectives on the effectiveness of blended learning.
- Their motivation for independent learning.
- Their preferences for instructional methods and tools.

The findings are intended to inform the design and delivery of future English for Academic Purposes (EAP) modules, particularly in business education contexts, by providing insights into students' experiences and preferences.

Findings & Results

I. Students' Perceptions of Engagement in Blended Learning

Results indicated that 89% of students viewed both in-class and online tasks as effective for developing their academic research essay writing skills. However, only 58% reported a preference for writing academic research essays as a course component.

A. Students' Perceptions of In-class Tasks and Discussions

Students held positive perceptions of in-class learning, particularly valuing participation in structured exercises, collaborative activities, small-group discussions, and whole-class dialogues. Many also expressed motivation to extend their learning independently. Key themes from student feedback are summarized in Table 1.

Questions	Yes	No
3. Do you like learning questionnaires design through in-class tasks?	89%	11%
16. Do you think you can learn how to write academic research essays better with in-class tasks?	86%	14%
24. Do you like to do in-class exercises in groups?	84%	16%
22. Do you think you can learn how to write the academic research essay better through class discussions?	81%	19%
21. Do you think you can learn how to write the academic research essay better through group discussions?	78%	22%
27. Do you think the in-class tasks motivate you to learn more on your own?	78%	22%
23. Do you like to do in-class exercises individually?	72%	28%
6. Do you enjoy learning to write an academic research essay through in-class tasks?	69%	31%

Table 1: Students' Perceptions towards In-class Exercises or Discussions

Students reported a range of benefits from participating in in-class tasks and exercises, which were categorized into four key themes: 1) real-time feedback and interaction, 2) learning and improvement, 3) convenience and efficiency, and 4) development of logical thinking skills. The feedback provided by students has been systematically organized and summarized as follows:

1. Real-Time Feedback and Interaction

Students emphasized the value of immediate feedback and interactive engagement during in-class activities. Key points included:

- Enhanced engagement compared to completing tasks at home, facilitated by real-time feedback from instructors.
- Direct access to teachers for immediate clarification and guidance.
- Opportunities to receive instant responses, suggestions, and corrections from instructors.
- Increased familiarity and comfort with the learning process.
- Collaborative interactions with peers, enabling group discussions, idea sharing, and rapid classification of ideas.
- Immediate practice and feedback from both lecturers and classmates, fostering a dynamic learning environment.

2. Learning and Improvement

Students highlighted significant gains in knowledge, skills, and critical thinking abilities. Key observations included:

- A deeper understanding of the essay-writing process, including how to structure arguments and counterarguments.
- Improved organizational and systematic thinking skills.
- Enhanced ability to identify and avoid common errors in essay writing.
- Acquisition of practical skills, such as designing questionnaire questions and searching for relevant information.
- Exposure to diverse perspectives and societal issues, enriching their writing content.
- Development of English language proficiency and writing techniques for future academic tasks.
- Increased confidence in planning, organizing, and executing written work effectively.

3. Convenience and Efficiency

Students noted the practical advantages of in-class tasks, which streamlined their learning process. Key benefits included:

- Step-by-step guidance from instructors, making complex tasks easier to understand.
- Immediate access to suggestions and support, enabling more effective task initiation.
- Improved English language skills and the generation of new ideas through interactive discussions.
- Enhanced ability to stay updated with contemporary issues and integrate them into their work.

4. Development of Logical Thinking Skills

Students acknowledged the role of in-class activities in fostering critical and logical thinking. Key reflections included:

- Improved ability to analyze topics, identify main points, and structure arguments coherently.
- Enhanced problem-solving and reasoning skills through guided practice and feedback.

B. Students' Perceptions of Online Exercises and Tasks for Self-Learning

Students generally exhibited a positive attitude toward online learning, which included participating in simple exercises, completing tasks, engaging in group discussions, and using e-platforms such as Moodle. They also showed motivation to pursue independent learning. However, it is worth noting that only about 58% of students expressed a preference for using Padlet to share their opinions. A summary of the students' feedback is presented in Table 2 below.

	Yes	No
2. Do you like learning questionnaires design with digital devices?	94%	6%
29. Do you like submitting assignments through Moodle?	89%	11%
4. Do you like learning to write an academic research essay with digital devices?	88%	13%
17. Do you think you can learn how to write academic research essays better with online tasks?	86%	14%
28. Do you think online tasks motivate you to learn more on your own?	81%	19%
25. Do you like to do online exercises individually?	73%	27%
26. Do you like to do online exercises in groups?	69%	31%
31. Do you like sharing opinions through Padlet?	58%	42%

Table 2: Students' Perceptions towards Online Exercises or Discussions

Students reported a range of benefits from engaging in online tasks and exercises, which were categorized into four key themes: 1) convenience and accessibility, 2) learning and improvement, 3) time efficiency, and 4) miscellaneous advantages. The feedback provided by students has been systematically organized and summarized as follows:

1. Convenience and Accessibility

Students highlighted the ease and flexibility of online tasks, emphasizing the following advantages:

- Low time costs and greater convenience compared to traditional methods.
- Easy access to relevant examples, online materials, and resources for research.
- The ability to work independently and at their own pace.
- Enhanced efficiency in typing and organizing ideas using digital tools.
- Increased opportunities to stay updated with contemporary issues and gather useful information.
- More time to elaborate on ideas, prepare, and conduct thorough research.
- Simplified data searching and collection processes, enabling smoother task completion.

2. Learning and Improvement

Students noted significant academic and skill-based gains from online tasks, including:

- Improved systematic and logical thinking when developing arguments.
- A deeper understanding of the essay-writing process and topic-related knowledge.
- Enhanced ability to organize ideas, draft questionnaires, and structure essays effectively.
- Greater proficiency in data utilization and research methodologies.
- Expanded vocabulary and improved writing techniques through consistent practice.
- Opportunities to apply learned knowledge and gain practical experience.
- Clearer understanding of how to identify areas for improvement and refine their work.

3. Time Efficiency

Students appreciated the time-saving aspects of online tasks, particularly:

- Faster completion of tasks due to streamlined processes and immediate access to resources.
- Additional time allocated for preparation, research, and refining their work.

4. Miscellaneous Advantages

Students identified additional benefits that contributed to their overall learning experience, such as:

- The ability to create clear plans and execute tasks without significant difficulties.
- Opportunities to compare differences in their work and identify areas for improvement.
- Immediate access to research tools and guidance on setting up questionnaires.
- Better utilization of online platforms to enhance learning outcomes.

C. Student Perceptions of Moodle and Padlet as E-Learning Platforms

1. Moodle as an E-Learning Platform

Moodle is the primary E-learning platform utilized by the college to support teaching and learning activities. Through Moodle, students access course materials, complete online exercises, and submit assignments. A significant majority (89%) of the students expressed their satisfaction with Moodle, citing its convenience and user-friendly interface as key reasons. The additional benefits identified by students are summarized below:

- Allows more time for communication immediately after class.
- Eliminates the need to print and submit hard copies of assignments.
- Provides a simple and user-friendly interface.
- Offers a clear and organized timeline for tasks and assignments.
- Ensures consistency in the submission process.
- Enhances efficiency and effectiveness in completing and submitting tasks.
- Facilitates faster submission of assignments.
- Provides a sense of satisfaction when submitting assignments.
- Is more convenient compared to submitting written papers.
- Ensures accuracy and reliability during the submission process.

The overwhelmingly positive feedback highlights Moodle's role in enhancing students' academic experience by streamlining processes and improving accessibility to learning resources.

2. Padlet as a Collaborative Learning Tool

Padlet is another platform used by the college, primarily for facilitating the sharing of opinions and views on specific topics. However, compared to Moodle, Padlet received a more moderate level of approval, with only 58% of students expressing a liking for the platform. The feedback regarding Padlet reflects a mix of positive and negative perceptions, summarized as follows:

Positive Feedback

Students appreciated several aspects of Padlet, including:

- The ability to remain anonymous when sharing opinions and views.
- Opportunities to learn from classmates by viewing their ideas and perspectives.
- Gaining insights into whether their own views align with others and learning from classmates' feedback.
- Encouragement to generate new ideas based on peers' contributions.

- Providing a more engaging and enjoyable experience compared to traditional verbal participation (e.g., shouting out answers).
- Facilitating class discussions and collaborative learning.
- Enabling teachers and classmates to interact more conveniently.
- Allowing students to view a variety of different perspectives and responses.

Negative Feedback

Some students, however, expressed reservations about Padlet, particularly regarding anonymity and personal preferences:

- Shy students were hesitant to share opinions, fearing that their classmates might guess their identity despite the anonymous option.
- Concerns about the platform's perceived lack of privacy or discomfort in sharing personal opinions.

II. Student Perceptions towards Teaching and Learning Approaches

As previously mentioned, 89% of the students acknowledged that both in-class and online tasks were effective in improving their skills in writing academic research essays. This indicates that they hold favorable perceptions towards the teaching and learning approaches employed in this course.

A. Student Perceptions towards Process Writing

By incorporating the process writing approach, a blend of in-class and online exercises and tasks was developed to help students understand the process of conducting a questionnaire and subsequently writing an essay using both primary and secondary data. A summary of the students' feedback is presented in Table 3 below.

Questions	Yes	No
10. Do you think the development of an online survey through questionnaire can help you learn how to write academic research essays?	92%	8%
8. Do you think developing the first draft of questionnaire can help you learn how to write academic research essays?	91%	9%
1. Do you like learning questionnaires design through a series of tasks?	88%	13%
11. Do you think the data collected from the online survey through questionnaire can help you understand how to write an academic research essay?	88%	13%
7. Do you like writing an academic research essay through different steps?	72%	28%

Table 3: Students' Perceptions towards Process Writing

B. Student Perceptions towards Teacher Feedback

Students noted that the feedback they received from both peers and teachers was highly beneficial to their learning and essay writing process. A summary of the students' feedback is presented in Table 4 below.

Questions	Yes	No
14. Do you think the teacher's feedback on the essay outline can help you learn how to write the academic research essay?	98%	2%
12. Do you think the teacher's feedback on the questionnaire can help you learn how to write the academic research essay?	97%	3%
9. Do you think the peer evaluation of questionnaire can help you learn how to write the academic research essay?	81%	19%

Table 4: Students' Perceptions towards Teacher's Feedback

C. **Student Feedback on Essay Outlines and Questionnaires**

a. Feedback on Essay Outlines

Students provided detailed feedback on the guidance they received for their essay outlines, which was categorized into two primary themes: **guidance and direction**, and **improvement and quality enhancement**.

1. Guidance and Direction

Students appreciated the feedback on their essay outlines for offering clear guidance and helping them stay on track. Key points included:

- Feedback helped identify missing information or steps and served as a reminder of essential elements.
- Teachers provided practical advice on what needed improvement and what information should be included in the essay.
- Students were able to identify mistakes and understand how to address them effectively.
- Feedback clarified whether their arguments were strong and accurate, helping them refine their main ideas.
- Guidance from teachers provided a clear direction for improving essay content and minimizing mistakes.
- Specific and precise suggestions allowed students to enhance the detail and quality of their essays.
- Feedback inspired students to better utilize sources and evidence to support their arguments.

Representative student comments include:

- "The feedback provided directions for me to correct my content."
- "It let me know whether the direction of my essay was correct or not."
- "The teacher helped pinpoint our problems and provided detailed advice for improvement."

2. Improvement and Quality Enhancement

Students noted that teacher feedback significantly improved the overall quality of their essays. Specific improvements included:

- Identifying whether their points were relevant and appropriate.
- Receiving detailed advice on essay structure, such as incorporating primary and secondary sources into body paragraphs.
- Suggestions on how to write more specifically and clearly.
- Feedback helped students understand where to improve and how to achieve higher grades.

Representative student comments include:

- "The teacher provided clear suggestions, which helped me understand how to write in a more specific way."
- "The feedback allowed me to improve the quality of my essay and achieve better results."
- "Each body paragraph should include at least one primary and one secondary reference source, which helped me write a better essay."

b. Feedback on Essay Questionnaires

Students also provided feedback on the teacher's suggestions for their essay questionnaires. Their comments were categorized into three main themes: mistake identification and correction, guidance and suggestions, and positive evaluation.

1. Mistake Identification and Correction

Students valued the feedback for helping them identify and correct errors in their questionnaire drafts. Specific points included:

- Feedback ensured students stayed on track and adhered to the essay's requirements.
- Teachers highlighted mistakes in questionnaire design, such as unclear or irrelevant questions, and provided corrections.
- Feedback helped students refine their questionnaires to meet academic standards.

Representative student comments include:

- "The feedback allowed me to understand where I strayed from my research topic and get back on track."
- "I was able to identify my mistakes in questionnaire design and correct them to improve my essay."

- "The teacher's feedback hit the nail on the head and clarified what I needed to fix."

2. Guidance and Suggestions

Students appreciated the detailed suggestions provided by teachers, which improved the quality and relevance of their questionnaires. Key aspects of guidance included:

- Advice on structuring questions effectively, such as avoiding "Neutral" options in Yes/No questions and using numerical scales where appropriate.
- Suggestions helped students understand which questions were relevant to the essay and how to prioritize key points.
- Clear guidance on off-topic elements and areas that required emphasis.

Representative student comments include:

- "The teacher gave exact points where we were off-topic and highlighted areas to emphasize."
- "Feedback helped me understand how to improve the relevance and clarity of my questionnaire questions."
- "The teacher provided precise suggestions, which made the work easier and more efficient to complete."

3. Positive Evaluation

Students provided positive feedback on the value and impact of teacher suggestions. They noted that:

- Feedback helped them collect more useful information and improve the quality of their research.
- Suggestions were relevant, precise, and easy to understand.
- The teacher's expertise and constructive input made the process smoother and faster.

Representative student comments include:

- "The teacher’s opinion helped me finish the work quickly by pointing out what was wrong and leading me in the correct direction."
- "The feedback was relevant, useful, and allowed me to refine my questionnaire more effectively."
- "It helped me collect more meaningful data and improved my overall essay."

Discussions of the Results

This study offers valuable insights into the impact of blended learning on students' perceptions of engagement, motivation, learning outcomes, and overall course satisfaction in the context of academic research essay writing. The findings reveal that the majority of students held positive attitudes toward blended learning, attributing its

effectiveness to the seamless integration of in-class and online activities. These activities not only enhanced their writing skills but also fostered a more engaging and satisfying learning experience. The results align with previous studies (Chen, 2021; Hassan et al., 2021; Liu, 2021; Zhou & Zych, 2018), which highlight the significant role of blended learning in motivating students to improve their writing.

A. Engagement and Motivation

Students reported high levels of engagement with blended learning, particularly through interactive in-class activities such as tasks, exercises, group discussions, and real-time feedback from teachers. They appreciated the opportunity to ask questions and receive immediate guidance, which they found motivating and supportive of their learning process. This finding echoes Chen's (2021) study, which emphasizes the importance of instructor guidance, diverse writing exercises, and an E-learning community in enhancing the effectiveness of blended learning for English writing programs.

Similarly, online components—such as exercises, group discussions, and e-platforms like Moodle—were praised for their convenience, accessibility, and flexibility. The ability to access materials at their own pace and engage in self-directed learning further boosted students' motivation and active participation in the course.

B. Learning Outcomes

The blended learning approach significantly contributed to students' learning outcomes, particularly in developing academic research essay writing skills. In-class tasks helped students better understand the writing process, improve logical thinking, and organize their work more effectively. Online activities, such as designing questionnaires and conducting surveys, provided practical experience in research methods and data collection, deepening their understanding of the connection between research and essay writing.

Students also noted improvements in their ability to write counterarguments, structure essays, and avoid common errors, highlighting the effectiveness of blended learning in enhancing both hard and soft skills. These findings align with Hassan et al. (2021), who observed substantial improvements in writing performance through blended learning.

C. Course Satisfaction

The findings reveal that students expressed a high level of satisfaction with the blended learning approach, emphasizing its balanced integration of in-class and online activities as a key strength. They particularly valued the structured guidance provided by teachers, which helped them identify mistakes, make improvements, and maintain focus throughout the course. However, students did not highlight the effectiveness of peer feedback during the learning process, suggesting a preference for teacher feedback. This preference may stem from a lack of awareness or understanding of peer evaluation and feedback practices. To address this, additional training and support in peer feedback could be integrated into the course design to maximize its potential benefits.

While the flexibility of online learning, combined with the interactive nature of in-class activities, created a dynamic and supportive learning environment, not all students favored certain online tools, such as Padlet. This variation in preferences highlights the need to consider diverse student needs and preferences when selecting and incorporating collaborative platforms into blended learning experiences.

These findings align with the argument by Ludwig and Tassinari (2021) that technology-enhanced learning provides learners with greater flexibility by allowing them to control the pace, content, and social dynamics of their learning experience. Moreover, such environments foster self-motivation and self-regulation, both of which are critical for academic success. These results reinforce the importance of thoughtful instructional design to create inclusive and effective blended learning environments.

D. Implications for Teaching Practices

The findings emphasize the importance of timely and constructive feedback from teachers in fostering student engagement and improving learning outcomes. Teachers' expertise and guidance were instrumental in helping students refine their writing skills and meet assignment requirements. Additionally, the study highlights the effectiveness of process writing approaches, which combine in-class and online tasks to enhance students' understanding of the research process and its application to essay writing.

Educators are encouraged to incorporate these approaches into their teaching practices to create a more engaging and effective learning environment. By leveraging the strengths of both in-class and online components, blended learning can be optimized to meet the diverse needs of students and enhance their academic writing skills.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that the blended learning approach positively influences students' engagement, motivation, learning outcomes, and overall course satisfaction. By combining interactive in-class activities with flexible online components, educators can effectively support students in developing critical academic writing skills while fostering a motivating and fulfilling learning experience. These findings carry significant implications for the design and implementation of blended learning strategies within higher education.

The study also highlights the effectiveness of the process writing approach and emphasizes the value of teacher feedback in enhancing students' academic research essay writing skills. Incorporating interactive elements, leveraging online tools, and employing the process writing approach are critical strategies for improving students' writing proficiency. Furthermore, tailored and timely feedback from instructors plays a pivotal role in supporting students' learning and development.

To build upon these findings, future research could focus on examining the long-term effects of blended learning and the process writing approach on students' writing proficiency and their ability to apply research skills across diverse academic contexts. Additionally, exploring the impact of various online platforms and technologies on students' engagement and learning outcomes would provide valuable insights for optimizing blended learning environments. Research into the role of peer feedback and collaboration within the process writing approach could also deepen our understanding of its potential benefits for enhancing students' writing skills. Addressing these areas in future studies would contribute to the continuous improvement of instructional practices and further support students in mastering essential academic research and writing skills.

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胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”与兼语句式的历时适配性研究

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摘要：本研究旨在探讨汉语胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”与兼语句式的历时适配性，揭示其句法语义互动规律及演变动因。研究以兼语句式“N1+V1+N2+V2”为框架，结合语义驱动理论及词汇双音节化趋势，通过定量与定性相结合的方法，系统分析北京大学 CCL 语料库中先秦至清代的文献语料，统计各动词在兼语句中的历时分布与频率。研究发现动词“逼”适配性最强，其核心语义“直接强制”与兼语句致使链高度契合，句法灵活度高，“迫”自西汉始现于兼语句，唐代语义扩展至情感压力，现代由“强迫”替代；“胁”唐代进入兼语句，侧重权力威胁，因语义局限及双音节词“威胁”的兴起，晚清后逐渐退出，反映词汇更替规律。研究揭示差异动因：语义强度决定句法兼容性；双音节化推动单音词转型；权力斗争塑造动词的语体分布及语用功能。系统梳理胁迫义动词在兼语句中的历时适配路径，验证语义特征与句法结构的互动关系；揭示汉语双音节化对动词功能转型的影响，为词汇史研究提供实证支持。

关键词：胁迫义动词；兼语句式；历时适配性；语义特征

一、引言

兼语句式的结构已经基本固定，黄伯荣、廖序东主编的《现代汉语》（第七版）中认为：“由兼语短语充当谓语或独立成句的句子叫兼语句。”[1]本文把句法上符合兼语短语做谓语或独立成句，语表形式符合 N1+V1+N2+V2，且语义关系上 N2 是 V2 的施事的句式称为兼语式。兼语句式作为汉语特殊句式，其“N1+V1+N2+V2”结构反映了动作的致使关系。兼语句多具有使令意义，前一个动词，如“请”、“让”、“叫”等，表示一种请求、命令或使令的行为，后一个动词，即兼语的谓语，则是该行为所要达到的目的或产生的结果，例如“干脆我请他来吃晚饭好不好？（《四世同堂》）”中，“我请”是动宾短语，“他来”是主谓短语，其中“他”既是“请”的宾语，又是“来”的主语，“请”的目的是“来吃晚饭”。

本文结合历时文献用例及频率统计数据，揭示“逼、迫、胁”在兼语句中的适配规律与历时演变路径。朱德熙（1982）强调 V1 对 V2 的致使性，范晓（1998）进一步提出“语义驱动”原则，张斌（2010）将“逼、迫、胁”归为“外显强制类”，其施事主体具有明确意图，现有研究多聚焦于兼语句式的整体结构，对胁迫义动词的适配性缺乏系统性分析。文章筛选了北京大学 CCL 语料库先秦至清代文献中“逼、迫、胁”构成的兼语句共 269 例，胁迫义动词在兼语句中的历时分布与使用频率如表 1。

表 1 胁迫义动词的历时分布与使用频率

	先秦两汉	唐	宋	元	明	清
逼	3/281	4/640	64/2265	28/317	49/1266	96/1625

迫	**1/336**	**2/388**	**8/1520**	**0/102**	**5/520**	**9/628**
胁	**0/123**	**1/142**	**13/749**	**5/37**	**2/304**	**0/449**
逼迫	**0/24**	**0/52**	**1/63**	**0/7**	**0/42**	**2/76**
强迫	**0/2**	**0/1**	**0/5**	**0/2**	**0/1**	**1/5**
威胁	**0/0**	**0/7**	**0/18**	**0/1**	**0/6**	**0/13**
胁迫	**0/0**	**0/0**	**0/2**	**0**	**0**	**0**

二、“胁迫义”动词与兼语句式的适配性分析

胁迫义动词的“强施力性”与兼语句式的“致使链”存在语义适配性，胁迫义动词作为兼语句式 V1 时，常常体现了“施事强制受事执行某动作”的语义，其与兼语句式的适配性具有独特研究价值，下面分析胁迫义动词与兼语句的适配情况。

（一）、动词“逼”与兼语句适配情况

由表 1 可知自先秦至明清时期，“逼”作为兼语句核心动词的用法具有历时延续性，贯穿汉语发展各阶段。典型兼语结构“逼+兼语+VP”形式保持高度统一，从上古汉语到近现代始终遵循“N1+V1+N2+V2”的句法框架，表达强制性因果关系，体现施事者对受事的强力驱使即强迫某人或某物做某事。如：

（1）汉中民**逼**李凤寇掠，东走荆沔。(《华阳国志》第八卷）

（2）至晓，解金铃系其臂，使人随至家，都无女人。因**逼**猪入栏中，见母猪臂有金铃。(《搜神记》第十八卷）

（3）云侵帆影尽，风**逼**雁行斜。(全唐诗《江行留别》第 555 卷）

（4）李傕**逼**帝东迁，曹操迁市都许。操薨，帝逊位于曹丕。(《长短经》第四卷）

（5）三年，春正月，宴于光极前殿，**逼**晋帝行酒，庾珉、王隽等起而大哭，聪恶之。(《十六国春秋别传》第一卷）

（6）三年二月，刘裕起义兵，桓玄**逼**帝东下。(《晋书》第十二卷）唐

（7）丁丑，卞范之为禅诏，使临川王宝**逼**帝书之。 (《资治通鉴》第一一三卷）

（8）辛未，玄**逼**帝西上，刘毅帅何无忌、刘道规等诸军追之。 (《资治通鉴》第一一三卷）

（9）时上在长生殿，使者**逼**后下殿，并左右数十人幽于后宫，宦官宫人皆惊骇逃散。(《资治通鉴》唐纪三十八）

（10）谁知继母心太偏，**逼**奴改嫁相凌贱。(《荆钗记》第一卷）

（11）亲家，你一霎时认真**逼**他去投江海。(《荆钗记》第一卷）

（12）他同着四将，**逼**我自刎，分裂支体，各去请功。(《喻世明言》第三十一卷）

上述例句中，兼语成分多为受事对象，既可指人，如“李凤”“帝”“后”，也可指物，如“猪”“雁行”，“逼”这个字的核心意思就是强迫别人做某事，强调施加压力导致结果。不过在具体使用中，这个强迫的方式会有不同，例（2）“赶猪进圈”就是直接动手驱赶，属于物理上的强迫，例（4）“逼皇帝迁都”属于用权力压迫，是政治层面的强迫，例（3）“风逼雁行斜”则是自然力量的推动，语用上，多用于历史文献，

志怪小说等叙述语体，主要用来记录那些强制性的历史事件，能明显看出古代社会的等级差异，比如君臣之间、婆媳之间，这些用法其实都反映了当时人与人之间的权力关系，强势一方对弱势一方的压迫。

在现代汉语中，“逼”仍然可以作为兼语句式中的第一个动词表示“逼迫、逼使”的含义，动词支配的对象主要是人。如：

（13）夜里压我，白天骑我，黑心肠的，你是**逼**我往死里跑。(《活着》第二章）

（14）其他中国男学生都跟方鸿渐开玩笑，**逼**他请大家喝了一次冰咖啡和啤酒。(《围城》第一章）

例句中“逼”引发“我往死里跑”“他请大家喝了一次冰咖啡和啤酒”动作的发生，历时语料分析揭示了"逼"作为典型使令动词在汉语兼语句中的适配规律，展现了句法结构与语义表达的互动关系。

（二）、动词“迫”与兼语句适配情况

2.1 迫

“迫”在西汉之后出现作兼语动词的情况，如：

（15）及会，两君就坛，两相相揖，曹刿手剑拔刀而进，**迫**桓公于坛上曰：“城坏压境，君不图与？”(《新序》第四卷）

（16）倏迁十稔，乃**迫**知己荐赭山，未越月而政闻。(《唐文拾遗》卷六十七）

（17）州有戍兵，共**迫**太为郑王。(《资治通鉴·后汉纪》第二百八十六卷）

（18）冲为华州都监令，应接之，冲至华，**迫**华帅史彦入朝，李存敬至华，冲尽诛其家。(《册府元龟·将帅部 降杀》第四百四十九卷）

在唐代“迫”出现语义扩展，出现在兼语句中实际包含有”“使、让”的意思，如：

（19）虏酒千杯，夷歌百转，**迫**人垂泪。(《全宋词 醉蓬莱·窜易前词》(第一册))

（20）扫尽长空纤翳，散乱疏林清影，风露**迫**人愁。(《全宋词 水调歌头（癸酉虎丘中秋)》)

早期多单用"迫"，明清时期在多部文献中出现单独作兼语动词的用法，使用密度增加，政治文献与通俗文学中均有分布。如：

（21）时月正午，邦奇召书吏人等誓曰：“彼既杀三堂，必**迫**我为主，或令讨赦，二者皆不可。(《大同纪事》第一卷）

（22）脱脱觇知梁王有二心，因以危言**迫**梁王杀我使以固其意。遂与吴云俱被害。(《明史纪事本末》第十二卷）

（23）弘治十七年，养病给事中赵钦，**迫**民鬻墓为地，凡发冢九十有二。(沈德符 《万历野获编》第十九卷）

（24）亮祖欲攻之，琛视氛不利，亮祖**迫**琛使进。(《国初群雄事略》第十三卷）

（25）秀清屡图篡，欲**迫**秀全禅位，秀全微闻之。(《太平天国战记》)

（26）初，秀清欲诱秀全正二日之误，即**迫**其逊位，不则弑之。(《太平天国战记》)

（27）昌辉**迫**秀清卧内，秀清兽伏水阁下，系之以献，族其家。(《太平天国战记》)

（28）知保安军景思立不审众寡，**迫**诸将出战，遇伏皆败。(《西夏书事》第二十三卷）

（29）只因当年张华盖丈量太行山钱粮，**迫**他迁徙海外，他怀恨在心。(《海公小红袍全传》第二十

九回）

（30）弃疾曰："汝**迫**我上虎背耶？计将安出？"（《东周列国志》第七十回）

（31）进滔下令道："诸君既**迫**我上台，须听我号令，方可任事。"（《新唐书》第一百三十五卷）

（32）说得彩云桃腮晕红，急道："今被尔等**迫**我饮了三大碗，又来取笑。"（《乾隆下江南》第二十九回）

"迫"的施事主体以人为主，如"桓公、昌辉"，还有客观事物"虏酒、风露"等，也涉及抽象概念，而受事对象与施事对象也存在等级差别，如君臣、主仆、官民等，其后接谓语类型有具体的命令，像例（24）、（28）中"迫琛使进"是逼迫陈琛前进，"迫诸将出战"是迫使众将出战，也有心情上的变化，比如让人"垂泪"流泪或感到"愁"。迫"的核心语义为一种高压的环境下，被迫去做某事，它有三种主要的意思：威胁、胁迫，还有就是形势所迫不得不做。在历时演变中，唐代，人们开始用"迫"来表示情感上的压力，像例子（19）、（20），这时候它的物理上的强迫意思就变淡了，更多是指心理上的影响。

2.2 强迫

在现代汉语中，"迫"不在单独表示施加压力使服从，更多时候它用于表示形势或环境的紧迫性，非常急切、急促，如"迫在眉睫"、"形势所迫"等。通常不在单独作为兼语句中的第一个动词，进入兼语句中表示逼迫义主要以双音节动词的形式出现，

本文选取了 11 部现当代的文学作品，《雷雨》《骆驼祥子》《阿 q 正传》《围城》《红玫瑰与白玫瑰》《你是一条河》《妻妾成群》《过把瘾死》《黄金时代》《活着》等进行统计"逼、迫、胁、强迫、威胁"出现频率，如表 2 所示：

表 2 胁迫义动词的历时分布与使用频率

	雷雨	骆驼祥子	围城	你是一条河	妻妾成群	过把瘾死	黄金时代	活着	红玫瑰与白玫瑰
逼	**3/15**	**3/6**	**7/22**	**2/5**	**0**	**3/12**	**0/1**	**2/4**	**0**
强迫	**0/1**	**1/1**	**2/2**	**1/1**	**0/1**	**/0/1**	**/0/1**	**0**	**0**
压迫	**/0/3**	**0/4**	**0/1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
威胁	**0**	**0**	**0/2**	**0/1**	**0**	**0/5**	**0/1**	**0**	**0/2**

在这些作品中，迫不在单独出现，而是双音节词搭配出现，如压迫、窘迫、强迫等，且只有强迫可以进入兼语句式中作 V1，压迫、窘迫等则不在进入。例如：

（36）得屋也没有什么暴力行动,只是**强迫**全家人一天三次按时准点地向毛主席早请示晚汇报。(《你是一条河》第十一)

（37）到上了甜菜，几位女客恶意地**强迫**孙小姐多吃。(《围城》第七章)

（38）她**强迫**鸿渐说出来他过去的恋爱。(《围城》第八章)

（三）、动词"胁""威胁"和与兼语句适配情况

3.1 动词"胁"

胁在唐进入兼语句式中，宋代增多，随后逐渐退出，晚清后不在进入，被双音节词"威胁"取代。"胁"

在《说文解字》中的解释为“两膀也”，即两肋。这一本义使得“胁”在多数情况下与身体部位相关，而非直接表达动作或行为。“胁”后来引申出了逼迫、强迫的含义，例如：

（1）小白既立，**胁**鲁杀子纠，召忽死之，管夷吾被囚。(《列子·力命》第六）

（2）“敕使反耶屯兵无数，何不捍寇，而欲**胁**天子去宗庙！”(《唐国史补》卷上）

（3）帝与左右患之，乃使中常侍奉诏**胁**群臣曰：“父子一体，天性自然；以义割恩，为天下也。(《后汉书》第四十五卷）

（4）其将随昱留守九原，欲**胁**芳来降；芳知之，与十馀骑亡入匈奴，其众尽归随昱，昱乃诣阙降。(《资治通鉴·汉纪》第三十五）

（5）甲戌，卓复会群僚于崇德前殿，遂**胁**太后策废少帝（《后汉书》第七十二卷）

（6）丙子，郭汜复谋**胁**帝还都，侍中种辑知之，密告杨定、董承、杨奉令会新丰。(《资治通鉴·汉纪》第五十三）

（7）因教二婢反其辞，**胁**告者自缢，乃启欢曰：“果虚言也。”(《资治通鉴·梁纪》第十三）

（8）今屯军如云，不戮力扞寇，而遽欲**胁**天子弃宗庙社稷而去，非反而何！（《资治通鉴·唐纪》第三十九）

（9）怀光既**胁**朝廷逐卢杞等，内不自安，遂有异志。(《资治通鉴·唐纪》第四十六）

（10）智高麾兵而入，欲**胁**师旦降，师旦骂贼，被害。(《燕魏杂记》)

（11）凡无须者皆杀，然后领兵伏阙请罪，**胁**天子禅位。(《挥麈後录》第九卷）

（12）民政门公曰：“昨日李顺**胁**民为贼，今日仆与足下化贼为民，用固邦本。元（《言行龟鉴》卷七 ）

（13）陷劫掠州，缙云尉詹良臣御贼，为贼所执，**胁**良臣降。(元《大宋宣和遗事》第十页）

（14）前光禒鸿章曰：“西人**胁**我立约，彼此相距十万里，尚遣公使、领事远来保其侨民。(《清史稿》第一百五十八卷）

“胁”作为胁迫义动词，其典型结构通常表现为“胁+受事对象+被逼行为”，如例（7）“胁告者自缢”即通过威胁手段迫使对方做出特定行为。从施事主体来看，“胁”的发起者多为强权人物，而受事对象往往是具有重要地位的人物，如帝王、官员，且双方存在明显的等级，一定程度表现为“下对上”的权力压制。“胁”后接的谓语类型有政治行为，如例（5）、(11）的“策废少帝”“禅位”，有军事指令，如例（4）、（13）“胁良臣降”“胁芳来降”，反映战场上的逼迫；还有是极端行为，如例（3）、(7）“自缢”“逃亡”，突出生死的紧迫性。此外，“胁”还通过隐喻扩展丰富其内涵，身体隐喻保留“两胁”的本义，而权力隐喻则通过“胁天子”展现强权与象征性权威的对立。在语用功能上，“胁”多用于描述政变、权力交接等重要事件。

3.2 动词“威胁”

但是在清代之后，兼语句式中不在单独使用“胁”，通常使用双音节动词“威胁”，表示用武力或者权势来胁迫对方，让对方遵从自己的想法来达到目的。如：

（15）汉奸们虽用饥饿来**威胁**他们入伙；但许多富有民族气节的人民却宁死不屈！(《人民日报》

1946.05）

（16）国民党反动派指使特务造谣破坏，在醒河济阳一带**威胁**人民不准上工。(《人民日报》1946.07）

（17）特务造谣说：翻身队要把群众斗争果实中的好东西拿走，逢十抽三；翻身队是特务队，并**威胁**群众不准诉苦。(《人民日报》 1946.12）

动词“胁”在作为“要挟逼迫”的释义时，可以构成兼语句式，但使用频率相对较低。而动词“威胁”则是一个典型的及物动词，经常用于构成兼语句式，并带有强烈的使令意义。因此，在现代兼语句式中，“威胁”比“胁”更为常见和自然，二者体现汉语单双音节动词更替的典型过程，严格受制于权力关系的句法配置，其兼语用法的兴衰折射出汉语系统从单音孤立到双音分析的演变规律，为政治话语研究提供重要参考。

在汉语语法体系中，“逼”“迫”“胁”这三个动词因其强烈的使动性，与兼语句的适配性尤为突出，能够构成“逼/迫/胁+兼语+动词短语”的典型兼语句结构。在此结构中，“逼”“迫”“胁”不仅支配着兼语，还通过兼语间接支配着从句的谓语，体现出对受事所施加的压力或强制行为。动词“逼”一直可以进入兼语句中作 V1，而动词“迫”在近代短暂进入兼语句后便退出，由双音节词“强迫”进行替代，且远不如动词“逼”典型，“胁”更多是作为动词单独使用或与其他成分组合使用，如“威胁、迫胁”等双音节词，且这些双音节词也是在近代后进入兼语句并被大量使用。综上所述，“逼、迫、胁”与兼语句式适配情况如表 3 所示。

表 3“逼、迫、胁”与兼语句式适配情况对比表

对比项	逼	迫	胁
语义强度	最高(直接强制，手段多样)	中等（客观压力或者隐性压力）	较高（武力/权力威胁）
语义扩展	可隐喻抽象压力	可隐喻抽象压力，隐含“使令”义	身体隐喻、权力隐喻
句法灵活度	高（可加补语、状语）	中（结构较固定，补语受限）	低（需组合词或介词结构）
受事对象	广泛（人/物/抽象对象）	个体或群体	帝王、官员等权贵
历时频率	高频	中频	低频
现代使用	仍为核心词	多用于复合词	几乎被双音节词取代
语用功能	描述日常冲突或政治斗争	记录客观压力或制度压迫	强调非法、暴力行为
语体分布	口语书面语通用	书面语为主	书面语专用
组合需求	可独立使用	常需复合词或固定结构	依赖双音节词或介词结构

三、适配情况差异及原因分析

胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”在兼语句式中的适配规律，不仅反映了汉语句法结构的历时演变，还深刻揭示了语言现象背后的社会、文化和认知动因。以下是对这些适配规律的原因分析，从多个维度进行探讨。

（一）、强制语义特征的共性与差异

胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”都具有强制语义特征，这是它们能够适配兼语句式的核心原因。兼语句式本质上表达了一种致使关系，即一个动作导致另一个动作的发生。这种致使关系与胁迫义动词的强制语义高度契合，因为胁迫行为本身就包含了一种强制受事执行某动作的意图。然而，“逼、迫、胁”在强制语义上又存在一定差异，“逼”侧重于心理压迫，强调施事通过心理手段迫使受事行动；“迫”则更多表现为环境或形势所迫，使受事在无奈中做出选择，“胁”则直接涉及显性武力或威胁，其强制性和后果更为严重。这些语义上的差异导致了它们在兼语句式中的不同适配模式和频率。

随着语言的发展，“逼、迫、胁”的语义也经历了不同程度的扩展，例如，“迫”在唐代开始出现包含“使、让”意思的语义扩展，这使其在兼语句式中的表达更加灵活多样，能够与更多类型的谓语搭配，增强了动词与兼语句式的兼容性，扩大了其使用范围。相比之下，“胁”的语义扩展较为有限，且逐渐被双音节词“威胁”所取代，这反映了语言经济性原则的作用，即更简洁、更高效的表达方式会逐渐占据主导地位。

（二）、句法结构的稳定性及对动词 V1 选择

兼语句式“N1+V1+N2+V2”在汉语中具有相对稳定的结构框架，这为胁迫义动词的适配提供了句法基础，然而不同的胁迫义动词在兼语句式中的表现又具有一定的灵活性。例如，“逼”可以接具体位移动作、抽象行为及结果状态等多种类型的谓语，体现了其句法上的高度灵活性，而“迫”和“胁”在谓语类型的选择上则相对有限。

在兼语句式中，V1 对 V2 的致使性是一个重要的句法制约因素，兼语句式由具有“致使”义的动词构成，并在此基础上形成一个具有完整句式义——“致使”义的句式，对再进入到句式中的动词具有一定的制约作用。兼语句中的两个动词之间通常存在因果或目的关系，这种语义上的联系使得兼语句在表达上具有更强的逻辑性和目的性。胁迫义动词由于其强烈的强制性，往往导致受事者的行为并非出于自愿，这与兼语句中后一动词表达的自愿性、目的性有一定冲突。

（三）、语体选择与语境适应性

胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”在语体偏好上存在差异，这反映了它们在不同语境中的适应性，例如，“逼”多用于小说诗歌等叙事语体，记录强制性事件，凸显社会等级差异，而“胁”则更多出现在正史记载中，描述政变、权力交接等关键事件。这种语体偏好与动词的语义特征和历史背景密切相关。在不同的语境中，人们会根据表达需要选择最合适的动词来构建兼语句式。胁迫义动词在兼语句式中的使用还受到交际功能和表达效果的影响，例如，“威胁”在现代汉语中比“胁”更为常见和自然，因为它不仅具有胁迫的语义，还带有强烈的使令意义和后果警示作用，更符合现代交际的需求。此外，“逼、迫、胁”在兼语句式中的不同表达效果也影响了它们的使用频率和分布范围，例如，“逼”表达效果更为直接和强烈，而“迫”则通过环境压迫使受事无奈的选择，其表达效果相对温和一些。

（四）、词汇更替与语言发展

汉语词汇双音节化是指汉语词汇中双音节词逐渐增多并成为主流的现象，这一现象伴随着汉语语言的发展和社会的变迁，是汉语自身发展规律的体现。[5]双音节词在发音上更加和谐、流畅，符合汉语的发音习惯，因此在口语和书面语中都得到了广泛的应用。这一趋势使得动词在表达上更加精确和丰富，单音节词不仅会造成同音词现象，而且单音节词往往是多义的，有时语义难以确定，双音节化后使得词义的表达更为精准，同时语法功能也更加灵活和多样，在进入兼语句时具有更大的优势。双音节动词能够更好地与兼语短语相配合，构成结构严谨、意义明确的兼语句，提升了表达效果。在表示胁迫义动词的语义场中，动词迫和胁在近代表达胁迫义时短暂的进入兼语句式，充当第一个动词，而后在表达胁迫义时逐渐被双音节词所替代。例如“迫”有逼迫义，还有紧迫义，在古代汉语中都可用迫字来表示，现代汉语中则用“强迫、急迫”等双音节合成词来表达，胁则被“威胁、迫胁”等替代。不仅改变了动词的音节结构和语法功能，为汉语的表达和交际提供了更多的可能性。

（五）、社会文化因素的影响

胁迫义动词的使用还受到社会文化因素的影响。在不同的历史时期和社会背景下，人们对于胁迫行为的认知和评价存在差异，这直接影响了胁迫义动词的使用频率和语境适应性。例如，在古代封建社会中，“胁”常用于描述君臣之间的权力压制和政变事件，这反映了当时社会的等级制度和权力斗争；而在现代社会中，“威胁”则更多地用于表达一种潜在的威慑和警告作用，这与社会对和平、稳定和安全的追求密切相关。

四、结语

本文通过对胁迫义动词“逼、迫、胁”与兼语句式的历时适配性研究，揭示了这些动词在兼语句中的使用特点和演变规律。研究发现，“逼、迫、胁”因各自的语义特征在兼语句式中呈现出不同的适配模式，反映了汉语句法结构的稳定性和变化性。这些适配规律不仅受到句法结构的制约，还受到社会文化因素的影响，体现了语言现象背后的复杂动因。此外，研究还揭示了汉语词汇从单音孤立到双音分析的演变趋势，为汉语词汇史和兼语句式的研究提供了新的视角和思路。这一研究不仅有助于我们深入理解胁迫义动词进入汉语兼语句式的特点，也为汉语词汇史和兼语句式的研究提供了新的视角和思路。但同时也意识到，文章在语言学基础上进行原因分析，仍有不足之处有待进一步挖掘和细化。

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普通话儿童早期论元结构语序与语用功能探究

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摘要：本文基于 3 名普通话儿童 4 岁前动态发展语料从儿童独词句到双词句语言发展过程中动词和名词习得情况、论元结构习得情况、语用信息结构特点来探究儿童早期句法的形成与语用功能的关联。结论如下：（一）独词句阶段，句法形式与语用形式皆尚未形成，语用功能驱动名词数量增长先于动词数量增长的优势，为双词句阶段论元左配置结构 N+V 蓄力。（二）双词句阶段，话题优先使左配置论元结构 N+V 在名词与动词组合语序的竞争中先于右配置论元结构 V+N 产出，称谓词作为话题起点在互动语境中高频使用，互动话轮序列促发“称谓词+动词”形式成为儿童的表达惯例，从而类推泛化为“有生名词+动词”的类型，“话题-说明”语用模式与互动语境驱动左配置论元结构 N+V 语序在线形成。儿童优先产出论元左配置模式，既表现为初始句法的通格结构习得（张云秋，2024），也是一种话题与说明的话语语用模式（Givon,1979）。

关键词：儿童语言习得，论元结构，N+V 语序，语用功能

1.研究背景与目标

语序是展现汉语形式与功能的重要手段。文炼、胡附（ 1984）指出：“语序所表达的有的属于语义，有的属于语法，有的属于语用。”语言是人类的交际的工具，产生于人们的交际需求，儿童在与成人的互动中习得语言的句法形式，语用对于儿童句法的习得起到驱动作用。儿童习得语言之初，与成人句法语序形式有哪些不同，儿童如何通过语序建构起句法形式，语用功能又发挥着怎样的作用？李行德（2018）认为儿童语言不仅能够确认语言理论和语言分析，而且也反过来丰富人们对语言深层规律的揭示和挖掘。张云秋（2024）认为“儿童语言的习得特征也可以作为外部论据来对语言学理论或者语言学观点进行论证，这种论证可以是支持，也可以是修订或者否定。”因此，本文将从儿童早期论元结构的习得和语用信息功能的发展探究儿童语言习得过程中句法与语用发展的关联。

1.1 儿童母语习得理论

儿童习得理论主要分为天赋论和建构论两大学派，儿童母语习得的发展研究一直存在争议，天赋论认为儿童生来具有一个普遍语法的语言习得机制，是儿童习得语言的决定因素，以 Chomsky（1981）为代表；建构论认为儿童语言习得是随着儿童认知能力的发展，语言输入的增加，在互动语境中逐渐建构语言句法模式，以 Tomasello（2000、2003）为代表。本文以基于使用的建构习得理论为依托框架来探讨儿童句法语序的习得。

1.2 功能主义语言学理论

戴庆厦（2016）认为信息结构作为语法研究的新角度，可以解释语言中由信息结构或者语用结构驱动的句法现象。本文探讨的语用为话语语用模式，依托功能主义语言学的信息结构理论。

1.2.1 新信息与旧信息

Halliday（1967）最早提出了“信息结构”的概念，从功能主义视角出发，解释了信息结构。Halliday（1994/2000）将句子的信息结构分为旧信息和新信息，旧信息即语境中已出现过或双方可以理解的已知信息，新信息即为语境中未出现的听话人一方未知的信息。会话中信息结构表现为新信息与旧信息的互动。

1.2.2 话题与焦点

Hockett.C.F.（1958）以“主语—谓语”结构为基础，以语序和句子所表达的信息为枢纽，提出“话题—说明”理论。赵元任（1968）提出汉语中的主谓结构就是话题与说明的关系。Li Charles N.&S.A.Thompson（1976）认为汉语属于话题凸显型语言。唐秀玲（1997）认为话题是服从于信息结构的旧信息，在语用上必须是能让受话人识别的有定指称。周卫华（2004）认为话题是一种在汉语中占优势，并能对话语的句法结构起极大约束作用的语用策略，话题属于语用层面，汉语的话题具有原发性。 Lambrecht（1986，1994）认为焦点是命题中使断言中不同于预设的那一部分。因此，从信息结构来看，话题对应已知信息（旧信息），焦点对应未知信息（新信息）。

1.3 研究方法与数据来源

本研究采用语料库研究法，追踪 2 名儿童独词句阶段到双词句阶段的自发语料进行统计分析。

1.3.1 语料说明

自发语料来自首都师范大学普通话儿童动态发展语料库（CNU-MCLDDC），语料采集周期为为每周 1 次、每次 1 小时,语料采集形式为不间断录音及录像,语料标注基本依照 CHILDES 系统下 CHAT 标准进行文字转写和标注。三名儿童语料信息如下：

儿童 名字	语料使用 年龄	语料使用 时数	生活城市和 语言环境	父母教育 程度
LXY	1;02-4;06	138 小时	北京，普通话	硕士
JBS	1;00-4;06	150 小时	北京，普通话	博士

1.3.2 语料阶段划分

独词句与双词句阶段的划分，参照高亮、张云秋（2022）的研究中划分标准，并结合本研究情况进行一定调整，以本月份两份语料（1 份语料约 1 小时）中每一份语料出现 10 例以上的双词组合（N+V/V+N 及其他各形式词组）作为该月份整体处于双词阶段的标准，本月份两份语料中每一份语料出现 10 例以上的多论元组合作为该月份整体处于简单句法阶段的标准。Tomasello（2003）认为儿童 3 岁以后进入了抽象句法结构的发展阶段，据此我们以 3 岁为分界点划分简单句法阶段与句法成熟阶段。

阶段划分	年龄（岁/月）	
	LXY	JBS
独词句阶段	1;02-1;04	1;02-1;05

双词句阶段	1;05-1;08	1;06-1;08

1.4 研究目标

儿童语言习得必然经历一个从独词句到双词句，再到简单句、复杂句的建构过程，那么从词到句的过程，必然涉及到词与词的组合的次序问题，句法是怎样在词与词的组合的顺序中形成的呢？语言是人类的交际的工具，产生于人们的交际需求，儿童的语言习得则是在与成人的互动过程中习得的，那么语用就是促使儿童产出话语的最初动力，也必然对于句法的形成起到驱动作用。因此我们感兴趣的问题如下：（1）儿童语言习得之初，语用功能发挥着什么作用，句法的形成与语用信息结构之间有哪些关联？句法的语序形式与语用的语序形式之间有怎样的共生与互动？（2）名词与动词的语序在句法论元结构上表现为主谓结构与动宾结构，在语用信息结构上表现为话题--焦点，论元结构语序与信息结构语序存在着怎样的映射关系？句法与语用有着怎样的互动关系？

因此，本文将从儿童独词句阶段的动词和名词的习得特征、双词句阶段论元结构的习得特征来探究儿童语言习得过程中句法形成与语用发展的关联。

2.儿童独词句的句法与语用特点

独词句阶段作为是儿童语言习得的初始萌发阶段，各种词类的习得及高频使用在认知模式上形成首因效应，推动后续阶段的语用互动模式和句法结构的形成。那么儿童独词句阶段习得哪些词类，如何表达交际意图与成人进行互动？独词句阶段是否已能展现出一定的句法形式和语用模式？

2.1 两名儿童名词和动词产出数据及特征

我们从语料库统计了 LXY 和 JBS 两名儿童的词类产出情况，儿童在独词句阶段已能够产出名词、动词、形容词、副词、代词等多种词类，但以名词和动词为主，其他词类相对占比较少，本文从研究论元语序的角度，这里只呈现两名儿童名词和动词的产出数据，如表 2.1 和 2.2 所示。

表 2.1-LXY 独词句阶段名词和动词产出数据（type）

年龄		1;2;00	1;2;14	1;2;21	1;2;28	1;3;05	1;3;18	1;4;03	1;4;10	1;4;30
名词	有生	6	6	10	7	7	5	9	9	10
	无生	4	3	2	4	4	4	4	9	14
动词		5	2	3	6	8	4	3	6	15

表 2.2-JBS 独词阶段名词和动词产出数据（type）

年龄		1;2;22	1;2;28	1;3;04	1;3;13	1;3;20	1;3;26	1;3;28	1;4;03	1;5;07	1;5;12	1;5;22
名词	有生	11	12	12	13	6	6	13	8	8	7	12
	无生	3	3	6	4	14	13	12	13	14	14	16

动词	5	5	8	17	16	14	18	15	18	14	12

2.1.1 名词早期优势

独词句阶段两名儿童产出的名词数量以较大优势超过动词数量，同时在产出时间上也早于动词，名词的大量优先产出，能够反映出儿童与成人的互动需求与其感知世界的优先视角。儿童产出的大量名词主要分为两类，一类为称谓词与动物名称，如爸爸、妈妈、爷爷、奶奶、猫猫、狗狗等，一类为事物词，如鞋、球、袜袜、帽帽等。根据皮亚杰的认知阶段理论，0-2 岁未儿童处于通过感知来认识世界的阶段，自主能力较为有限，较多地通过成人来实现自己的需求，那么自然对于陪护的成人有较多关注，特别在初期常呼唤成人以请求成人帮助完成自己的需求。我们发现儿童产出话语初期，称谓词的使用占有优势比例，由表 3.1 和 3.2 可知，两名儿童 1 岁 2 个月期间每一份 1 小时的语料中，有生名词产出类别都占据一半以上的比例。同时在使用频次上，我们检索到 JBS1 岁 2 个月 174 条实词语料中，67 条称谓词，LXY1 岁 2 个月 342 条实词语料中检索到 157 条称谓词，两名儿童的称谓词产出频次占据实词语料的三分之一。称谓词的优势产出也使得儿童独词句初期有生名词数量占据主导地位，但由于儿童早期生长环境多为家庭成员陪伴，而儿童接触的家庭成员较为固定，尽管称谓名词高频使用，初期占据主导地位的有生名词类别在独词阶段后期增幅缓慢。

无生名词数量在独词句阶段后期增幅较快，成为名词数量增幅中的主导数量。事物的类别多于家庭成员，无生名词的类别远超有生名词。随着年龄增长，无生名词数量大幅增长，说明儿童随着认知能力的发展，更多地向外在世界探索，与成人建立起更多事物的共同关注点。然而此阶段儿童自主能力较弱，需要家庭成员帮助来满足生活需求，同时相比于静态的无生事物，动态的事物较为凸显，更容易引起儿童的关注，因此有生名词的使用频次高于无生名词。Tomasello （2008）认为儿童早期与成人需建立起共同关注来言谈双方之外的事物。共同关注的事物容易成为言谈的焦点或者话题，另外，而对于儿童而言，相比于静态事物，动作行为的概念图式化相对有一定的认知难度，早期较高的名词占比，一方面是儿童自主能力有限，自然需求要借助与成人互动沟通来实现，因此促发了称谓词高频次产出，另一方面，随着认知能力的发展，儿童不断探索感知外界事物，与成人建立起更多共同关注点，具体事物名词成为儿童与成人双方沟通言谈的话题。从这个角度而言，名词从产出之初，相比于动词，更具有话题优势，而此阶段话题也是儿童关注外界出现的新信息，是与成人言谈的焦点。话题优势为双词句阶段名词抢占双词组合次序的第一位置蓄力。

2.1.2 动词后起之势

儿童独词句阶段初期的动词产出数量与使用频次相对较少，但在随者儿童年龄的增长，无论是动词的类别还是使用频次都呈现出稳步增长且增幅加大。由表 2.1 和 2.2 可知，两名儿童 1 岁 4 个月到 5 个月期间每一份 1 小时的语料中，动词产出类别远与具体事物名词产出类别相差无几。我们认为这与儿童自主能力逐渐增强，关于处置事物的认知能力提升有关。另一方面，儿童与成人的互动方式在此基础上也发生了微妙的变化。儿童与成人的互动方式不再局限于呼应成人，而是更加具体化。

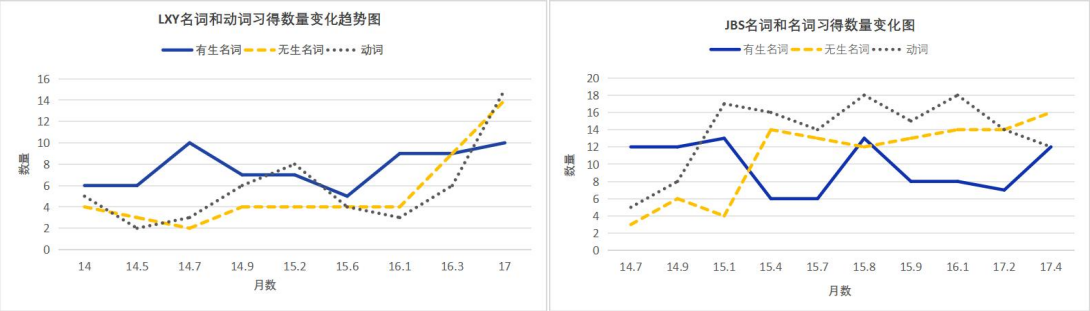
初始阶段由于认知能力及儿童生理发音能力有限，儿童只习得了爸爸妈妈等简单的称谓词，因此

无论何事都呼唤妈妈来实现自己的需求，但不能表达具体的需求是什么。随着年龄增长，儿童对具体事物的认知增强和表达能力增强，儿童话语不再局限于只是呼唤成人，而是在呼唤成人之后出现了相应的具体事物名词或具体行为动词。高亮、张云秋（2022）研究了独词句阶段语气范畴所具有的互动功能特征，发现儿童早期主要是通过体词完成回应式陈述和自发式陈述，主要通过谓词完成自我祈使。由此推知，成人在场的互动语境下，儿童对成人的称呼语减少，直接产出有关具体事物的名词，以陈述语气告知发现新事物，或者以祈使语气来表达对于该事物的需求，同时儿童也能够直接伴随着动作行为产出行为动词表达自身需求或者请求成人的帮助。因此，尽管在独词句起初阶段，动词产出较少，增长缓慢，但随着年龄增长，无生名词比例和动词比例同步大幅度增长，动词产出增量成为独词句阶段发展的后起之势。

2.2 独词句有无论元结构？

彭鹭鹭（2016）认为独词句阶段存在论元结构，宾语先于主语浮现，而及物动词和宾语的使用取决于这两类成分在语境的显著度。王季（2018）认为儿童在独词句阶段没有论元结构，儿童说出独词名词，可以根据成人顺势引导的语境推测出句法上是主语或是宾语。我们赞同王季（2018）的观点，儿童在独词句阶段没有论元结构，但是在非儿童主动发起话语，而是由成人顺势引导的语境下产出的名词，可以根据上下文语境推测出在句法上为主语或者宾语。尽管独词句阶段无论元结构，但是独词句阶段的词类产出增长趋势，对于双词句阶段论元结构的习得时序特征起着重要的蓄力作用。词类作为句法的起始点，哪种词类抢先占领独词句的句法槽，取得认知上的先占惯例，势必对之后所处双词句句法槽的位置产生影响。

图 2.1 独词句阶段 LXY 名词和动词习得数量变化图　图 2.2 独词绝阶段 JBS 名词和动词习得数量变化图



由图 2.1 和图 2.2 可知，LXY 有生名词习得数量在 16 个月以前基本保持领先优势，JBS 有生名词在 15 个月以前保持领先优势。 独词句起始阶段，两名儿童的有生名词习得都占据优势地位，也就意味着一定数量的优先习得的有生名词必然会成为使用频次较高的已知信息，从而具有话题优势，为双词句阶段早期习得论元左配置结构奠定基础。独词句阶段中后期，无生名词数量与动词数量大幅度增长且增长趋势趋同，尽管在独词阶段，未有双词的组合搭配，但其相同的增长趋势呈现出一种共变关系。这种共变关系一定程度上反映出儿童认知里无生名词与动词的关系更为密切，同时也能够预示出双词句阶段论元右配置结构的习得要稍晚于左配置论元结构。

我们对独词句阶段名词和动词的产出量时序特征进行排序，如表 2.3 所示：

表 2.3 名词动词习得时序特征表

词类	时序特征
名词、动词	名词<动词
有生名词、无生名词、动词	有生名词<动词≦无生名词

通过此时序特征也能够预测出儿童在双词句阶段的论元配置习得时序特征，“万物始于微而后成，始于无而后生”，独词句阶段的句法处于埋于地下的种子阶段，虽尚未外显，却已暗藏力量蓄势待发。

2.3 独词句的语用功能

人类交际需求为语言产生的原动力，儿童的语言习得必然在语言互动语境中习得，因此独词句阶段，儿童产出的单个词自然承载着儿童与成人的互动功能。高亮、张云秋（2022）从普通话儿童独词阶段语气习得方面进行了研究，认为独词阶段的儿童在用“语言”成分表达互动功能方面表现出由自我导向、回应他人为主，到具备主导对话的能力的过程。除此之外，儿童与成人的互动功能在信息结构上也有所体现。我们在王季（2018）统计的名词分布基础上划分出有生名词和无生名词，并在语料库中查找这些名词的上下文语境，统计分析这些名词在互动语境输入引导中的潜在话语语用信息结构倾向。

表 2.4 儿童独词句阶段名词产出表

LXY 独词句阶段产出的名词	有生名词	爸爸、妈妈、奶奶、爷爷、伯伯、哥哥、姐姐、姑姑、阿姨、宝宝、贝贝 谁、我、狗狗、猫猫、小鸡、蚂蚁、马、象、鹅鹅、娃娃
	无生名词	飘飘、巴巴、笔笔、下巴、牙牙、门、灯灯、发发、飞机、鞋、盖盖、发发、果果、帽帽、门、泡泡、屁屁、球、枣枣、袜袜、眼眼、小杯、盒、面、布、痦子、米、北京、外面、这儿
JBS 独词句阶段产出的名词	有生名词	爸爸、妈妈、奶奶、爷爷、哥哥、姐姐、阿姨、宝宝、典典、佳佳、月月、你、我、狗、马、达达（狗狗名）
	无生名词	杯子（杯杯）、笔、波波、菜、凳凳、豆豆、花花(花)、夹子、蕉、脚脚、帽帽、门、气气、气球、球球、水、娃娃、袜袜、鸭鸭、鞋、药、那、这、这个、这里

我们定位这些词的使用语境，以一个话轮为互动语境，分析新旧信息类型，无互动语境的儿童自

言自语不算入统计。我们将儿童重复或者回应成人话轮中已有的词视为旧信息，无论此词在成人话语中是新信息还是旧信息；将儿童回应里成人话轮中未出现的词视为新信息；根据儿童产出的词，对应成人上一话轮句子中是话题还是焦点角色，来判断成人互动语境引导下儿童产出的独词句的信息机构倾向。以下为示例：

（1）ZLZ: 气球在哪儿，气球在哪儿?

JBS: 气球。（话题-旧信息）

ZLZ: 气球，在哪儿，哦，在那儿.

（2）HXT: 这是什么?

LXY: 八八。（焦点-新信息）

（3）LXY: 爷爷。（话题—新信息）

LXY: 拿。

LXY: 爷爷 # 爷爷。

HXT: &o 叫爷爷拿 &a 。

ZXB: 干 &ma 叫爷爷拿 &a ?

（4）ZLZ: 哦，这是什么，凳凳，凳凳。

%act: 孩子拿起一边的板凳。

JBS: 凳凳。（焦点——旧信息）

表 2.5 儿童独词句阶段互动语境下信息结构倾向表

儿童	词类	互动语境中信息结构倾向			
		旧信息话题	旧信息焦点	新信息话题	新信息焦点
LXY	有生名词	38（38%）	12（12%）	35（35%）	16（16%）
	无生名词	5（15%）	14（42%）	2（6%）	12（36%）
JBS	有生名词	11（39%）	9（32%）	5（18%）	3（11%）
	无生名词	11（17%）	28（43%）	4（6%）	22（34%）

由表 2.5 我们发现两名儿童独词句旧信息比例均高于新信息，说明儿童与成人的互动以回应成人为主，且回应方式主要为重复成人话语中的旧信息。儿童此阶段自主会话引出新信息的能力较弱，然而儿童对话语的理解先于产出，能够从成人的话轮中捕捉成人的话题或焦点信息来以重复的方式回应成人（这里的重复是有互动沟通意义的，非单纯模仿重复）。如上文例（1）中，儿童不能产出完整的句子，告知成人气球所在的位置，但是捕捉到成人话语中的话题“气球”，重复“气球”回应成人，并伴有眼神动作以回应成人的话语达成互动交流。而例（4）中，儿童则以重复成人话语中自问自答以引导的信息焦点“凳凳”来回应成人进行互动。同时，一定比例的新信息的产出，说明此阶段儿童具备了自主开启会话的能力，但主要为请求成人帮助，或是顺应成人的引导回答成人的问题。如上文例（2）

中儿童回答成人的问题，告知卡片上的数字名称，例（3）中儿童主动发起会话以寻求成人帮助拿到某物。互动语境下儿童 LXY 产出的独词句话题倾向总量多于焦点倾向总量，而儿童 JBS 正好相反，焦点倾向总量多于话题倾向总量，这与两名儿童陪护人互动引导的方式有关，LXY 的陪护人引导方式，多为“谁是 N”，而 JBS 的陪护人引导方式多为“这是什么/……在哪儿？”以下为示例：

（5）HXT: &en # 谁淘气 &a？

-LXY: <阿姨> [x 2]。

-JKL: 阿姨淘气 &ma？

（6）HXT: 谁的力气大 &a？

LXY: 姐姐。

GFE: 姐姐的力气大 &a .

（7）ZLZ: 哦，这有什么？

JBS: 花花。

ZLZ: 哎，花花，说得好，说得好。

（8）ZLZ: 典典，我们看这是什么。

JBS: 袜袜。

另外，有生名词的话题功能倾向比例高于无生名词，无生名词焦点功能倾向比例高于有生名词，这主要是成人输入塑造的互动语境引导的结果，与成人话语的信息结构一致，同时也预示着双词句阶段有生名词易为话题在句首，无生名词易为焦点在句尾，从中可见双词句阶段句法位置的一点端倪。

通过以上分析，我们认为独词句阶段儿童已经具备与成人互动的能力，且独词句的习得是在互动中习得，从成人话语中的话题或焦点捕捉信息以回应成人。儿童早期呼唤成人帮助实现个人需求或是关注探索外界事物，使得名词在早期具有产出优势，并且语用功能上有生名词在与成人互动中倾向为话题功能，无生名词在与成人互动中倾向为焦点功能。相比于名词的产出优势，动作行为是人与事物之间的关联纽带，因此，动词则易成为服务于占据话题优势的有生名词的说明，或是引出无生名词作为新信息焦点，有重要的连接作用。尽管儿童没有句法意识，但这种儿童与成人互动方式推动了双词句阶段句法的形成，具有话题倾向回应成人的独词句，和具有焦点倾向回应成人的独词句，在双词句阶段与动词竞争位次时，就走向了不同的语序位置。因此，独词句阶段互动语境下的语用信息结构对于句法的形成在某种程度上起到驱动作用。

2.4 小结

儿童独词句阶段单个词在与成人互动语境中产出，有明显的交际意图。从静态的外显形式来看，没有句法形式，单个词无法有语序位次；在互动语境中，独词句具有一定的话题或焦点功能倾向。儿童理解先于产出，互动语境下儿童独词句潜在的信息结构倾向，表明了儿童理解了成人的信息焦点结构，虽不能产出完整的句子，但可以依从认知处理及语言的经济原则，捕捉成人话语中最适用于完成其互动意图的话题词或焦点词来回应以完成其请求、告知，分享意图。词类为句法的起始点，独词句阶段的词类产出增长趋势中，名词抢先占领独词句的句法槽，取得认知上的先占惯例，具有话题优势。

因此，从此阶段可以预测儿童较早习得占一定数量优势的名词后，熟悉的互动语境中已习得的名词作为已知信息在认知上加工难度较小，便于作为话题置于起始位置，而后习得的动词和无生名词作为新信息相对更容易成为关注的焦点，或是作为对话题的说明。话题优势为双词句阶段名词抢占双词组合次序的第一位置蓄力。从这个角度看，独词句阶段互动语境中语用功能驱动双词句阶段的句法形式。

3.儿童早期论元结构与语用功能

根据独词句阶段儿童产出的名词和动词的数量与时序特征，我们可以预测出双词句阶段儿童产出的名词与动词的语序形式，优先产出左配置论元结构，后产出右配置论元结构，那么事实情况是否如此，我们通过对双词句阶段儿童动名短语的习得情况进行考察来验证。

3.1 双词句阶段产出数据

我们按照名词与动词不同的组合顺序分出 N+V，V+N，N+V+N 三类论元结构，并统计了语料库中两名儿童双词句阶段每周 1 小时的语料中产出的论元结构产出频次（同一语境下连续重复记作一次），如表 4.1 和表 4.2 所示：

表 3.1 LXY 双词句阶段论元结构类型产出数据表（token）

LXY	年龄（岁/月/天）	1;5;07	1;5;14	1;5;21	1;5;28	1;6;04	1;6;10	1;6;17	1;6;24	1;7;01	1;7;08	1;7;15	1;7;22	1;7;29	1;8;05	1;8;12	1;8;19	1;8;26
	n+v	0	29	22	17	14	21	23	25	31	12	31	22	14	21	3	22	10
	总量	68				83				110					56			
	均值	17				20.8				22					14			
	v+n	0	6	5	5	11	9	12	42	24	15	17	44	21	38	29	43	26
	总量	16				74				121					136			
	均值	4				18.5				30.3					34			
	n+v+n	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	5	6	0	1	6	7	4	1	12	9
	总量	4				8				20					26			
	均值	1				2				4					6.5			

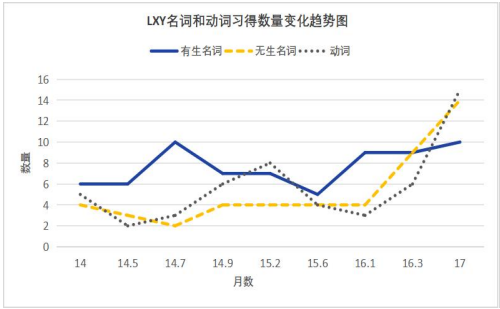
表 3.2 JBS 双词句阶段论元结构类型产出数据表（token）

JBS	年龄（岁/月/天）	1;6;00	1;6;06	1;6;14	1;6;20	1;6;27	1;7;03	1;7;10	1;7;17	1;7;24	1;7;27	1;7;29	1;8;01	1;8;08	1;8;13	1;8;22	1;8;29
	n+v	0	1	1	3	6	15	35	12	18	0	7	5	26	8	26	12
	总量	11					80						77				

	均值	2.2					13.3						15.4				
	v+n	0	9	1	1	0	2	2	3	4	3	6	9	20	9	30	21
	总量	11					20						89				
	均值	2.2					3.3						17.8				
	n+v+n	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	6	1	2	2	24	6
	总量	3					12						35				
	均值	0.6					2						7				

由以上表格数据可知，两名儿童产出的双词句中，论元结构产出数量的变化呈现出一致性。尽管每一阶段每份 1 小时的语料中，受到录制环境与语境的影响，两名儿童每种论元结构的产出数量有所起伏，总体而言，各类论元结构数量呈现增长趋势。然而每个阶段不同的论元结构增长情况亦有所不同：（1）双词句阶段前期，名词保持了占据句法槽首位的优势，两名儿童在 1;05-1;07 期间，N+V 产出数量以较大优势远超 V+N 产出数量。LXY 在 1;05—1;06 期间 N+V 的产出数量是 V+N 结构的四倍；JBS 在 1;06;06 产出 N+V 结构数量稳步增长，在 1;07 期间 N+V 产出数量是 V+N 的四倍。（2）双词句前期，两名儿童均有少量 V+N 结构的产出，但在双词句中后期才有一定的增量。LXY 在 1;07;22 之后的 V+N 产出数量增长稳步超过 N+V，JBS 在 1;08;01 之后的 V+N 产出数量平稳超过 N+V 的产出数量（需要说明的是 1;06;06 的语料中，JBS 在一定语境下高频产出“（不）找爸爸/妈妈”组合，并未发现“找”与其他名词组合，而之后语料中未再产出）。（3）双词句阶段，两名儿童也有少数 N+V+N 双论元结构的产出，且随着年龄增长产出数量也呈现上升趋势，说明儿童已较好地掌握 N+V 和 V+N 两种论元结构，能够将两种结构嫁接使用，呈现出从双词句向简单句法阶段发展的苗头。

图 2.1 独词句阶段 LXY 名词和动词习得数量变化图　　图 3.1 双词句阶段 LXY 论元结构类型数量变化图



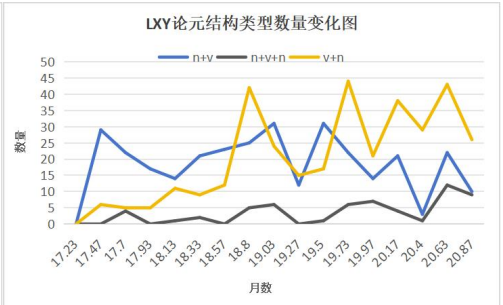
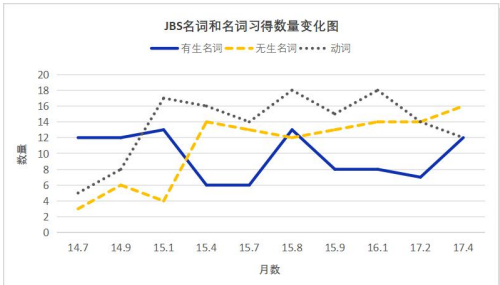
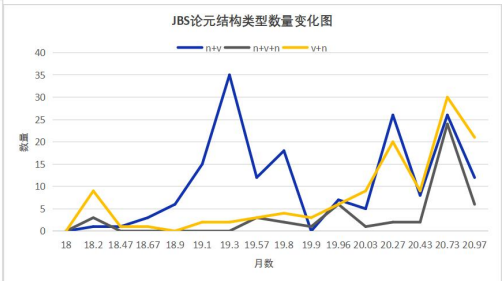


图 2.2 独词句阶段 JBS 名词和动词习得数量变化图　　图 3.2 双词句阶段 JBS 论元结构类型数量变化图





综上所述，双词句阶段的名词与动词的组合语序，与独词句阶段我们的预测吻合。双词句阶段前期，

两名儿童 N+V 结构产出数量占优势，双词句阶段后期，N+V 结构产出数量开始走低，V+N 结构超越 N+V 结构的产出数量占据优势。这与独词句阶段前期有生名词优先产出，独词句阶段后期动词与无生名词增量产出的时序数量规律呈现出一致性（如图 2.1，图 3.1，图 2.2，图 3.2 所示）。我们对双词句阶段不同论元结构类型产出量的时序特征进行排序，如表 3.3 所示：

表 3.3 两名儿童论元结构习得时序特征表

儿童	LXY			JBS		
论元结构类型	N+V	V+N	N+V+N	N+V	V+N	N+V+N
增量优势时间	1;05-1;06	1;07-1;08	1;08-	1;06-1;07	1;08	1;08-
时序特征	N+V < V+N < N+V+N					

通过表 4.3 我们可以看到儿童在双词句阶段的论元结构习得时序特征，与独词句阶段名词和动词的习得时序特征有着前后承续的因果关系，独词句阶段句法如尚未外显的种子，双词句阶段的句法形式已外显萌发为句法树幼苗，且 N+V 枝条先于 V+N 枝条茁壮生长。

3.2 话题优势驱动左配置论元结构 N+V 语序形成

关于儿童早期汉语论元结构类型及先后顺序的习得，国内学者有不同的看法。杨小璐、肖丹（2003）认为儿童论元结构的语序非常固定，若受事物体在语境中已提及，儿童倾向使用主语，若儿童自发产出某一动作或者事件正在进行中，儿童倾向使用宾语。肖玲（2009）认为汉语论元结构中动词语义的习得不仅是靠句法启动，交际需求也是重要影响因素。李若凡（2014，2018）认为扩展投射原则要求句子必须有主语，儿童早期优先产出左配置论元结构，后产出右配置论元结构。彭鹭鹭、胡建华（2024）认为双向生长模式下，儿童独词阶段就已产出 VP 层内的宾语和动词，双词阶段则先产出动宾结构，后产出主谓结构。

我们认为少数论元结构的早期产出不能说明儿童具备产出该论元结构的能力，论元结构一定数量的产出优势在时序中凸显意味着儿童习得该论元结构。由表 4.1 和表 4.2 的研究数据可知，儿童双词句阶段左配置论元结构以一定数量优势优先产出，右配置论元结构在后期产出呈现数量优势，由此可见，儿童左配置论元结构先于右配置论元结构产出，这一点与王季（2018）和李若凡（2014，2018）研究结果一致。然而除了句法因素制约以外，儿童论元结构的浮现还会受到哪些因素影响？根据陆丙甫（2005）语义临近原则，动词和宾语的右配置论元结构语义关系更紧密，但是在独词句阶段后期，儿童习得一定数量的动词和无生名词后，却未在双词句阶段初期浮现大量的 V+N 结构，反而是浮现了大量 N+V 结构，说明一定有强过该原则的另一驱动力在起作用。语义在使用中被赋予，而句法亦在使用中形成，因此溯其根源，N+V 结构的优先浮现一定得力于语用功能的驱动作用。

我们认为语用功能驱动儿童优先浮现左配置论元结构，后浮现论元右配置结构，

下面将从语用功能角度解读儿童论元结构的浮现。

独词句阶段词类的产出有先后顺序，独词句只有一个词的句法槽，不涉及词与词之间位次的竞争。

双词句阶段，言语在时间线条上铺展，词的组合必然涉及位次的先后，有生名词、无生名词和动词在组合中竞争双词句句法槽位置上的先后次序。而双词句句法槽上的首要位置十分重要，话语的起始点引领着信息传达的走向，往往具有话题功能，同时，一定的互动语境下，儿童也会把最重要的信息关注点放在首位，即焦点信息前移，因此，从语用功能上来说，双词句句法槽上的首要位置往往是话题，也有可能是焦点。有生名词的优先习得使其作为熟悉的已知信息，先天具有作为背景信息的话题优势，也是儿童通过言语行为达成满足自身某种需求的重要借助力量。同时也有少数无生名词作为重要的焦点信息在一定的互动语境下也会前移成为话题置于句法槽首位。我们统计了双词句阶段两名儿童 N+V 论元结构产出的类型，如表 3.4 所示：

表 3.4 两名儿童 N+V 产出类型数据表（type)

儿童	N+V 类型	N 类型	示例	数量		
LXY	有生名词+动词	称谓名词	阿姨帮忙、爸爸修、妈妈穿、奶奶买、弟弟哭、姐姐休息	112 (75%)	149 (84%)	178
		人称代词	我飞、我捡、你穿、你打	30		
		人/事物指称	小蜜蜂睡觉、毛毛虫怕	7		
	无生名词+动词	事物指称	车车弄坏、球球上来、鞋掉了、钥匙拿、妈妈鞋穿、火车来、公共汽车追、肩膀戴	29	29 (16%)	
JBS	有生名词+动词	称谓名词	阿姨跳、爸爸开、妈妈剥、姐姐打开、妹妹夹、叔叔打	50 (55%)	91 (78%)	116
		人称代词	我骑、我要看、我去、我吃	8		
		人/事物指称	典典擦、虫虫吃、达达走开	32		
	无生名词+动词	事物指称	被被觉觉、杯杯放、凳子坐坐、电视开开、糖糖没了、盒子有、帽帽戴上、球球洗洗、鞋掉	25	25 (22%)	

由表 3.4 可知，两名儿童产出的 N+V 结构类型主要以“有生名词+动词”的组合为主，同时也有一部分“无生名词+动词”的组合。有生名词先天具有话题优势，“有生名词+动词”组合中有生名词是称谓词的比例较高，LXY 产出“称谓词+动词”的组合占 75%,JBS 产出“称谓词+动词”的组合占 55%,可见，独词句阶段称谓词的早期习得优势对于“N+V”论元结构的产出发挥了重要作用。独词句阶段儿童早期以称谓词开启话题，通过呼唤成人来表达自身需求，是初期与成人最简单的互动形式，此时称谓词既是开启的话题，也是儿童的重要信息焦点，表达对陪护人的需求。双词句阶段初期，儿童沿用独词句阶段词类习得先后的认知惯例，依然倾向于将熟悉程度较高的有生名词作为话题放在首位，当儿童不能指称所需求与关注的事物作为焦点信息时，而获取某物的行为动作就自然成为了信息焦点，如例（9）中 LXY 不会说“机器猫”这个词，想让妈妈找出机器猫，于是只能呼唤“妈妈”，并加上动词“找”，动词既是对话题的说

明，也是儿童关注的焦点信息，紧随有生名词之后置于双词句句法槽第二位次，从而完成呼唤成人并请求成人通过某一动作行为来满足自身需求的交际意图。当互动语境中儿童关注的事物与成人共知时，如例（10）中儿童 JBS 与妈妈共知“熊熊”玩偶掉在地上，未用“捡熊熊”表达，而是倾向于使用“话题-说明”的“N+V”论元结构形式“妈妈捡”。

（9）LYZ: 机器猫 &n 宝宝 ？

LYZ: 你看这个 &ba？

LXY: &a .

LYZ: 机器猫 &a？

LXY: 妈妈找.

LXY: &a # &a .

（10）ZLZ: 这个熊熊在哪儿?

ZLZ: 哟，摔摔了.

JBS: 捡.

ZLZ: 捡，我捡不到怎么办?

JBS: 妈妈捡.

独词句阶段，非成人引导的互动语境下，儿童主动发起话轮产出的词语，既是开启的话题又是儿童关注的重要信息焦点。双词句阶段，儿童产出的两个词有先有后，承担的话题与焦点功能分立。儿童最先关注并掌握的是话题，左配置论元结构 N+V 首先浮现。随着作为话题的有生名词（以称谓词为主）越来越熟悉，在会话双方在场时背景信息不再那么重要，并且随着儿童行动能力的提升，对成人的依赖程度减弱，儿童逐渐从关注话题向关注焦点信息转移，此时的焦点信息为动作行为或是关注的事物，即儿童从呼唤成人表达需求到关注自身或成人执行某一动作行为。当成人在场时，话题背景信息省略，互动语境中关注点移向双方共知的事物，并将执行动作行为与事物焦点结合起来，右配置论元结构 V+N 由此浮现。我们通过两名儿童言语互动个案勾勒出儿童话题与焦点的发展变化轨迹，如表 3.5 所示：

表 3.5 儿童话题与焦点阶段发展变化表

独词句阶段	独词句阶段	双词句阶段	双词句阶段
①话轮	②话轮	③话题+焦点	④焦点
儿童：话题/焦点	儿童：话题	儿童：话题+焦点	儿童：焦点
(人/动作/事物) →	（人/事物） →	（人+动作/事物） →	（动作+事物）
成人：……	成人：……	成人：……	成人：……
	儿童：焦点		
	（动作/事物）		
LXY 语例:			

妈妈(1;02;00)->球(1;04;30)—>玩(1;05;07)—>妈妈玩(1;05;21)—>玩球球(1;07;15)

妈妈（1;02;00）—>鞋（1;04;30）—>妈妈穿（1;06;24）—>妈妈穿鞋（1;06;24）

JBS 语例:

姐姐(1;02;22)—>球球(1;02;22)—>拿(1;03;13)—>姐姐拿(1;06;27)—>拿花花(1;07;27)

妈妈(1;02;22)—>帽帽(1;03;04)—>戴(1;03;20)—>姐姐戴(1;07;10)—>戴帽子(1;11;14)

我们认为儿童语言发展早期，Ambridge 的激进实例假说有一定的可解释性，儿童未掌握抽象句法之前，越来越多的 N+V 语句实例和语境信息的储存和记忆，可以通过类推策略来产出和理解以前没有听到过的句子（Ambridge，2020)，比如，儿童起初依赖妈妈，在需要拿东西语境下产出“妈妈拿”，后在妈妈不在场的类似语境下扩展到“阿姨拿，姐姐拿”，再类推到其他称谓词与动词的组合，直到形成 N+V 语序句法认知模式。称谓词作为儿童言语的开端，在不同的语境下承担着不同的语用功能，双词句阶段早期，儿童高频产出“称谓词+动词”的实例，形成话题优先的惯例，并类推泛化到其他类别名词作为话题优先出现在双词句句法槽首位。随着儿童认知能力和行动能力的提升，对成人的依赖减弱，称谓词的使用频率下降，同时随着儿童表达的需要，句型由较为高频表达请求的祈使句，更多告知与分享的陈述句转化，称谓词逐渐由人称代词代替其话题功能，逐渐退出话题位置。人称代词，指人名词和事物指称名词等名词类纷纷出现在双词句的话题位置，由个体（称谓词+动词）到一般（名词+动词）的 N+V 语序句法就此形成。

3.3 互动话轮序列促发 N+V 语序浮现

从语用互动功能的角度来看，儿童早期因行动能力和言语能力都有限，独词句阶段儿童与成人互动主要通过称谓词呼唤成人的方式完成其表达请求，告知和分享的交际需求[Tomasello（2008）认为人类沟通在本质上是合作式的，这种合作式沟通主要来源于请求、告知和分享三种动机]。而双词句阶段，儿童自然延续以称谓词呼唤成人的惯例，随着言语表达能力和认知能力的提升，儿童可以产出相连续的两个词，因此儿童在产出称谓词后自然接续后习得的动词来表达请求或告知或分享达到某种交际意图，正如上文表 4.4 数据表明“有生名词+动词”组合中“称谓词+动词”的组合比例较高。从独词句末期到双词句初期 N+V 的初步浮现过程中，有生名词中称谓词的先占习得优势起到怎样的助推作用呢？以称谓词”妈妈“为例，我们分别统计了两名儿童独词句末期到双词句初期两名儿童互动语境下“妈妈”的互动功能。

表 3.6 两名儿童称谓词“妈妈”互动功能数据表

儿童	年龄	话语总数	称谓词	妈妈	互动功能	
					请求/告知/分享	呼应
LXY	1;04;30-1;05;14	544	176(32%)	75(43%)	58	17
JBS	1;05;22-1;06;06	680	122(20%)	36(30%)	21	15

例如：

（11）GFI: 你的鞋 &ne 宝贝儿 ？

LXY: <妈妈>.(告知，1;04;30）

HXT: &en # <妈妈给你拿>.

LXY: 抱抱.（请求，1;04;30）

HXT: &ao # 抱抱.

（12）LXY: 妈妈.(呼应，1;04;30）

HXT: &ai .

LXY: 骑.（请求，1;04;30）

HXT: &en # 骑.

（13）HXT: &o 掉了 # 把它装上，怎么办?

LXY: 妈妈 xxx .（请求，1;05;14）

HXT: 妈妈 # 修 &a？

LXY: &a .

LXY: 妈妈 # 安.（请求，1;05;14）

HXT: 妈妈安上

（15）ZFA:0[=! laughing] 坐不了宝宝

LXY: 妈妈.（请求，1;05;14）

HXT: &ei 你抱着给阿姨.

LXY: 妈妈坐.（请求，1;05;14)

HXT: 妈妈坐 xxx 让阿姨看看.

LXY: 阿姨 # 坐.（请求，1;05;14）

ZFA: 阿姨坐 &ya？

LXY: 阿姨坐.（请求，1;05;14）

（14）HXT: &you 又掉下来了 # 自己安.

以上语例（11）-（15）展现出 LXY 互动语境中“妈妈”的互动功能，从中可以窥见儿童“N+V”浮现的一种路径。语例（11）中 LXY 呼求妈妈以回应另一陪护人的问题，并请求妈妈的帮助，接着以动词“抱抱”向妈妈请求满足自己的需求；语例（12）中 LXY 呼求“妈妈”紧接着以动词“骑”告知并说出自己的请求；语例（13）中 LXY 以“妈妈+X”表达自己的请求，根据上下文我们知道 LXY 让妈妈执行动作行为“修”，限于自身发音能力尚不能表达清晰，但 LXY 已在试炼名词与动词的双词组合形式来表达交际意图；例（14）中 LXY 说出请求妈妈执行动作安装的组合“妈妈#安”，但组合尚不够紧密留有间隙；例（15）中，LXY 熟练地说出“妈妈坐”并且可以灵活地切换话题，扩展到“阿姨坐”。根据以上语例我们可以一窥语用功能推动 N+V 论元结构生长的轨迹，如表 3.6 所示：

表 3.6 儿童 N+V 论元结构生长轨迹构拟图

话轮①	话轮②	话轮③	话轮④
儿童：N	儿童：N	儿童：N(间隙）V	儿童：N+V
成人：V	成人：……	成人：……	成人：……
儿童：V（模仿）	儿童：V		

儿童与成人言语互动中，从成人 N 与 V 前后相接的话轮引导，到儿童言语产出 N 与 V 前后相近的话轮，再到儿童产出“N（间隙）V”先后并置但中有停顿或语气的语句，最终到产出“N+V”头尾衔接的完整句子。

3.4 特殊 N+V 语序形式受事主语句

根据我们独词句阶段儿童在互动语境中无生名词的语用信息结构的考察，我们预测儿后习得的动词和无生名词作为新信息相对更容易成为关注的焦点，或是作为对话题的说明，但事实上在双词句阶段早期，由表 3.4 和 3.7 的数据我们可以看到，儿童产出的 N+V 论元结构中一定比例的无生名词同样出现在句首话题位置，如以下语例：

（16）WSS: 花在哪儿?

JBS: 花花，找.（1;07;10）

（17）JBS: 啊，啊，熊熊，洗掉.

ZLZ: 是吗，看一下.

JBS: 球球洗洗.

ZLZ: 啊，熊熊洗了，把它挂起来了，掉起来了.

JBS: 阿姨，熊，洗.(1;07;24)

（18）LXY: 妈妈.

HXT: 哎.

LXY: 钥匙拿.（1;06；24）

HXT: 要什么要 &a # 你别丢了 &a .

两名儿童双词句阶段均有一定数量的受事主语句产出，双词句阶段早期儿童并不清楚动词的方向性，不能分辨动词前后名词的论元角色，在 N+V 惯例类推下，儿童倾向于将所有的名词一律放在动词前，如语例（16）中“找”的受事“花”作为话题放在动词“找”之前，语例（17）中“洗”的受事“熊、球球”均作为话题放在了动词“洗”之前，语例（18）中“拿”的受事“钥匙”作为话题放在动词“拿”之前。我们对儿童产出的无生名词在动词前的语例情况进行了统计，如表 3.7 所示：

表 3.7 双词句阶段儿童“N（无生名词）+V”产出数据表

儿童	无生名词+动词				总数
	受事主语句	数量	其他话题句	数量	
LXY	爆米花 xx 拿着、杯杯放、被被觉觉、笔倒、凳子坐坐、电话放这儿、电视开开、糖糖没了、花找、帽帽戴上、皮讨厌、球球洗洗、鞋掉、鞋脱、鞋鞋掉、星星倒、星星拿、、这个浇好了、嘴里的擦、水倒、毛衣穿穿、熊洗	23	盒子有、钥匙开、这个要上、这上面有摔破了、嘴有、车车来啦、	6	29
JBS	车车弄坏、球球有、小熊没、鞋掉了、星星哪去了、钥匙拿、硬币没、什么球球没、毛毛虫怕、妈妈鞋穿、这个球没、橘子没、红没、花还在、脚掉 &e	15	车车响、车轮子转、车子跑、它会转、球球戴、球球上来、瓶里还有、火车来、公共汽车追、肩膀戴	10	25

通过表 3.7 我们可以看到，儿童习得部分比例的受事主语句，以及其他类型的话题句，既有符合成人句法表达的句子，也有不符合成人句法表达的偏误句。“N+V”中的“N”一方面，儿童双词句初始阶段产出“N+V”论元结构主要为“有生名词+动词”的话题-说明模式，此时儿童对于动词的方向性是模糊的，受 N+V 模式强势类推的泛化影响，儿童产出了部分“无生名词+动词”的左配置论元结构，主要为受事主语句，也有一部分其他类型的话题句或偏误句。另一方面，双词句阶段儿童处理话语的认知能力有限，

在话语平均长度（MLU）为双词的情况下，重要的信息先说，只能重要焦点信息前提置于话题位置。另外，早期儿童对于事物的认知泛灵化，将无生名词与有生名词等同视之，对于儿童将无生名词放在句法首位形成“N+V”也有一定的影响。

双词句阶段是语用与句法共存的初始阶段，小小句受事主语句的产出，不仅表现为初始句法的通格结构习得（张云秋，2024），也是一种话语语用模式（Givon，1979）。独词句阶段儿童习得了一定数量的动词和无生名词，却在双词句早期未产出“V+N”论元结构，反而将无生名词置于动词前产出了“无生名词+动词”类型的“N+V”论元结构，这进一步说明了“话题-说明”的语用信息结构驱动“N+V”句法语序在线形成。

3.5 小结

词类是建构句法的材料，优先习得的词类取得构建句法的先占优势，必然优先产出一定的句法结构。独词句阶段有生名词的优先习得作为话题优势抢占双词句句法槽首位，特别是称谓词作为儿童言语的开端，起初承担着重要的交际功能。称谓词作为话题起点在互动语境中的高频使用，互动话轮序列促发“称谓词+动词”形式成为表达惯例，从而类推泛化为“有生名词+动词”的类型，这种“话题-说明”模式驱动左配置论元结构 N+V 语序在线形成，并且在“N+V”论元结构强势类推下，儿童产出了一定数量的受事主语句和其他无生名词在句法首位的话题句，由此也可以说明儿童在双词句阶段早期左配置论元结构 N+V 较早习得的优势。树木之生长有赖于破土之前的扎根，亦源于其生长的环境，独词句阶段有生名词的话题优势优先习得犹如 N+V 结构形成前的扎根，而双词句阶段的语用信息结构与互动语境则是驱动 N+V 形成的土壤。

4.结语

本研究基于两名普通话儿童的历时产出语料详尽考察了儿童独词句阶段动词、名词的习得情况和双词句阶段初始论元结构习得情况，分析了双词句阶段初始论元结构形式“N+V”的形成和语用模式的发展之间的共生关系，从语用功能的视角勾勒出论元结构“N+V”的形成轨迹。我们得出以下结论：（一）“万物始于微而后成，始于无而后生”，词类为句法的起始点，独词句阶段儿童有生名词的增量产出成为话题优势，为双词句阶段名词抢占双词组合次序的第一位置蓄力，独词句阶段互动语境中语用功能驱动双词句阶段的句法形式。（二）儿童在双词句阶段的论元结构习得时序特征，与独词句阶段名词和动词的习得时序特征有着前后承续的因果关系，称谓词作为话题起点在互动语境中高频使用，互动话轮序列促发“称谓词+动词”形式成为儿童的表达惯例，从而类推泛化为“有生名词+动词”的类型，“话题-说明”模式与互动语境驱动左配置论元结构 N+V 语序在线形成。因此，我们认同基于使用的建构论语言习得观（Tomasello, 2003; Lieven & Tomasello, 2008; Ambridge, et. al, 2014），儿童 N+V 论元结构是在儿童与成人互动中建构的，而话语语用功能作为启动因素之一发挥着重要的驱动作用，成人与儿童的互动话轮序列作为互动语境同样起着重要的助推作用。

赵元任（1968）认为汉语中的主语和谓语就是话题与说明，李讷和汤姆森(Li Charles N.&S.A.Thompson，1976)认为汉语属于话题凸显型语言。儿童的句法形成与语用功能密切关联，我们关于汉语普通话儿童 N+V 论元结构的形成与语用“话题-说明”模式的密切关联探究，从儿童的句法与语用

习得发展规律或可窥见汉语语法化与语用发展演变规律的一点线索，能够对关于汉语话题凸显特征的句法理论提供外部视角的印证。

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瑞金客家方言重叠式探析

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摘要：本文主要采用文献分析法和田野调查法，旨在深入探究客家话瑞金方言中的重叠式现象。文章通过对不同音节类型，包括双音节和多音节的细致分析，系统阐述重叠式的语法意义及语法功能。基于对真实语料的收集和研究发现，瑞金方言的重叠式不仅数量繁多，涵盖名词、动词、形容词、量词等多个词类的重叠表达；类型也十分丰富，如部分重叠、完全重叠等多种形式。总体来看，瑞金方言重叠式重以 ABB 式三音节和 AABB 式四音节重叠为主，具有形象性和情感性的倾向，与客家方言的特征基本吻合。同时，瑞金方言极具创造性地将大量具有生活气息的拟声词融入各类重叠式当中，从而呈现出鲜明的地方性特色。这些重叠式在语法上具备程度加深或削弱、数量增多或减少、主观性增强的语法意义，并在句子结构中承担着充当主语、宾语、定语等特定的语法功能。瑞金方言作为赣南客家话的一个重要分支，对其重叠式的深入研究不仅有助于进一步探索瑞金方言的词汇和语法，还能为整个客家方言体系提供新颖、可靠的语料支撑。

关键词：瑞金方言；重叠式；语法意义；语法功能；构式

中图分类号：H175

An Analysis of Overlapping Structures in Ruijin Hakka Dialect

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Abstract: This paper primarily uses literature analysis and field investigation methods to explore the overlapping structures in the Ruijin dialect of Hakka. Through detailed analysis of different syllable types, including disyllabic and polysyllabic forms, it elucidates the grammatical meanings and functions of overlapping structures. The analysis of authentic corpus reveals that the Ruijin dialect has numerous and diverse overlapping structures. These structures exhibit tendencies towards imagery and emotionality, aligning with the general characteristics of Hakka dialects. Overall, these overlapping structures possess grammatical meanings such as intensification or weakening, increase or decrease in quantity, and enhanced subjectivity, each playing specific grammatical roles within sentence structures.

Key words: Ruijin dialect; overlapping structures; grammatical meaning; grammatical function; construction

一、引言

瑞金市位于江西省南部，闽粤赣三省交界地带，是典型的客家方言区。客家方言独具特色，三音节

重叠式尤为显著。瑞金方言重叠式在保留客家方言共性的同时，又显示出其独有的特征。本文将从重叠的形式、语法意义及语法功能三个方面探讨瑞金方言的重叠现象。从重叠式的形式出发，可将其简单分为双音节重叠式、三音节重叠式和四音节重叠式，下面分别进行讨论。

二、双音节重叠式

双音节重叠“AA”式在瑞金方言较为少见，基式“A”多为名词和量词。名词重叠式有表亲属称谓的“爸爸”“姑姑”“公公（瑞金方言中对爷爷的称呼）”“女女（父母对女儿的面称）”，时间名词“日日”“夜夜”“年年”等；量词重叠如“回回”“个个”“只只”等，瑞金方言的量词比较简单，名量词“个”和“只”的搭配能力很强，几乎能够搭配所有无生命和有生命的物体。除表亲属称谓的双音节重叠式外，其他名词与量词的双音重叠都具有“遍指”的语法意义，因此这里“AA”式还可以解释为“每一 A”，如：“日日”可解释为“每一日（天）”，“个个”可以解释为“每一个”，相比于基式“A”而言，增加了周遍性含义。

在语法功能上，表亲属称谓的重叠式和一般名词的功能相同，可作主语、宾语和定语。时间名词重叠式则常作状语，有时可做主语。量词重叠式只作主语，作定语修饰名词时，需要在前面加上数词“一”。

(1) 日日做饭

(2) 年年都是底般

(3) 你般底一只只鬼呀！你们这一个个坏家伙呀

三、三音节重叠式

相比于双音节重叠式，瑞金方言的三音节重叠在数量上就丰富许多。总体以“AAB”式为主，其次是“ABB 式”，还存在少数“AXA”式。

（一）“AAB”式

根据“AAB”式的构成形式又可以分为不完全重叠和加缀重叠两种，且瑞金话的重叠式后缀十分丰富，各具特殊的语法含义。

1. 不完全重叠

“AAB”不完全重叠式的内部结构为双音节修饰语素在前修饰后置的中心语素。例如：

拉拉长　墨墨乌　□□[ka⁴⁴][ka⁴⁴]黄　冰冰冷　喷喷香　咪咪烂　梆梆硬　得得重

□□[tsa⁴ ˥][tsa⁴ ˥]下 滑滑溜　□□[lɤʔ⁵][lɤʔ⁵]动　□□[pa⁴ ˥][pa⁴ ˥]跌　悠悠倒

□□[ka⁴ ˥][ka⁴ ˥]呕　弹弹动　□□[pʰɑŋ³ ¹][pʰɑŋ³ ¹]飞　□□[pɑŋ⁴ ˥][pɑŋ⁴ ˥]爆

□□[ȵioŋ⁴ ˥][ȵioŋ⁴ ˥]颤　飞飞走

不完全重叠式的中心语素“B”可以是形容词，如“长、乌、黄、冷、香、烂、硬、重”等，也可以是动词“溜、动、跌、倒、呕、飞、走、爆”等。重叠部分的“A”可以是名词、动词、拟声词和形容词语素，如名词“墨”、动词“飞”、拟声词“□□”、形容词“滑”。

当中心语素“B”为形容词时，基本都有对应的“AB”式，重叠式则是基式“AB”的生动形式，具有程度加深的语法意义，如“冰冷”与“冰冰冷”相比，它表达的不仅是温度像冰块一样低，冰一词的重复还给人带更强烈的形象感。而当中心语素“B”为动词（多为动作性较强的动词）时，重叠式主要用于强调动作的情状，使某一动作更加形象具体，如“zaza 下”形容水哗啦啦不停往下流的样子。也就是说无论组成部分 AB 的词性如何，重叠后词整体都变成了一种描写事物性质或动态情状的形容性结构。瑞金方言这种重修饰成分以突出事物特征的 AAB 式，是许多南方方言尤其是客家话三音节重叠式的典型特征，这与着重强调中心语素的北方方言有着不同语义倾向。

在句子中，AAB 不完全重叠式常作谓语、定语和补语。如：

(4) 厕所个水□□[tsa⁴ ˥][tsa⁴ ˥]下

(5) 风油精有种飞飞走个味

(6) 今朝吓哩我弹弹动

2. 加缀重叠

“AAB”的加缀重叠式的内部结构通常是在双音节重叠“AA”的基础上加上单音节后缀，常见后缀有“子、滚、叉、斯、哩”，例如：

1) “子”后缀：蠢蠢子　闹闹子　壮壮子　偏偏子偷偷地　笑笑子　怕怕子　角角子　头头子　尾尾子　边边子　夜夜子　个个子　滴滴子

2) “哩”后缀：乱乱哩　早早哩　□□[toʔ³][toʔ³]哩快快地[1]　扭扭哩形容人脸色不好　挽挽哩形容伸出且略倾斜的样子

3) “滚”后缀：吼吼滚　□□[tɕia⁴ ˦][tɕia⁴ ˦]　滚　□□[saʔ³][saʔ³]滚　乱乱滚

4) “叉”后缀：翻翻叉　急急叉　□□[ȵioŋ⁴ ˥][ȵioŋ⁴ ˥]叉不停蠕动的样子　卖卖叉　耀耀叉

5) “斯”后缀：□□[taʔ⁵][taʔ⁵]斯　□□[tʰin⁴ ˥][tʰin⁴ ˥]斯　□□[tɕia⁴ ˦][tɕia⁴ ˦]斯　轰轰斯　哈哈斯　□□[tsa⁴ ˥][tsa⁴ ˥]斯

“子”后缀在瑞金方言中最为常见，具有很强的构词能力。大部分单音节形容词都能进入到“AA 子”式的结构当中，且形容词是构成该构式的主要成分，此外，还有动词、名词以及少数副词和量词。在语法意义上，后缀“子”主要起到弱化程度的作用，可以将其视作是一种程度弱化的标记[2]，相比于基式“A”，“AA 子”的理性义程度明显削弱，进而增加了一种主观委婉的意味。因此我们可以将一部分“AA 子”式的词理解为“有点 A”，比如“A”为形容词时，“蠢蠢子”可理解为“有点蠢”，“壮壮子”可理解为“有点胖”，而当“A”为动词时则表示动作的轻微，“笑笑子”指微笑的样子，“怕怕子”指“有点怕”。但我们发现，当“A”为方位名词时，其语法意义并非削弱而是增强，此时的“AA 子”式表示的则是基式“A”的极端程度[3]。如“角角子”指最角落的位置，“边边子”指最边上的位置。语法功能上，因“AA 子”重叠式在重叠后并没有改变基式的词性，所以具备形容词、动词、量词和名词的语法功能，不仅能充当谓语、状语、补语，还能够充当主语和宾语，作定语式需加上结构助词“个”，功能十分全面[4]。

(7) 你爸爸笑笑子，唔曾话事

(8) 我偏偏子去你该

(9) 昨日闲哩夜夜子才归来

(10) 只只子都只晓吃！

(11) 伞放在角角子哩

“滚”后缀用来形容动静很大的样子，重叠式在句中多作补语[4]，如：“外头风吹哩吼吼滚”，作补语时需要在重叠式后面加上结构助词“个”，相当于普通话“地”，如：外头个风吼吼滚个吹。有时也可以充当谓语，如：妹子在屋家[tɕia⁴⁴][tɕia⁴⁴] 滚。“AA”多为拟声词重叠；“叉”和“斯”的语法意义较为相近，这里放在一起论述，二者都是一种形容词后缀，类似古汉语中“然”一词，表“.....的样子”，但进入该构式的成分比较杂。如：“急急叉”意为“很急的样子”，“[taʔ⁵][taʔ⁵]斯”指“快速的样子”。但“叉”“斯”所组成的重叠式是约定俗成的固定搭配，二者并不能相互转换。语法功能上二者有细微不同，“AA 斯”主要和动词搭配作状语，而“AA 叉”则可直接作谓语；与赣方言不同，客家方言三音节重叠式的“哩”尾似乎并不发达，只有少量存在，而“哩”在瑞金方言当中更多用作句末语气词，时态助词和结构助词。

(12) 快点□□[taʔ⁵][taʔ⁵]斯跑得去

(13) 你急急叉乜啊！

（二）ABB 式

ABB 重叠式的内部结构多为单音节中心语素在前，双音节修饰语素在后，但瑞金方言的这类重叠式一般需要配合结构助词“哩”使用，不能在句子中单独出现。例如：

湿哒哒（哩） 湿□□[tɕiɛʔ³][tɕiɛʔ³] 乌草草 紧巴巴 气鼓鼓 轻飘飘

硬翘翘 黄灿灿 瘦蒙蒙 水汪汪 兴冲冲 燥□□[ȵia³ ¹][ȵia³ ¹]

“A”成分多是形容词和名词，重叠部分“BB”修饰前置中心语素，该重叠式的语法意义与“AAB”式的不完全重叠相似，都表示中心语素语义程度的加深，但对比来看，ABB 的语义程度相对较轻[6]。在句子中主要与结构助词“哩”搭配作状语和补语，

(14) 地下湿哒哒哩

(15) 日子过个紧巴巴哩

（三）AXA 式

“AXA”内部结构多为单音节量词或位数词重叠后中间插入中缀，瑞金方言能进入到这种格式的中缀只有“似”、“打”、“把”，但“A 把 A”数量极少，一般不用这种表达。例如：

百似百好几百 千似千 万似万 个似个 件似件很多件

□[maʔ⁵]打□[maʔ⁵] 箱打箱 堆打堆

当中缀为“似”时，进入到该重叠式的成分只能是量词和位数词，数词重叠在客观上表示一种概量，但在同样表示主观量大的意义，一般在句子中充当定语。而当中缀为“打”时，进入到该构式只能是表客观量大的量词，进入构式后不仅强化了量词本身所表示的客观量，而且显示出强烈的主观量大倾向[7]，

也就是说该构式主客观量是保持一致的，在句中可作定语、主语和谓语，作定语时可加上结构助词“个”，也可不加。如：

(16) 万似万个票子

(17) 个似个星期

(18) 屋家个衫服堆打堆

(19) 买哩件似件

(20) 底种东西在瑞金都□[maʔ⁵]打□[maʔ⁵]。

赣语中的“A 把 A”重叠式，在瑞金方言中几乎找不出这样的表达，只有谢坊等个别乡镇有“万把万”的说法，但这可能是受到邻近方言尤其是赣语的影响，并未构成统一的语言事实。

四、四音节重叠式

瑞金方言的四音节重叠式内部形式也十分丰富，除最常见的 AABB 式外，还有 AAAA 式，以及框架结构 A 瘸 A 绝、A 天 A 地。

（一）AABB 式、AAAA 式

1. AABB

该构式的内部是一种联合结构，也就是 AB 词性保持一致，有 AB 不成词的构词重叠，也有 AB 成词的构形重叠。例如:

1) AB 成词：坞坞窟窟形容小坑小洞很多　汤汤水水　青青菜菜　垃垃圾圾　二二流流　伶伶俐俐　马马虎虎　实实落落　生生当当　上上下下　滴滴巴巴

2) AB 不成词：瓶瓶罐罐　并并扮扮说话扯东扯西　咪咪摸摸　当当滴滴　游游搓搓　涂涂画画　吹吹打打

可以看出，进入 AABB 式的词类可以是名词，形容词，动词，甚至量词，但前提条件是 AB 词性必须保持一致。名词重叠表事物的数量大[8]，动词重叠表示动作持续反复，形容词重叠其语义程度增强，上述例子中“垃垃圾圾”的基式“垃圾”在瑞金话中既可以是名词，指生活中的废弃物，也可以是形容词，形容环境脏乱，而只有当其为形容词意义时才可以重叠。在句中可作主语、谓语、宾语、定语和补语。

(21) 瓶瓶罐罐放好来！

(22) 一只人在街上游游搓搓

(23) 你就吃底多汤汤水水

(24) 垃垃圾圾个地方

(25) 舞哩实实落落

2. AAAA

由基式“A”重叠四次，且“A”只由拟声词或少部分动词构成，表示声音连绵不断或动作的持续反复。语音形式上，前两字读阴平，后两字读上声[错误! 找不到参照来源。]。在句子中作谓语和定语。

溜溜溜溜　流流流流　念念念念　吃吃吃吃形容一个人低头不停自言自语[9]

（二）A 瘪 A 绝

该构式中的“瘪[ko⁴⁴]”在其他客家话的相关文献著作或中也用“哥”“咕”等拟声字表示，这里采用《客赣方言比较研究》中的写法。据《集韵》一书解释，瘪与绝为同义词，都具极端意义[11]，因此该构式实质上是一种同义联合结构，可理解成 A 瘪和 A 绝的并列联合。例如：

歪瘪歪绝　恶瘪恶绝　蠢瘪蠢绝　懒瘪懒绝　热瘪热绝　冷瘪冷绝

做瘪做绝 话瘪话绝　舞瘪舞绝　食瘪食绝　睡瘪睡绝　打瘪打绝

构式强调“A”的程度达到极点，瑞金方言中多用来表达强烈的反感、气愤情绪，所以“A”一般只能是由含消极意义的形容词构成。但同时一些动作性较强的动词也能进入到该构式中，指说话者认为某一行为做得太过，表达一种主观不满。在句中常作谓语，也常单独成句。

(26) 外头冷瘪冷绝！

(27) 懒瘪懒绝！你唔会出去行下子啊！

（三）A 天 A 地

该构式在瑞金方言中具有较强的生成能力，构式中的变项“A”可以动词也可以是拟声词。例如：

话天话地　飞天飞地　嚷天嚷地　□[tɕia⁴ ˧]天□[tɕia⁴ ˧]地　跳天跳地

□[tɕʰiɜʔ³]天□[tɕʰiɜʔ³]地形容一个人多事好动，一直不停歇　□[puɛ⁴⁴]天□[puɛ⁴⁴]地

□[piɔ⁴⁴]天□[piɔ⁴⁴]地　轰天轰地　□[kɤŋ⁴ ˥]天□[kɤŋ⁴ ˥]地

从构式的内部来看，构式整体上是借框架“天地”的词义范围来表示“A”的语义范围。“A”是动词时强调某一动作涉及范围大且持续反复，“A”为拟声词时，突出声音的强度大且传播范围广。同时该构式还蕴含了主观不满的情绪，显示出较强主观性。在句中常作谓语，如“佢一工到夜□[tɕʰiɜʔ³]天□[tɕʰiɜʔ³]地”。

五、结语

除上文所提到的重叠式外，“冇 A 冇 B”式也形成了一定规模的数量，如：冇盐冇味，但这种表达在各地方言和普通话中比较常见，因此本文对此不多加赘述。整体来看，瑞金话具备了客家方言拟声词十分发达、重叠式多以三四音节重叠为主等多数特征，但同时将大量拟声词引入到各类重叠形式当中，形成了独具特色的地域性表达。

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俄汉语歧义现象对比研究

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摘要：歧义是语言中普遍存在的一种现象。俄语是屈折语，词形变化非常丰富，一般情况下词都需要按照语法规则进行一定的变化才能进入句子中，所以歧义产生的可能性相对较小；但也正是因为变化多，俄语中经常出现词的变化形式一致导致无法区分词和词之间语法关系的情况。汉语是孤立语，语法功能主要借助词序和虚词表达，词语缺乏形态变化，而且词与词之间的限制并不十分严格，同一种语法关系可以隐含较大的语义容量和复杂的语义关系而没有任何形式标志，所以汉语出现歧义的概率比俄语更大。本文通过对俄汉语歧义现象产生机制进行对比，发现歧义现象的出现在俄汉语中既具有共通性又存在差异性。共通性表现在语言中歧义现象产生的根源，也就是语言材料和人类认知的有限性与表达和客观现象的无限性之间的矛盾；而差异性则表现在俄汉语因为表达语法意义的手段不同，歧义现象产生原因也大相径庭，一种语言中的歧义结构在另一种语言中不容易或者不可能出现歧义。

关键词：俄语；汉语；歧义现象

1.歧义的定义和相关概念的区分

“歧义”一词最初来自于拉丁语，最原始的意思是“未解决的”。许多汉语语言学者也给歧义现象下了定义：吕叔湘、朱德熙《语法修辞讲义》中说“歧义是一句话有两种讲法”；赵元任在《汉语中的歧义现象》中对歧义的定义是“一个符号可以有“多种理解”；徐仲华在《汉语书面语歧义现象举例》中指出，歧义现象是指对一种语言形式可以有两种甚至两种以上的合理解释和分析；邵敬敏在《关于歧义结构的探讨》里指出，歧义是在一定的语言环境中，人们对某一具体语言形式的不止一种的理解。俄语中“歧义”这一概念用“двусмысленность”表示，《俄罗斯大百科词典》对该词的解释是“广义上是指对某一现象、情景、描述存在的多种解释。在语言学中，歧义现象是指对某一些语句或文章、片段理解时产生的多种解释”；《言语文化交流：伦理学、语用学、心理学》中的解释是“在特定情况下可以做两解的陈述，包括不符合说话者原意的理解”；《哲学词典》的解释是“允许两种或多种不同，甚至矛盾的解释的陈述或表现”。综上所述，俄汉语中对歧义现象的定义基本一致，即对一种语言形式可以有两种或两种以上解释。

但是上述的定义也适用于另外一种语言现象：多义。对于多义和歧义的区别，邵敬敏认为，多义只是一种可能性，没有好坏优劣的区分，是语言中一种客观的属性；而歧义是指实现的可能性，属于语用学范畴研究的对象，是一种消极的语言现象。俄罗斯学者拉科夫认为，多义是语言本身的属性，而歧义是话语现象。所以，多义是语言中用有限的材料表达无限的意义必然会出现的现象，一般受到上下文语境的制约后只有一种意义是合法的，而歧义是在人们的言语交际中产生的，一般会对说话人的理解造成障碍，应当尽量消除和避免。

赵元任在《汉语中的歧义现象》里还区别了歧义和模糊、笼统。他认为，模糊是指一个符号的边界

不明确的情况跟明确的情况比起来十分突出，如“褐色”是非常模糊的。笼统是说符号适用于若干个事物，人们承认这些事物有差别，但这些差别在使用符号的语境中被认为是无足轻重的。俄罗斯学者皮敏诺娃认为，模糊语是指在言语交际时不止一种含义的表达。比如“这是一本好书”，“好”在词典里有许多释义，在这句话中究竟是表达有趣、有益还是容易读呢？还有像“青年”这个词，无法准确释义是因为没有统一的定量的标准。模糊和笼统现象的存在可能是因为人类认知的局限，也可能是因为事物本身的模糊性，有时人们在交际过程中为了使话语表达更加委婉也会可以制造一些模糊，这并不会造成歧义。模糊是在词汇层面出现的，歧义则主要表现为词汇、语法、语用等方面的多种解释。

值得一提的是，俄语中“двусмысленность”除了“歧义”还有“双关”的意思[①]。俄罗斯学者也常将“двусмысленность”分成两种情况，一是言语错误（речевая ошибка），二是语言游戏（языкавая игра）。而且，由于俄语表达相对比较准确，歧义出现得相对较少，俄罗斯学者对于其“语言游戏”的属性关注明显更多。他们认为，需要区分言语错误和有目的的修辞的运用，尽管“двусмысленность”会导致表意的含混或错误，但是学习如何化解歧义可以提升人们的语言能力。除此之外，“двусмысленность”也可以作为一种语言手段，也就是在语境中有意识地使用一个词的不同含义来达到吸引听众的目的。

2.俄汉语歧义现象生成机制

2.1 语音歧义

语音歧义是指在交际中由于同音导致听话人产生不同理解的语言现象。

同音同形异义词造成的歧义 语言中经常会有发音、书写相同，但词汇意义不同的词，这些词就是同音同形异义词（омонимы），这样的词出现在句子中很容易造成歧义。如以下例子：

（1）

①Как только я нашёл ключ.

②Как спали?

句（1）中单词ключ可以是钥匙，也可以是泉水，所以这句话可以理解为我刚找到了钥匙，也可以理解为我刚找到了泉水。句（2）中Как是多义词，它既可以对程度进行提问，也可以对方式进行提问，所以这句话可以理解为睡得怎么样，也可以理解为用什么姿势睡得。

以上两个例子如果有一定的预设情境，是有可能消除歧义的。下面再看另外一个有具体交际情境的例子：

（2）

(За столом. A: Иван; B: Анна)

（餐桌上，A：伊万；B：安娜）

A: Ты что, с майонезом салат не ешь?

A:你怎么，不吃带蛋黄酱的沙拉吗？

B: Нет, я вообще не ем майонеза.

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①俄语中修辞“双关”用“каламбур”表示，而不是“двусмысленность”

B：不，我从不吃蛋黄酱。

A: Не переносишь?

A：受不了（蛋黄酱）吗？

B: Переношу, но недалеко.

B：这就拿开，不用多远。

这是一个餐桌上的情境，前面预设了安娜不吃蛋黄酱，于是伊万问安娜是不是接受不了蛋黄酱的味道，这句话是用了переносить“忍受”的意思（переносишь是переносить第二人称单数现在时变位形式），而安娜回答这就拿开，显然，她以为伊万问的是不拿开吗，这句话中的переносить是“把某物从一个地方带到另一个地方”的意思。（переношу是переносить第一人称单数现在时变位形式。）即便是有语境，同音异义词还是造成了歧义，而且这种歧义的产生也受到前面预设的影响。

汉语中同样存在同音同形异义词导致歧义的情况：

（3）我昨天见到大海了。

该句中，大海既可以理解为自然存在“大海”，也可以理解为一个名叫“大海”的人，歧义由此产生。

（4）A：屋子里面是什么人？B：来这儿的多半儿是大学生。

这一组对话中，歧义主要是答句中的“多半儿”造成的，这个词既可以理解为“超过一半”，也可以理解为“大概，也许”，表示推测。

另外，俄语中还存在一类语法同音词造成的歧义现象，语法同音词是指一些词在某些语法形式下的形式相同而意义不同，这是一种偶合的同音词。

（5）Три книги.

这里три既可以理解成数词“三”，也可以理解成动词тереть“擦”的命令式，所以产生了歧义。

同音异形引起的歧义 俄汉语中均有同音异形的现象存在，由于发音相同，在口语中出现极易造成歧义。俄语中同音异形词数量极少，同音异形现象更多地表现为一个词和相邻两个词读音相同的情况。如：

（6）В корзине сто яйц, а дно упало, сколько осталось?

В корзине сто яйц, одно упало, сколько осталось?

这两句话区别在于第一句а是连词，дно是“底”，第二句одно是“一个”，所以，第一句话意思是篮子里有一百个鸡蛋，底儿掉了，还有几个？第二句话是一个掉了，还有几个。书面当然好区分，但是口语中却会出现歧义。值得一提的是，有些学者将这种现象归结为连读导致的歧义现象，笔者认为连读是根源，歧义的直接原因还是两种形式同音，故未另外分类。

汉语中同音词数目庞大，而且单音节、双音节、多音节都可能构成同音词，所以，相较于俄语，汉语同音词更容易出现歧义现象。如：

（7）一切向 qián 看。

这句话中 qián 可以是“钱”，也可以是“前”，没有上下文或者语境的情况下就会出现歧义。

2.2 词汇歧义

词汇方面，词的多义现象是导致歧义的主要原因。俄语和汉语中的词都存在多义现象，对一个词的

不同理解可能导致择义时的歧义。

（8）К вечеру всё будет готово.

这个句子中вечер的多义性引发了句子的歧义，вечер可以理解为傍晚，也可以理解为晚会。所以，这句话可以理解为将近傍晚时分一切将准备就绪，也可以理解为晚会开始前一切都将准备就绪。

（9）小王已经走了一个多小时了。

这句话的歧义原因是“走”的多义性，句子可以理解为小王已经走了一个多小时的路，也可以理解为小王已经离开一个多小时了。

2.3 语法歧义

朱德熙在《汉语句法中的歧义现象》里指出，所谓语法歧义指的是句子的多义现象。[②]

词类不同引起的歧义

（10）знакомые студентки

在这一结构中，знакомые是一个兼具两种词性的词，可以是“熟悉的”，也可以是“熟人”，而同时студентка（女大学生）复数形式和第二格形式（在“女大学生的熟人”一结构中作非一致定语）也一样，和所以结构整体可以理解为“熟悉的女大学生们”，也可以理解为“女大学生的熟人”。

（11）我要热饭。

该句子中“热”既可以作动词，也可以作形容词，“热”词类的不同引发了句子的歧义。

句法结构层次不同引起的歧义

（12）Сергей вернулся из командировки в Москву.

这句话可以有两种切分方式，一种是Сергей вернулся из командировки | в Москву.（谢尔盖出差已经回到莫斯科。）还可以是Сергей вернулся | из командировки в Москву.（谢尔盖去莫斯科出差已经回来了。）这句话歧义的原因是前置词в可以与动词вернуться搭配，也可以与名词командировка搭配。

（13）Отец купил книги для детей.[③]

这句话也有两种切分方式，一种是Отец купил книги | для детей.（父亲给孩子买了玩具。），另一种是Отец купил | книги для детей.（父亲买了儿童玩具。） 在这句话中，前置词名词结构для детей可以充当谓语动词купить的支配对象，也可以是名词词组книги для детей的后置定语，由此产生了歧义。

（14）У неё красивое пальто и платье.

这句话中красивое可以修饰пальто和платье，也可以只就近修饰пальто，也就是说句子可以理解为她有漂亮的大衣和（也许不漂亮的）裙子，也可以理解为她有漂亮的大衣和漂亮的裙子。（“她有漂亮的大衣和裙子”汉语也存在歧义）

（15）我们三个一组，你们两个一组。

这个句子相同的结构关系可以有两种不同的层次划分，即我们|三个一组。和我们三个|一组。“三个”

②一般认为短语是由词组成的，没有句调的语言单位，大多数短语可以加上句调成为句子。所以笔者在语法歧义这一部分没有区分短语和句子。

③例（13）和例（14）也可以看成是动词支配关系不明引发的歧义。

一词有多种功能，组合能力比较灵活，所以引发了句子的歧义。

还有一类歧义结构层次不同，结构关系也不同：

（16）

①江苏和浙江的部分地区（偏正或并列）

②咬死猎人的狗（动宾或偏正）

③关于牛郎织女的故事（介宾或偏正）

④拿了十块钱出来给我[④]（连动或述补）

句法结构项关系不明引起的歧义

俄语中存在一类典型的格形式相同造成的歧义现象，这种情况往往导致主客体关系不明。请看下面的例子：

（17）

①Мать любит дочь.

②Звонок Марии.

句①可以理解为妈妈爱女儿，也可以理解为女儿爱妈妈，无论是女儿还是妈妈，主语都是第三人称单数，所以动词变位形式一致，同时，俄语中妈妈和女儿第一格第四格同形，也就是作主语和作宾语形式一致，在没有前后文的情况下这句话存在两解。句②可以理解为玛利亚的来电，也可以理解为打给玛利亚的电话，歧义原因是Мария（玛利亚）第二格和第三格形式相同，同时звонок名词和动名词同形。

（18）Ему некому помочь.

该句可以理解为没有他可帮的人，也可以理解为没人可帮他。кому нечему/некому делать是俄语中一种固定结构，意为某人没什么可做，这里“某人”要求用第三格，例子中这句话选用的动词是помочь（帮助），要求接第三格，于是句子中两个名词都是第三格，主客体关系就不清楚了。

（19）

①你们领导应该带头执行。

②不少年轻人喜欢翻译小说

③我们还需要补充材料。

这几个句子结构层次相同但是结构关系不同，这种歧义形式一般是两个词语构成，两个词语组合在一起只能有一个层次，但是关系可以不同，因而出现了歧义。

汉语还经常出现谓词语义特征与其支配的语义成分关系不明引发的歧义：

（20）

①鸡不吃了（施受同体）

②那个人正在打板子（受事和工具关系不明）

③小张的毛衣织得好（领属关系不明）

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④有学者认为这个句子是汉语轻重读不同引发的歧义，笔者认为歧义根源在语法，轻重读恰恰是为了区分语法功能的消除歧义的手段，故未给轻重读引发的歧义单独设项。

④这批书送北大图书馆（处所宾语和与事宾语重合）

⑤山上架着炮（动态活动与静态存在重合）

2.4 语用歧义

语用歧义是指在某一特定的语境中，不同的人会对同一话语产生不同的理解，语用歧义是在言语交际过程中产生的。语用歧义在任何语言中都可能发生，造成语用歧义的原因是主题或焦点不明确、语气、增添、省略、倒装等等，不同语言的语用差异产生原因与语言本身的差别无甚关系，故本文不多介绍。为了歧义产生原因叙述的完整性，这里略举两例说明。

（21）

Ж:Сходи в магазин за хлебом.

妻子：去商店买点面包回来。

М: Куда идти, дождь как из ведра! Хороший хозяин сабаки не выпустит.

丈夫：去哪，外面雨下那么大！好心的主人连狗也不会放出去。

Ж: Боже,но я же не говорю, чтобы ты шёл с собокой.

妻子：上帝啊，我可没说让你把狗也带去。

（22）

甲：我爸爸特别关心我的成绩。

乙：怎么 你妈妈不怎么关心？

甲：不 她也特别关心这个。

3.俄汉语歧义现象生成机制对比

通过上述分析我们可以看到，歧义是在其语言中普遍存在的一种现象，而且不同语言中歧义产生机制也存在一定的共性。歧义产生的根源之一是语言符号和语言形式的有限性和客观世界事物和意义的无限性之间的矛盾。任何一种语言的音素和或词汇都是有限的，但是大千世界中的概念是无限的。同时，人类面对新事物也不会无限制地创造新词语，否则语言太过复杂，人们无法掌握，所以，人们往往利用已有的材料用隐喻或者转喻的方式去表达新事物、新现象。于是有限的语言材料为了表达无限的客观世界，就会产生大量同音字和多义词，就像前文例子中的“ключ”和“大海”，还有大量的同义句式。歧义产生的根源之二是语言的线条性，这是指语言符号只能在时间的线条上一个单位接着一个单位依次出现，这就使语言表达在理论上必然产生多义，因为事物与事物、意义与意义、事物与意义的联系是多向的，它们在多个平面互有交叉，而客观世界复杂的关系又只能隐藏在语言表面的线条性之下。这种矛盾更多地会导致一种结构上的歧义，朱德熙在《汉语句法中的歧义现象》里曾分析过多义句式构成的多义句。比如“反对的是少数人”，这句话可能有两种理解，“反对的”可能是“反对者”，也可能是“被反对者”。这句话的歧义与反对这个词的词义无关，因为把“反对”替换成别的词（如关心的是病人），句子还是可能有两种意思。事实上，只要动词是“双向”的，就可能产生歧义，所以这些句子的“多义性”是“V+的+是+N”这一抽象的“句式”所固有的。类似的“句式”还有“N+的+N”，如鲁迅的书。其实，我们上文中提到的“кому нечему делать”和也是这样的歧义结构，只要动词要求第三格，主客体均可以作为动作发出者，“к

ому нечему/некому делать”就会引发歧义，“кто любит кого”也是这样一种情况，只要主语和宾语都四格同一格，就会出现歧义，这是语言材料的有限、客观世界的无限和人类认知的不足共同导致的。

以上是歧义产生的根源，是全人类语言的共性。下面来看俄汉语歧义生成机制的差异。上述所列很多汉语的歧义现象，在俄语中不会出现。就比如“我要热饭”这个句子，俄语中动词和形容词界限清晰，不会混淆。“咬死猎人的狗”在俄语中必须要明确狗是“咬死”动作的发出者还是承担者，如果是承担者，“咬死”需要用动词，如果是动作发出者，“咬死”需要用形动词形式。还有像“你们领导”这样的结构，如果是同位语，在俄语中两个词都用原形，如果是偏正结构，“你们”必须变化成物主代词的形式。再比如“鸡不吃了”，可以理解为某个主体不吃鸡了，汉语中允许省略主语，但是俄语中一般不省略主语，即便主语被省略了，动词的变化形式也可以标示主语，施受同形的情况在俄语中很难发生。至于像“这批书送到北大图书馆”，汉语中可以省略“到”或者“给”，俄语中表达“送给”可以直接用动词加直接补语、间接补语（俄语中没有宾语的概念），但是要表达“送到”，动词后面必须加前置词，所以两个意义不可能通过一个形式表达出来。最后还有像“山上架着炮”，汉语中既可以表示状态，也可以表示动作，俄语中二者界限清晰，“架着”如果表示动作，就需要出现主语，或者以不定人称句的形式出现，而如果表达状态，主语就是“炮”，动词需要根据“炮”进行变化。

相反，俄语中很多歧义现象在汉语中也不会出现。比如“знакомые студентки”，汉语中“熟悉的”和“熟人”用两种方式表达，形容词和名词界限清晰。还有俄语中因为动词和名词前置词支配关系一致导致的动词支配不明的歧义现象，汉语中介词和俄语中前置词用法差异很大，所以汉语中“到莫斯科出差”和“出差回到莫斯科”，“给孩子买书”和“买给孩子的书”表达完全不同。再比如俄语中因为名词变格形式一致引发的歧义现象，汉语名词没有这一语法范畴，所以俄语中格表达的语法功能汉语中需要借助其他手段表达，就像“打给玛丽亚的电话”和“玛利亚打来的电话”。而且俄语中动名词和名词可以同形，汉语必须说成“打给……”或“……的电话”。俄语因为形态变化比较丰富，所以词序显得不那么重要，但是像“Мать любит дочь.”和“Ему некому помочь.”这类的句子，词序的重要性就凸显出来了。“妈妈”和“女儿”第一格第四格同形，所以不依赖词序无法判断是“妈妈爱女儿”还是“女儿爱妈妈”，而汉语中因为词序是表达语法功能和关系的主要手段，所以两个句子区分明显。

一般来说，俄语是屈折语，词形变化非常丰富，如形容词和名词有性、数、格的变化，动词有时、体、态、式的语法范畴，一般情况下词都需要按照语法规则进行一定的变化才能进入句子中，所以歧义产生的可能性相对较小。但也正是因为变化多，俄语中也经常出现词的变化形式一致导致无法区分词和词之间语法关系的情况。汉语是孤立语，语法功能主要借助词序和虚词表达，缺乏形态变化，且形态标志不明显，词与词之间的限制不十分严格，同一种语法关系可以隐含较大的语义容量和复杂的语义关系而没有任何形式标志，而且汉语只要语境允许，句法成分，包括重要的虚词，可以省略，所以汉语出现歧义的概率比俄语更大。而且通过上述分析可以得知，尽管俄汉语歧义产生原因的分类上总体一致，具体表现却是千差万别，一种语言中的歧义现象在另一种语言中就不会出现，可见，两种语言存在本质的差异。

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构式的力量：结构扩展与意义承继

——以“V 的一手好 N”为例

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摘要：本文基于构式语法与认知语言学理论，探讨“V 的一手好 N”构式的结构扩展机制与意义承继规律。研究发现，该构式通过动词范畴突破、名词语义层级延伸及词类离合创新进行结构扩展，同时坚守“正向评价”的核心语义，实现从技能评价到程度表达的语义扩张。研究揭示了构式扩展的语义滞留现象与认知边界，揭示其“形式创新”与“语义坚守”的动态平衡特征，为汉语构式的动态性研究提供新的支持。

关键词：“V 的一手好 N”；结构扩展；意义承继；构式力量

一、问题的提出

“V 的（得）[1]一手好 N”是汉语中常见的一种构式。例如：

（1）你不要看他写得一手好字，而且会做出正经样子。（巴金《家》）

（2）他那大哥窝囊废弹得一手好弦子，可是他不肯干这一行。（老舍《鼓书艺人》）

（3）父亲是个老庄稼把式，母亲做的一手好针线活。（人民日报 1973 年 03 月 12 日）

（4）后来又到北京体院深造，练的一手好拳。（人民日报 1993 年 09 月 09 日）

构式是形式与意义的配对体，整体意义不可完全从组成部分预测。“V 的一手好 N”作为半图式构式，具有形式固定性（常项“的”“一手好”）与成分开放性（V/N 可变），其最初意义为“手部技能的正向高评价”，“好”是核心成分。随着结构的扩展，V 不再局限于手部动作，意义也逐渐发展为“某项技能的正向高评价”。

已有研究将“V 的一手好 N”的基本构式义确立为“积极的技能评价”（王娜，2016；姚婷婷，2016；王刚、陈昌来，2017），或探讨这一结构的句法关系和生成机制（李贞亮，2018），或考察其同形异构式“V 得一 M 好 N”的格式及历史来源（陈巧静，2017；解植永，2018），认为这一结构内部存在能力式和获得式两个小类，而“V 得一 M 好 N”来源于近代汉语中表可能的“V 得 O”结构。

近年来，注意到“V 的一手好 N”构式在原有基础上发生了一些新的变化：

（5）我妈坑得一手好儿子，终于降温了。

（6）真是拆得一手好台。

（7）最后一节课煽得一手好情，全班热泪盈眶。

[1] 注：原可写作“得”，后多写为“的”。

（8）附靓照一张，我真是P的一手好图。

（9）和初七真是虐的一手好心……知道真相的我眼泪掉下来。

（10）企鹅宝宝卖得一手好萌，可是轻易就能掳获小朋友的心。

汉语构式“V的一手好N”中的动词(V)不再局限于手部动作或者与手有关的肢体动作,如由“写”“弹”“做”发展出“坑”“煽”“虐”, V-N整体结构还扩展至部分强制离合的动词短语, 如“拆台→拆的一手好台”“P图→P的一手好图”“卖萌→卖得一手好萌”, 构式的具体意义也伴随语境立场进行相应迁移, 其结构扩展机制和意义承继规律值得进一步探究。下面将着力解决以下问题, “V的一手好N”构式V/N扩展的认知条件是什么？其核心语义的保持与边界限制如何相互作用？构式力量的本质特征表现如何？

本文语料主要来源于北京语言大学语料库中心BCC语料库和网络检索的新变语料（2010-2024），总计967例。

二、“V的一手好N”的结构扩展

“V的一手好N”构式的结构扩展并非随机演变，而是受认知规律与语义逻辑的双重制约。构式扩展主要体现在动词（V）范畴、名词（N）语义网络以及“VN”结构突破三个层面，共同构成构式动态性的基础。

（一）动词（V）范畴的多维扩张

1.原型动词特征

根据BCC语料库检索的“V的一手好N”结构，发现动词（V）主要集中于“写”“画”“弹”“练”等与身体动作尤其是手部动作有关的动词，其中85%的动词为手部动作动词，15%为抽象动词（多出现于2010年后网络语料）。

（11）他写的一手好颜字，我有幸在他的北京寓所厅堂拜读过。（人民日报2001年12月08日）

（12）行政庭书记员小施，弹得一手好吉他。（福建日报1992年03月05日）

（13）老福十六岁就进了苏州刺绣厂当工人，据说绣得一手好花。（范小天《情与欲》）

（14）他凭着半年中间在腾条河里练出的一手好“水性”，向前急追。（人民日报1954年02月）

（15）还有一个瞎眼的公公，他吹得一手好笛子。（人民日报1950年09月）

（16）孩子生下好几十天了，骑得一手好摩托的爸爸才骑自行车回了一趟家。（人民日报1990年10月）

构式的原型动词（V）多与人的自主行为能力有关，既包括单纯的手部动作，如“写”“弹”“绣”，也包括手与其他部位并用的动词，如“练”“吹”“骑”，不包含抽象或外延的范围。

V-N 所包含的“技能义”对应范晓蕾（2016）提出的“高质能力”，表示有能力做且做得好（有能力做＋质量高）。与“高质能力”相联系的是“惯常倾向”，表事态之发生有很强的倾向性，暗含动作行为发生频率较高。由于惯常发生的往往是某种高质能力，高质能力进一步巩固了惯常发生的状况，两者产生了“高质能力-惯常倾向”的语义关联。而构式中的“好”作为语义评价核心，保证了主体行为动词（V）的正当性。

因此，构式原型动词（V）的准入受[+具体性][+自主性][+惯常性][+正当性]的语义特征制约。

2.扩展动词类型与准入限制

除了以上原型语料，还检索了 250 余条“V 的一手好 N”近年来的语料，得出动词（V）的语义分类：

表 1 近年来“V 的一手好 N”构式中动词（V）语义分类表

语义类型	语义子类	典型动词（V）示例	频次占比
技能操作类	传统技艺	调(咖啡)、抚(琴)、炒(茶叶)、抖(筐竹)、编(辫子)	31.5%
	生活技能	煮(粥)、剥(柚子)、修(电器)、勾(芡)、系(鞋带)	
	数字技能	P(图)、截(图)、刷(票)、营(销)、盗(图)	
社交行为类	人际互动	吊(胃口)、虐(心)、把(妹)、护(妹子)、钓(妹子)	26.5%
	网络交互	刷(CP)、拆(CP)、助(攻)、洗(白)、开(脑洞)	
情态表征类	情感操控	催(泪)、煽(情)、矫(情)、怀(旧)、玩（暧昧）	22.7%
	状态表达	失(眠)、发(疯)、犯(病)、抖(机灵)、催(眠)	
负面行为类	破坏性行为	毁(童年)、坑(爹)、撒(盐)、造(孽)、逃(课)	19.3%
	伪饰性行为	装(清纯)、端(范儿)、拍(马屁)、立(人设)、卖(萌)	

能够看出，构式动词（V）在原有语义范畴的基础上得到了一系列扩展。占比最多的技能操作类动词（V）在原有传统技艺、生活技能的基础上增加了虚拟的数字技能，如“P 的一手好图”中的“P”、“刷的一手好票”中的“刷”，不同类别的抽象动词得到准入，超越了[+具体性]语义范畴。

在所考察的语例中，动词（V）的范围由具体的手部身体技能发散至社交行为、情态表征甚至是负面行为，与手部动作的联系越来越抽象泛化。主体对于技能的自主掌握，通过隐喻映射为抽象语境下的某种操控力，突破动词的物理动作限制，赋予其“技能熟练度”的抽象评价义；同时，从原型层“手部技能”扩展而来的抽象操控能力，如“玩”“带”等泛化动词，依赖转喻激活与邻近场景、目的进行关联，进一步细化为具有明确策略性和目标导向的策略手段，如“吊胃口”“抖机灵”“立人设”。因此，原本与动词“技能义”相联系的[+惯常性]发展成为“操控义”所蕴含的[+策略性]，用以实现精准操控的目的。

[+正当性]语义在特定语境驱使下，将少部分带有破坏性和伪饰性的负面行为动词纳入，占比 19.3%。但仍排斥一般性的非自主动词，如“*病的一手好咳嗽”中的“病”、“*爱的一手好动物”中的“爱”，并限制

大多数的道德冲突动词，不能说“*抢的一手好劫”“*放的一手好火”。

概括来说，近年来的构式动词（V）基于原型语义范畴扩展出[+抽象性][+操控性][+策略性][+特定负面性]等特征。

“V 的一手好 N”构式中的动词（V）突破原有语义范畴的选择框架，由具体的手部动作向抽象的操控行为转移，实现了从“手部身体技能”（原型）到“抽象操控行为”（扩展）的跨域映射，即：

原型层：写、画、弹、煮——身体经验直接锚定，准入无标记；

扩展层：吊、刷、玩、抖——需隐喻共识与社会高频使用支撑；

边缘层：毁、坑、装、立——需转喻具体化列入负面行为框架；

排斥层：病、死、残、偷——因认知冲突或道德违例被系统性排斥。

（二）名词（N）的语义网络层级

与原型动词（V）相搭配的名词（N）大多属于广义上与人有关的技能对象，陈巧静（2017）根据名词（N）的理性意义，将其分为十个小类：饮食类、本领或技术类、语言类、事物类、戏曲歌舞类、球类、图画类、器乐类、诗词文章类、书法类。

概括来说，名词（N）具备[+技能]的语义特征，可将其语义网络的核心层级确立为与手部身体技能有关的“技能载体”。下面继续考察 250 余条语料中名词（N）的语义类型：

表 2 近年来“V 的一手好 N”构式中动词（N）语义分类表

语义类型	语义子类	典型名词（N）示例	频次占比
实体具象类	生活物品	咖啡/柚子/火锅/钱包	39.4%
	专业领域	造型/青旅/太极/电话卡	
	身体部位	腰/胯/鼻血/眼线/头发	
抽象概念类	社会属性	人品/RP/主流/责任/架子	34.5%
	经济活动	宝（压宝）/成本/股价/销路	
	文化符号	童年/算盘/牌坊/脊梁骨/心灵鸡汤	
	心理状态	心（虐心）/疯/眠/矫情/清高	
	网络用语	脑洞/自黑/绿茶/抖 M/萌（卖萌）	26.1%

名词（N）由手部身体技能扩展至更广泛的类型范围，随着社会经济文化的发展，实体具象类名词（N）在生活用品、专业领域新增了典型技能子类以及技艺表现所反映或指代的身体部位。

与构式动词（V）相对应的是，名词（N）也从具体的“技能载体”扩展至操控行为所关联的“抽象概念”，涉及社会属性、经济活动、文化符号、心理状态等方面，占比 34.5%。其中网络生态下的符号用语占比 26.2%，其抽象度显著增强；在特殊语境下，具备[+特定负面性]语义的动词（V）与语义韵相一致的贬义名词（N）搭配，引发正向高评价在特殊语境中的附带效应。各语义子类在不同语境下呈现“类型

交叠”现象，并非孤立划分。

根据构例与原型在核心特征上的差距，将扩展后名词（N）的语义网络分为三个层级：

表 3“V 的一手好 N”构式扩展后名词（N）的语义网络层级

层级	核心特征	典型用例	认知基础
核心层	具体技能载体	字、琴、画、拳、菜、针线	身体经验（动作可见对象）
中间层	抽象操控对象	节奏、流量、套路、关系、剧情	隐喻映射（跨域映射）
边缘层	道德评判符号	牌坊、马屁、节操、暧昧、心机	转喻激活（场景绑定）

“V 的一手好 N”构式中名词（N）的语义网络呈现“核心层-中间-边缘层”三级梯度扩展特征。核心层以“具体性+技能载体”为特征，如“字”“琴”“菜”，多为手部身体动作直接作用的实体名词；中间层通过隐喻映射突破实体范畴，形成“抽象性+操控对象”的半图式名词，如“节奏”“流量”“人设”，评价重心转向策略性操控能力；边缘层经转喻激活进一步抽象为“抽象性+道德评判”符号，如“牌坊”“马屁”“心机”，以行为结果或典型符号指代社会场景，隐含对行为正当性的评判。

（三）“VN”结构的词类突破与离合创新

1.构式压制下的离合化突破

在“V 的一手好 N”构式的强制作用下，传统语法中不可拆分的语言单位突破固有结构限制，通过插入“的（得）一手好”实现离合。这种离合化突破源于构式整体的“高技能评价”语义对成分的强制与塑造。

a1.PS→P 的一手好 S

a2.K 歌→K 的一手好歌

a3.DIY→D 的一手好 IY

b1.非主流→非的一手好主流

b2.伪清新→伪的一手好清新

b3.高难度→高的一手好难度

c1.微商→微的一手号商

c2.套路→套的一手好路

c3.网红→网的一手好红

a 类“PS”“K 歌”“DIY”等字母词通过离合操作与功能转化进入构式，如“PS”在构式中拆分为“P 的一手好 S”，字母词不仅突破其形态凝固性，更通过离合将静态工具名称转化为动态技能展示，赋予“图像编辑能力高超”的评价义；b 类“非主流”“伪清新”“高难度”等区别词在构式压制下转变为“非的一手好主

流”“伪的一手好清新”“高的一手好难度”，原属性描述词通过离合操作获得临时动词性功能，语义从静态分类转向动态评判；c 类“微商”“套路”“网红”等名词通过拆分、重组等离合手段，实现动词化的构式适应策略。

2.离合创新的结构语义转向

“VN”结构的离合操作不仅改变原有语言单位的语法结构，更触发语义层面的深度重构，使表达重心从单纯的行为陈述转向技能评价与情感态度。

“VN”结构的离合操作带来了语法结构的解固化，字母词、区别词以及双音节名词插入“的（得）一手好”后，转化为可扩展的“V 的+评价成分+N”结构，增强了成分组合的灵活性。

离合操作使原短语基础义与构式评价义融合，产生新语义维度。如“非主流→非的一手好主流”以调侃突出对偏离常规行为的戏谑，“伪清新→伪的一手好清新”强化对伪装技巧的讽刺性评价。同时，离合操作通过结构拆分突出“技能熟练度”评价内核，改变了原有成分的语义焦点，如“P 的一手好 S”“K 的一手好歌”,强调动作自身的技巧性。

三、“V 的一手好 N”的意义承继

尽管“V 的一手好 N”构式经历了从技能评价到程度表达的语义拓展，其核心语义却始终保持稳定性与承继性。这种“变”与“不变”的张力关系，正是构式意义承继规律的核心所在。

（一）主观化驱动的语义嬗变

“V 的一手好 N”构式在元明时期开始形成，明清开始大量使用。结构中的“得”由实义的“能力获得”逐渐虚化为结构助词，“一手”从具体量词发展为评价标记，积极的技能评价义整体浮现。随着结构的扩展，抽象的技能或行为也得到准入。

（17）头一件精明的是打得一手好麻雀牌。（《二十年目睹之怪现状》）

（18）龙珠姑娘弹的一手好琵琶，钱塘江里没有比得过他的。（《官场现形记》）

（19）养得一手好长指甲了，去时没有的。（《今古奇观》）

（20）也有些人说标哥 P 的一手好图。

（21）如果能做的一手好视频、截的一手好音乐。

（22）看看，阿里操的一手好盘。

“主观性”指话语中多多少少总是含有说话人“自我”的表现成分。也就是说，说话人在说出一段话的同时表明自己对这段话的立场、态度和感情，从而在话语中留下自我的印记。“主观化”则是指语言为表现这种主观性而采用相应的结构形式或经历相应的演变过程。在语义演变上，这一阶段的构式以“量化功能”为主导，凸显技能的“可计量性”。当人们描述“打得一手好麻雀牌”“P 的一手好图”时，原初的“一手”暗含对技能熟练程度的量化评估，即通过长期练习，技艺能力达到可被“一手”（一次操作、一个标

准）衡量的精湛水平。

在“技能评价”这一原型义的基础上，技能熟练掌握到一定的水准便可达到相应的程度。通过“技能”到“量级”的隐喻映射，使得构式逐渐超越单纯的技艺评价，衍生出“程度超常”的主观化语义：

（23）格力就是好，制得一手好冷啊！

（24）这届艾美真是爆得一手好冷门。

（25）了不起的盖茨比剧情真心赞，编剧补的一手好刀。

（26）又要等一周，动画拖得一手好剧情啊。

（27）官方开得一手好脑洞，打开了各种新 CP 的新世界大门。

（28）起床看见我爹的朋友圈，老爸你真是卖得一手好萌。

“制得一手好冷”“爆得一手好冷门”“补的一手好刀”“拖得一手好剧情”等各例承继原有技能掌握的基础上，在动词（V）隐含高频或持续动作、名词（N）具有潜在量级特征的实现条件下，发展出高量级的程度表达义，意在强调技能行为达到何种地步、产生何种影响。

（二）核心语义的滞留机制

1.“好”的不可让渡性

吴长安（2025）认为，对于一个足够复杂的结构体来说，作为构式，构式关键语义要素及其关系决定了构式义是否发生变异。在“V 的一手好 N”构式中，“好”作为核心语义要素，占据着关键且不可轻易替换的地位，如：

*写的一手坏字

*带的一手坏节奏

*耍的一手坏心机

*偷的一手坏钱

*骗的一手糟感情

对扩展前后的构式进行否定性测试，将“好”替换为“坏”，可以发现“写的一手坏字”“带的一手坏节奏”“耍的一手坏心机”在实际语言运用中接受度极低。这既违背了构式原本的正向评价逻辑，也不符合人们对该构式的语义期待，从而反向证明“好”对于构式传达正向评价意义的不可让渡性。

在“V 的一手好 N”构式框架下，即便是“偷”“骗”这类违背道德规范的行为，用否定性的“坏”去替换“好”，也无法使该表述符合构式所蕴含的正向评价倾向，难以被语言使用者接纳。

*写的一手普通字

*弹的一手寻常琴

*玩的一手普通流量

*吊的一手寻常胃口

再看中性替换测试，“*写的一手普通字”“*弹的一手寻常琴”“*玩的一手普通流量”“*吊的一手寻常胃口”的接受度同样偏低。在这一构式里，“普通”“寻常”无法像“好”那样传递出对手部身体技能或操纵行为的赞扬意味。“V 的一手好 N”构式从根源上携带着对主体所具备的与“V”相关技能或行为的积极评价，“好”是其核心载体，一旦被中性词替代，就破坏了该构式原本所携带的语义内涵，不符合构式的核心语义要求。

该构式的语义并非由动词或名词单独决定，而是“好”与整个构式结构共同作用形成的稳定系统。即使动词和名词的组合发生变化，只要改变“好”字，就会破坏构式的语义平衡，进一步验证了核心语义在构式中的滞留机制。因此，“好”在该构式中并非一个普通的修饰词，而是维持构式核心语义——正向评价的关键要素。

2.正向评价的语义惯性

随着结构的扩展，“V 的一手好 N”构式突破手部技能范畴，向数字技术、抽象能力等领域延伸，如“P 的一手好图”“带的一手好节奏”。但无论结构如何演变，“正向高评价”的核心语义始终保持恒定。即便纳入边缘层的负面语义动词，该构式依旧会保留正向评价的框架。如：

删的一手好帖

造的一手好孽

立的一手好人设

耍的一手好心机

“删帖”“造孽”“立人设”“耍心机”等例在现实语境中，可能带有特定的负面含义。但将其离合并嵌入“V 的一手好 N”构式后，构式整体基于“好”字的作用，进而隐含对相关技能或行为在技术方面的强调或认可，具有积极评价的预设。

这种现象源于构式在扩展中的核心语义坚守。当带有负面语义的动词进入，构式自身语义使得评价焦点从行为的道德属性转移到行为实施所体现的技术能力。因此，构式整体在保留褒义框架的基础上，既显示了行为本身的负面性，又强调了行为主体的技能水平，这正是构式正向评价的惯性所在。

（三）语义扩展的隐喻限度

隐喻以人的基本经验为基础。作为一种隐喻范畴，人体词隐喻化的基础也是人对自身感知的基本经验，之后人们又把对人体的认知结果投射到对其他物体、事物等概念的认知与理解上。在“V 的一手好 N”构式中，语义扩展与身体隐喻紧密相连，且存在一定限度。

从动作类型来看，与手部动作相关的用例最多，如“写的一手好字”“弹的一手好琴”在语言使用中接受度较高。这是因为手部与书写演奏动作直接关联，“写字”“弹琴”属于典型的手部技能，处于该构式语义范畴的原型核心区域，完全契合人们对这一构式的认知期待。

李贞亮（2018）就动作类型与手的关系，还将 V 分为“手与其他器官并用的动词”，如吹（笛子）、

开（车）、扭（秧歌）、爬（树），以及“抽象用手的动词”，如：拍（电影）、演（戏）、治（病）、做（生意）。可以看出，“V 的一手好 N”构式的语义范畴集中在手部或者与手有关的身体动作技能或抽象行为能力。

踢的一手好皮球（手部操作/隐喻推诿）

*踢的一手好足球（足部动作/具体技能）

*踢的一手好毽子（足部动作/具体技能）

当动作类型从手部延伸至足部，可以说“踢的一手好皮球”，“踢皮球”作为抽象层面的一种推诿手段，通过隐喻机制，将足部的“踢”与抽象的技能行为建立联系，转而强调技能背后的策略性。

但不能说“*踢的一手好足球”“*踢的一手好毽子”，原因在于“踢足球”“踢毽子”是与手部动作相冲突的体育运动，背离了构式语义扩展的动作框架。在该构式中，“一手好”更倾向于对手部身体技能或抽象行为的赞扬，这展现了身体隐喻在语义扩展过程中的限度。

四、构式力量的本质特征

（一）扩展性与约束性的动态平衡

经分析发现，“V 的一手好 N”构式在形式创新上显示出一定的自由度，突出表现在词类突破与离合两个方面。在词类突破领域，字母词与区别词与成功进入该格式，打破了传统词类限制，如“PS→P 的一手好 S”“非主流→非的一手好主流”的用法，极大丰富了构式的词类使用范畴；从短语离合角度看，如“拆台”这一常见短语，经构式改造为“拆的一手好台”，原本紧密结合的短语拆分后融入构式，赋予其新的语义与语用价值。

尽管该构式在形式上具备创新空间，但其语义承继有着严格的强制性。“好”作为评价内核，是构式意义的核心要素，不可随意替换或删除。同时，构式的正向评价框架不可逆转，即使动词本身带有负面语义，如“耍的一手好心机”，构式的正向评价逻辑仍然保留，侧重于对“耍心机”技术能力的强调，维持了构式语义的稳定与连贯。

（二）认知机制的协同作用

隐喻映射在“V 的一手好 N”构式演变呈现出层级性特点。从实体到虚拟的映射，从传统的“弹琴”这一实体乐器演奏行为，延伸至网络语境下的“玩流量”，将现实中的技能操作隐喻到虚拟的网络数据操控领域，体现了构式语义在不同语境下的拓展；从具体到抽象的转变，“写字”这一具体的手部书写动作，发展为“带节奏”这种在社交或舆论场景中引导氛围的抽象行为，通过隐喻使构式的语义范畴不断扩大，涵盖更多抽象概念与行为模式。

转喻机制在该构式中也有着鲜明体现，具有选择性特点。以结果代过程，“删帖”这一行为通过“删的一手好帖”，以最终删帖的结果来代指整个删帖操作过程，强调主体在删帖这一行为中的技能表现；

部分代整体方面，“拍马屁”中的“马屁”作为奉承行为的关键部分，在“拍的一手好马屁”中代指整个奉承行为，利用转喻激活使构式能够简洁而生动地表达复杂概念，丰富了语义内涵。

构式压制在“V 的一手好 N”中呈现双向作用。一方面，动词适应构式，当“非主流”这类原本不符合常规动宾搭配的词汇进入构式时，为符合构式要求，产生“非的一手好主流”这样的用法，动词“非”在构式力量下获得新的语义与语法功能；另一方面，构式限制动词，像“*病的一手好咳嗽”这样的表达不被接受，是因为“病”这一动词与构式所要求的技能、行为评价语义不匹配，构式对进入其中的动词有着严格的语义与语法限制，确保构式意义的准确传达。

（三）语言经济性体现

“V 的一手好 N”构式通过“一手好”这一简洁结构，高效实现技能评价的量化表达。例如“写的一手好字”，既表明了“写字”这一行为，又通过“一手好”对书写技能的程度进行了量化描述。同时，该构式能够在单句内完成“能力+评价”的双重表述，如“画的一手好画”，前一个“画”体现绘画能力，“一手好画”则是对绘画能力的评价，极大地提高了语言表达效率，符合语言经济性原则。

从语义角度看，该构式具有显著的信息增值效果。在原型义层面，如“弹的一手好琴”，主要是对弹奏乐器技能的肯定，传达出演奏者在弹琴技能上的高超水平；随着构式扩展，衍生出策略认可等意义，如“洗的一手好钱”，除了表面对洗钱操作“能力”的描述，背后还隐含着对这种非法、负面行为策略的一种道德评价，在有限的语言形式内承载了更丰富的信息，提升了语言表达的深度与广度。

五、结语

本文聚焦汉语“V 的一手好 N”构式的结构扩展机制与核心语义承继规律，揭示其“形式创新”与“语义坚守”的动态平衡特征。该结构通过动词范畴突破、名词语义层级延伸及词类离合创新，实现从技能评价到程度表达的语义扩张，同时以“正向高评价”为不可让渡的核心语义，展现构式力量的本质属性。

研究发现，构式的生成能力源于隐喻映射驱动的范畴扩展与构式压制促成的形式创新，而核心语义的刚性约束，即“正向评价”框架，则保证了构式的语义统一性。既能突破传统语法边界实现形式创新，又能通过核心语义承继维持结构稳定性，彰显了构式作为认知单位的双重力量。

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Enhancing Machine Translation Quality through Domain-Specific Training in KantanMT: A Study on Financial Domain Adaptation

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Abstract. This study examines how domain-specific training improves financial translation quality on KantanMT, a cloud-based machine translation platform. We conclude that fine-tuning the KantanMT translation engine with domain-specific parallel corpora—aligned texts in both languages can improve translation accuracy and fluency. This method trains the machine translation system to recognize and handle specialist language, producing more accurate and natural-sounding translations. We tested this hypothesis using publicly available financial corpora. After fine-tuning KantanMT's engines in financial domain with domain-specific data, this engine was evaluated with automated metrics, F-measure, BLEU, and TER. Initial results show that domain-specific training improves translation quality. On average, the BLEU score of domain-adapted engine is increased by 6% over baseline engine. The study also found issues like the lack of high-quality parallel corpora for specific topics and the computational cost of fine-tuning huge models. The findings give a paradigm for integrating domain knowledge into MT operations to improve domain-specific translations.

Keywords: machine translation, domain adaptation, KantanMT, terminology integration, translation quality

1 Introduction

Machine Translation (MT) systems are essential for overcoming language barriers and facilitating effective communication across diverse linguistic contexts. These systems frequently encounter considerable difficulties in handling domain-specific content, owing to the distinct linguistic and terminological features present in specialized texts. The globalization of financial markets has generated significant demand for high-quality English-Chinese machine translation of specialized financial documents. Despite notable progress in MT systems domain-specific financial content remains challenging due to its distinct linguistic features, such as specialized terminology, intricate numerical expressions, and formulaic regulatory language (Chen & Wong,

2023).

This research examines the effects of domain-specific training on KantanMT, a cloud-based machine translation platform, with the objective of improving translation quality in financial sectors. It conducts an examination of domain adaptation techniques within KantanMT' s Statistical Machine learning (SMT) engines, utilizing the FFN parallel corpus (Fu et al, 2024). Our findings suggest that fine-tuning the KantanMT translation engines with the domain-specific parallel corpora can lead to enhancements in translation accuracy and fluency.

2 Literature Review

The development of machine translation has been considerably impacted by the emergence of neural machine translation (NMT) models, which have markedly enhanced translation fluency and precision (Bahdanau et al., 2015). Nonetheless, these models frequently encounter difficulties with domain-specific content because of their dependence on general language patterns, as pointed out by Koehn and Knowles (2017). Domain adaptation has become an essential strategy for tackling this challenge, allowing machine translation systems to handle specialized content more effectively (Luong et al., 2015). Studies have shown that domain-specific training significantly improves machine translation performance by including pertinent terminology and linguistic structures, especially in disciplines like medical and law (Wang et al., 2017). KantanMT, a customisable platform, provides distinctive features for domain adaptation, enabling users to utilize comprehensive linguistic resources to enhance translation quality. Domain adaptation for financial machine translation has progressed through three generations of methodologies (Wang et al., 2022). Early rule-based systems (2000-2010) attained a terminology accuracy of 68-72% but lacked fluency. Statistical approaches (2010-2016) enhanced to 82% accuracy via phrase-table modification (Koehn, 2015). The neural revolution (2016-present) enhanced contextual comprehension but presented issues regarding terminological consistency (Yang & Li, 2023). Recent hybrid methodologies, such as KantanMT's architecture, strive to integrate the advantages of both paradigms. The FFN corpus (Fu, 2024) serves as an exemplary testbed, comprising 1.2 million expertly aligned financial phrases throughout the banking, securities, and insurance sectors. Our research complements the field by quantifying the benefits of SMT in financial domain adaption, while also aiming to develop novel hybrid methodologies.

3 Methodology

KantanMT offers SMT engines to address distinct translation requirements. These engines provide specialized solutions in the financial sector, where precision and consistency are of the utmost importance. The SMT

engine is effective for structured and repetitive financial texts due to its use of statistical models to predict word sequences. The quality of the translation can be improved by fine-tuning these engines. The FFN_corpus (https://github.com/shijing001/FFN_corpus), a detailed financial corpus for English-Chinese translation, was incorporated into the training materials to be uploaded into KantanMT SMT engine. In order to assess the effectiveness of the modified engines, a set of automated measures, which included F-measure, BLEU, and TER was utilized. The correctness, fluency, and consistency of the translation was evaluated by these metrics, which gave quantifiable measurements of the quality of the translation.

4 Results and Analysis

4.1 Performance Comparison

Table 1. Performance comparison between SMT and Adapted SMT

Metric	Baseline SMT	Adapted SMT
F-measure	67%	69%
BLEU	35%	41%
TER	39%	37%

4.2 Findings

The evaluation results of the baseline SMT and the adapted SMT models shown in Table 1. indicate a positive trend in translation quality following the adaptation process. The F-measure improved from 67% to 69%, suggesting a slight improvement in the overall translation effectiveness. Additionally, the BLEU score saw a notable increase from 35% to 41%, reflecting better accuracy and fluency in the translations produced by the adapted engine. Meanwhile, the TER metric showed a decrease from 39% to 37%, indicating a reduction in translation errors. This combination of improved F-measure and BLEU scores, along with a decreased TER, highlights the effectiveness of the adaptation process in enhancing the quality of the SMT output.

5 Discussion

The results underscore the critical role of domain-specific training in the optimization of machine translation systems such as KantanMT for specialized applications. Organizations can produce translations that are both accurate and natural-sounding by adapting the translation process to account for linguistic and terminological

subtleties.

The results demonstrate that the Adapted SMT engine outperforms the Baseline SMT across all evaluated metrics. The F-measure improved from 67% to 69%, indicating better harmonic mean precision and recall. Additionally, the BLEU score increased significantly from 35% to 41%, suggesting enhanced translation quality and closer alignment with reference texts. The TER decreased from 39% to 37%, reflecting fewer edits needed to match the reference, further confirming the Adapted SMT's superior performance. Overall, these improvements highlight the effectiveness of the adaptations made to the SMT system.

The computational cost associated with fine-tuning large models and the scarcity of high-quality parallel corpora for certain domains were identified as the major challenge, despite the promising results. As a result, aligned bilingual corpora are required to guarantee the feasibility and scalability of domain-adapted MT systems in light of these constraints.

6 Conclusion

This research demonstrates the significance of domain-specific training in improving the quality of machine translation systems, such as KantanMT, for specialized applications. The results provide insights to organizations that are interested in enhancing the accuracy and fluency of domain-specific translations and pursuing a structured framework for incorporating domain knowledge into MT workflows. By implementing domain-specific training strategies, organizations may overcome the obstacles associated with translating specialized content and produce translations that are of a higher quality and suitable for a wide range of audiences. Future research should concentrate on the development of inventive adaptation techniques and the expansion of domain-specific parallel corpora to further improve the performance of MT systems in a variety of disciplines.

This study offers both theoretical contributions and practical implementation guidelines, providing valuable insights for the implementation of domain-adapted MT systems in financial applications. A framework for the selection of optimal approaches based on specific use cases is established through the exhaustive comparison of SMT performance across multiple metrics. KantanMT's financial translation quality is substantially improved by domain-specific training. Dynamic adaptation techniques for real-time terminology updating could be the focus of future research.

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阅读理解时的眼电活动能否反映文本层级结构？——基于神经振荡的研究

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摘要：语言层级加工的神经机制研究长期聚焦于听觉模态，而视觉阅读中文本层级整合的神经振荡特性及其跨模态共性尚未明确。本研究通过快速系列视觉呈现（Rapid Serial Visual Presentation，RSVP）与跳动引导式（Jumping Leading Format，JLF）范式，结合脑电与行为分析，揭示汉语阅读中字、词、句层级加工的神经动态机制。实验招募 34 名汉语母语者，采用 3（层级：字，词，句）×2（范式）设计，同步记录行为与脑电数据，并进行频域和频率分析。行为结果显示，语言层级主效应显著：RSVP 中词语正确率（92.3%）高于句子（87.2%），JLF 中单字（92.6%）最优，表明呈现方式调节加工效率。脑电分析发现：1）句子层级在 RSVP 中诱发前额叶 0.75Hz delta 振荡，能量较其他条件增强，周期与四字句总呈现时长（1.33s）精准匹配；2）JLF 下句子加工触发枕叶 delta（0.75Hz）与前额 theta（3Hz）跨频耦合，相位同步性提升；3）单字层级颞顶区 theta（3Hz）能量在 JLF 中增强，提示预视优化字形解码；4）眼电节律显示 RSVP 中水平眼动锁定输入速率，JLF 诱发 theta 自发同步，证实眼动参与语言预测。研究表明，汉语阅读通过 delta-theta 多频振荡实现层级整合：delta 作为跨模态时间框架协调句法，theta 驱动局部词汇处理，呈现范式通过调制振荡空间分布影响效率。理论层面，首次验证视觉语言层级追踪的神经保守性，提出“时空双通路振荡模型”；应用层面，为阅读障碍神经调控及文本界面设计提供依据。

关键词：语言层级加工；神经振荡；快速系列视觉呈现；跳动引导式；感觉运动整合

1 研究背景

大脑是一个复杂的系统，即使是看似简单的行为，也会涉及到感觉运动的相互作用。例如，当人类或动物听到意想不到的噪声时，会触发一系列的感觉运动过程，像增强唤醒、注意声音、寻找声音方向并准备进一步的反应，逃离或者接近声源(Schroeder, Wilson, Radman, Scharfman, & Lakatos, 2010)。换句话说，一阵噪声不仅可以触发听觉处理，还可以触发一系列动作来主动获取进一步的多感觉信息并采取行动。在涉及到复杂行为时，感觉运动整合的重要性更加明显，例如人类可以精确地敲击出他们听到的节奏(Kotz, Ravignani, & Fitch, 2018)。当不涉及外显运动的情况下，感觉运动机制在言语和听觉感知中也发挥着至关重要的作用，比如有研究假设，运动皮层有助于解码口语中的语音信息(Galantucci, Fowler, & Turvey, 2006)。与这一假说相一致的神经生理学证据表明，神经活动不仅可以追踪听觉皮层的声学特征，还可以追踪与运动和注意网络重叠的广泛额叶、顶叶区域(Assaneo & Poeppel, 2018) (Keitel, Gross, & Kayser, 2018)。

那么语言作为人类重要且又复杂的交际工具和思想交流媒介，尽管在日常生活中，我们每天都会运用到语言，认为其是一项轻而易举的任务，但实际上我们习得语言的过程，要经历从听说到读写的漫长过渡(Kidd, Donnelly, & Christiansen, 2018)。在物理上，语言表达主要通过两种方式影响人的意识，一种

是通过空气中的振动构成的声音传播的言语，另一种是通过物理表面反射的光子进行的文本阅读。尽管这两种方式存在着初始的差异，但表达方式最终在理解者的头脑中产生了相似的心理状态(Veenendaal, Groen, & Verhoeven, 2014)。鉴于语音和书面语在物理本质上的巨大差异，二者的初始感觉加工必然也存在很大程度的差异(Zhang & McBride-Chang, 2010)。在阅读过程中，一个视觉单词首先要被分解成线条、交叉点等基本视觉单元，然后这些单元必须被构造成越来越复杂的视觉表征，例如字母，字形，最后是单词的正字法表征(Cohen, 2012)。同样，当听到一个口语词时，语言输入必须首先分析到基本的听觉单位，如不同的频带。然后，这些特征进一步组合成更复杂的成分，如音素、音节，以及最终的单词的语音表征(Hickok & Poeppel, 2007)。

听觉通道和视觉通道在进行单词理解过程中可能存在的重叠交叉的处理过程或神经网络(Halgren et al., 2006)。一项研究使用脑磁图测量了在两种模态下理解简单形容词名词短语所引起的神经活动，结果发现，这两种模态在加工过程中都依赖于位于左前颞叶和左角回的共享神经机制(Bemis & Pylkkänen, 2013)。也有一些研究比较了跨模态复杂语言的表达(Jobard, Vigneau, Mazoyer, & Tzourio-Mazoyer, 2007)，但语言中的基本组合机制在多大程度上是跨模态共享的还不得而知。也有研究认为，两种模态共同依赖更复杂的过程，如工作记忆和认知控制(Ho, Wong, Chow, Waye, & Bishop, 2017)。在心理语言学和神经语言学领域中，当前关于感觉运动皮层对不同层级结构的皮层追踪大多数实验都是在听觉模态下进行的，而对于视觉模态下加工不同层级结构汉语文本材料的神经机制尚不清楚。

因此本研究通过使用与丁鼐等听觉研究相同的语言材料(Jin, Zou, Zhou, & Ding, 2018)，改变信息输入的通道，探索在视觉模态下，不同语言层级结构加工过程中的皮层追踪情况，通过操作不同的视觉呈现方式，模拟听觉加工的序列输入场景与自然阅读场景，同步记录在加工字词句材料时行为和脑电的神经活动，分析不同呈现方式下加工字词句的眼电和神经活动，并将两种呈现方式进行对比，进一步探索文本阅读的方式和特点。

2 方法

2.1 被试

招募34名母语为汉语的在校大学生（男性12名，女性22名）。所有参与者均为右利手，视力或矫正视力正常。本实验程序经过杭州师范大学伦理委员会批准，在实验前获得每位参与者的书面知情同意，并在实验结束后，每位参与者均可取得相应的实验报酬

2.2 实验材料

实验材料是由一系列独立的字组成的视觉刺激。分为实验材料和判断材料，每个试次由若干个实验材料和一个判断材料组成，实验材料的个数可能是2、3、4、5、6或7，不同数量的实验材料是为了减少被试在实验过程中的预期。实验材料包括句子层次结构、词语层次结构和单字层次结构：句子结构材料，源于已有研究构建的50个四字句子(Jin et al., 2018)，其中前两个字构成名词短语，后两个字构成动词短语，例如：鸭子游泳；词语结构材料，由句子结构材料中的名词短语和动词短语随机排列，并且连续词语间只保留了字和词层面的含义，前后不能构成有意义的句子，例如鸭子鲸鱼；单字结构材料，由句子

材料中随机选择的字按随机序列排列呈现，且连续单字间不能构成词语或句子含义，仅保留了字的层次结构，例如：子鱼风赛。见表2-1。

表2-1 实验材料举例

不同层次结构材料	举例
句子条件	鸭子游泳
词语条件	鸭子鲸鱼
单字条件	子鱼风赛

判断材料则由实验材料中的句子层次结构材料和单字层次结构材料构成，各占百分之五十。实验过程中实验材料和判断材料在呈现上没有明显差异，判断材料仅出现在每个试次的最后，被试需要对判断材料进行是否为正常句子的判断，整个实验过程中，对于判断材料的判断正确率可以作为被试是否认真完成实验的参考指标。

2.3 实验流程

被试需要完成两个实验程序，分别为为快速系列视觉呈现范式和跳动引导式。快速系列视觉呈现范式在实验开始后，屏幕中央会出现1.5秒的红色注视点，随后在屏幕同一位置连续出现单个字，这些字以图片的形式出现，每张图片呈现时间为1/3秒，这些字由实验材料和判断材料组成。在判断材料呈现结束后，屏幕会出现一个判断界面，要求被试在5秒内做出正误判断，即最后看到的连续出现的四个字是否为正常句子，如果是正常句子（例如，鸭子游泳）则按左键（←），如果不是正常句子（例如：子鱼风赛）则按右键（→），如果被试五秒钟内没有做出判断，则系统自动进入休息界面。实验开始前会有练习部分，当确认被试能够正确理解任务，并正确做出反应后，开始正式实验，不同的语言层级结构材料呈现以及单个试次之间被试都有时间进行休息，以确保被试以好的状态进行实验。具体的实验流程图见图2-1。

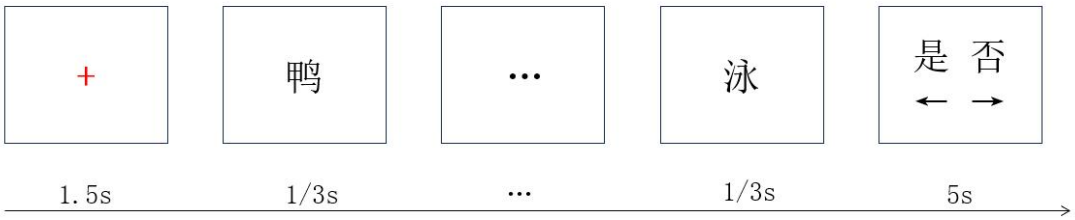


图2-1 快速系列视觉呈现程序流程图

跳动引导式阅读，实验开始后，屏幕中央会出现1.5秒的红色注视点，随后在屏幕上会居中出现5个字符，每当左侧消失一个字符后，文本整体向左移动，且右侧出现一个新的字符，通过调节注视点邻近字符的呈现效果来模拟自然阅读情境。在由4字构成的实验句子中，由于文字距离注视点越远清晰度越低，对字符设置梯度透明度：中央位置采用黑色实体显示，相邻两字设置为50%透明度，首尾字符则降至20%透明度。这五个字符进行不同透明度的设置是个体受到视敏度与注意资源的限制，阅读时能够注视并提取的有效信息范围有限，主要体现在对中央凹的信息进行提取和加工以及提取出副中央凹视觉区

的信息进行加工，这种利用副中央凹信息提前加工的过程是预视，因此设置字体透明度的差异是符合日常成熟阅读者的阅读习惯的。

实验材料和判断材料呈现完毕后，屏幕会出现一个判断界面，要求参与者在5s之内做出正误判断，即最后看到的连续出现的四个字是否构成有意义的句子，如果构成有意义的句子则按左键（←），如果不能组成有意义句子，而是随机单字则按右键（→），当参与者在5秒内没有做出判断，则系统自动进入休息界面。具体程序流程图见图2-2。



图2-2 跳动引导式程序流程图

实验过程中，环境需要保持安静、关闭室内灯光，并拉上窗帘保证室内光线一致，只保留实验电脑与脑电采集设备运行。被试需要调整到自己感觉到舒适的坐姿，视线距离屏幕70cm处，并告知被试在实验过程中尽量不要头动、身体动以及吞咽口水等行为，实验过程中全程同步记录行为和脑电数据。

实验程序通过 psychopy3 (https://www.psychopy.org/) 编写。显示器为CRT彩色显示器（显示屏大小为: 40cm*30cm），分辨率为1024*768，屏幕刷新率为60Hz。通过 TextImages 软件将文字转换为图片。背景为灰色，字体为黑色宋体，生成对应的图片材料。在 psychopy3 呈现程序的过程中，单个字的图片大小为200*200。

2.4 脑电记录及数据预处理

使用 32 导的 Ag/AgC1 电极（Brain Products Inc）收集脑电，包括水平眼电和垂直眼电，水平眼电位于被试右眼右侧约1.5cm处，垂直眼电位于被试左眼正下方约1.5cm处。电极点根据国际 10-20 系统分布，正式实验开始前，每个电极的头皮电阻都降低至5kΩ以下。

仅对包含7个实验材料（共呈现28/3秒）的试次进行脑电数据分析，每种条件下各有25个试次。使用Matlab-EEGlab (https://sccn.ucsd.edu/eeglab/index.php) 进行脑电数据的预处理，分别进行0.5Hz高通滤波和30Hz低通滤波，降采样率为300Hz，并对数据进行滑窗分段，分析对象为7个实验材料，重新标记marker点，123为一段（4s），345为一段，567为一段，重新分段后每个条件下则包含75组数据。分段后进行-1000ms基线矫正，选取双侧乳突为重参考。频域分析使用Matlab代码进行快速傅里叶变换、平均等，以及进行统计分析和画图；频率分析使用letswave6进行平均、滤波、快速傅里叶变换(power)等。为了避免开始的偏移效应，并将重点放在阅读过程中的神经活动上，仅分析了每个试验的 1-10 秒的神经活动(此时间窗口内，被试在阅读实验材料)，之后对每个被试的所有序列进行叠加平均。

3 结果

3.1 行为结果

实验剔除了四名被试的数据，其中两名是因为程序调整，一名是因为脑电帽故障，还有一名是因为屏幕刷新率不同。被试做出按键判断反应的正确率作为其在实验过程中是否认真完成实验的指标，排除试次中正确率低于75%的试次，以便进行进一步脑电数据分析。

表3-1 不同层次结构材料条件下的判断正确率（M±SD）

实验程序	单字条件	词语条件	句子条件
快速系列视觉呈现	0.895±0.050	0.923±0.063	0.872±0.055
跳动引导式	0.926±0.045	0.902±0.076	0.869±0.066

快速系列视觉呈现时，对三个不同层次结构材料条件下的正确率进行方差分析，结果表示：不同条件下的正确率存在显著差异F（2，68）=6.72，p<0.001。Bonferroni 多重比较校正后发现：词语条件的正确率显著高于句子条件, t = 3.059, p= 0.027。其他条件的结果差异不显著。

跳动引导式时，对三个不同层次结构材料条件下的正确率进行方差分析，结果表示：不同条件下的正确率存在显著差异F（2，64）=6.54，p<0.001。Bonferroni 多重比较校正后发现：单字条件的正确率显著高于句子条件, t = 3.18559, p= 0.018。其他条件的结果差异不显著。

对文本呈现方式和不同层次结构材料对正确率的影响进行方差分析。结果发现，不同层次结构材料下的主效应显著,F(2,135) = 11.917, p < 0.001。Bonferroni 多重比较校正后发现，词语条件的正确率显著高于句子条件, t = 3.462, p = 0.006;单字条件的正确率显著高于句子条件, t = 3.289，p = 0.011，其他效应不显著。

3.2 脑电结果

3.3.1 频域分析

对快速系列视觉呈现范式下句子、词语和单字条件进行快速傅里叶转换，对Cz、Oz、HEOG、VEOG、F7、F8、P7、P8的能量进行分析，得到如下频谱图及地形图，见图3-1，图3-2，图3-3。句子条件下，在0.75Hz情况下，VEOG、HEOG、Fz、Cz有较强能量；词语条件下0.75Hz时VEOG有较强能量；单字条件下在3Hz下VEOG、HEOG电极有较强能量。Delta（0.75Hz-4Hz）和theta（4-8Hz）能量集中在眼部，alpha（8-12Hz）能量集中在枕叶。

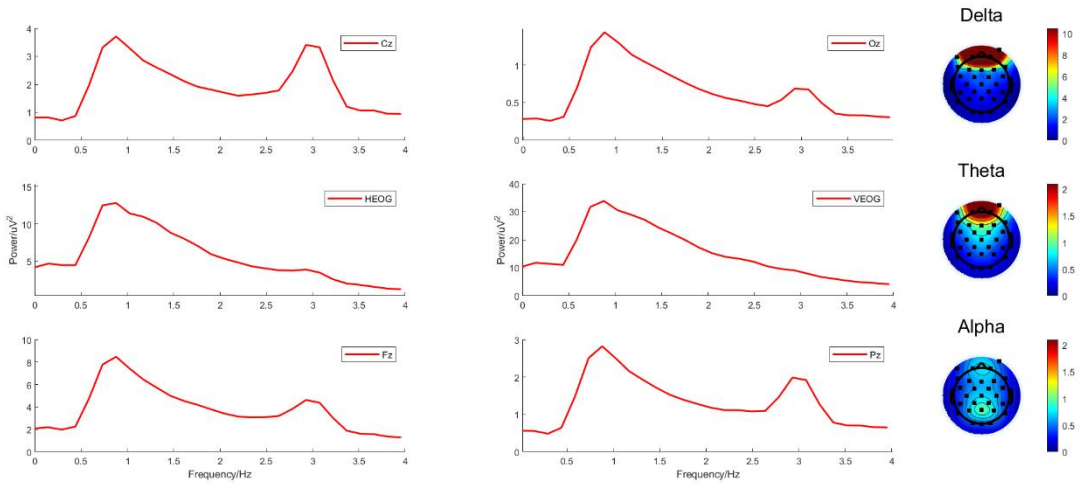


图3-1 句子条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

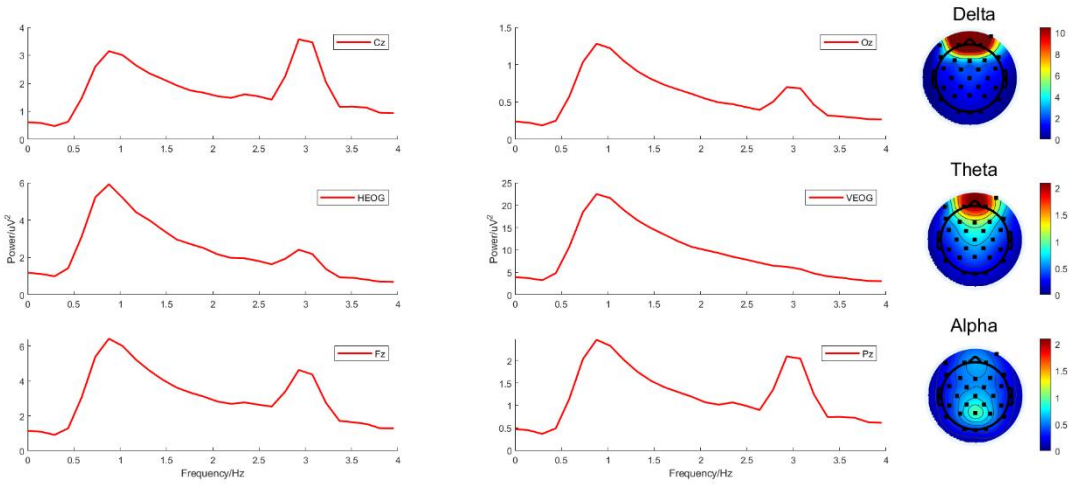


图3-2 词汇条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

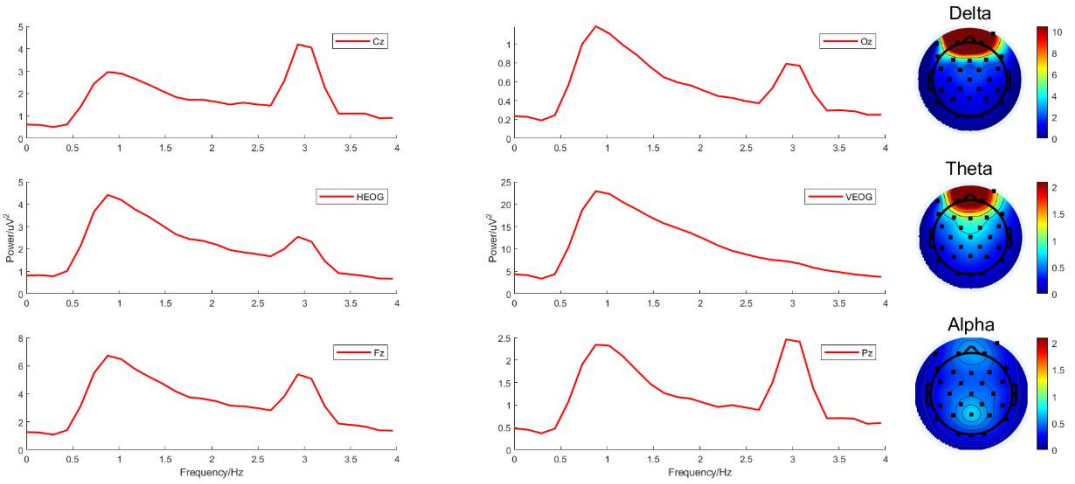


图3-3 单字条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

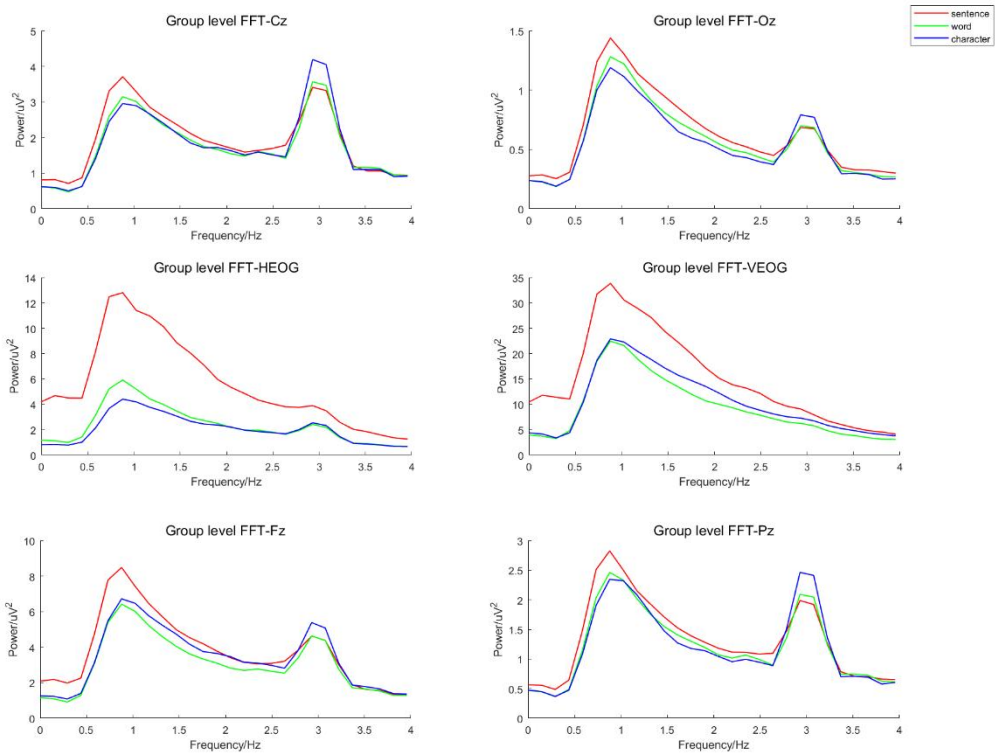


图3-4 不同实验材料条件下频谱图对比

对三种不同材料的能量进行方差分析结果显示，见图3-4：

0.75Hz时，HEOG、VEOG主效应显著$F(2,68) = 2.68$,$p = 0.035$,$\eta^2p = 0.086$，且句子条件能量显著强于词语条件和单字条件$t= 2.77$, $p = 0.031$; $t = 2.83$, $p= 0.05$。

3Hz时，Cz、Pz主效应显著$F(2,68) = 2.73$,$p = 0.030$,η^2p =0.089，单字条件能量显著强于句子条件和词语条件$t = 2.68$, $p = 0.035$; $t = 2.78$, $p= 0.043$。

对跳动引导式下句子、词语和单字条件进行快速傅里叶转换，对Cz、Oz、HEOG、VEOG、F7、F8、P7、P8的功率进行分析，得到如下频谱图及地形图，见图3-5，图3-6，图3-7。句子条件下，在0.75Hz情况下，VEOG、HEOG、Fz有较强能量；词语条件下0.75hz在VEOG有较强能量；单字条件下在3Hz下HEOG、VEOG电极有较强能量。delta和theta能量集中在眼部，alpha能量集中在枕叶。

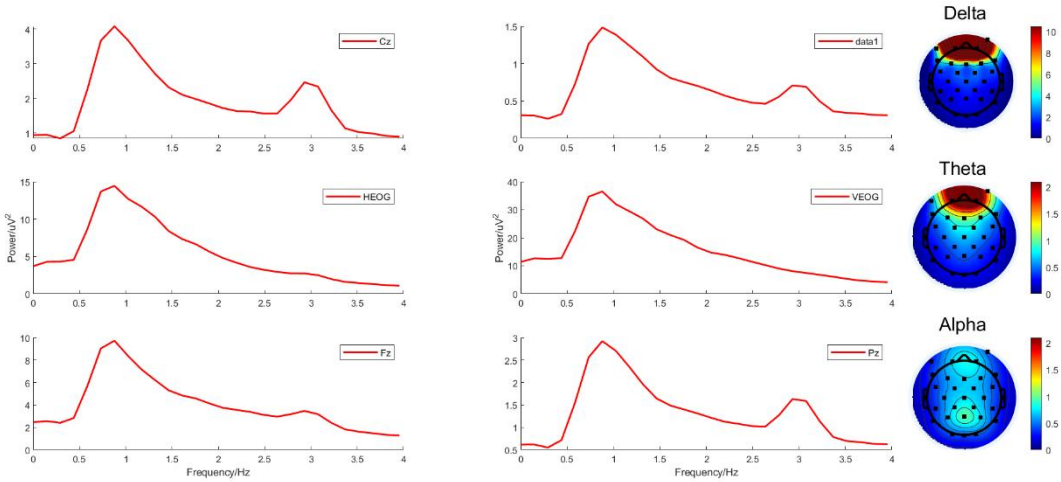


图3-5 句子条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

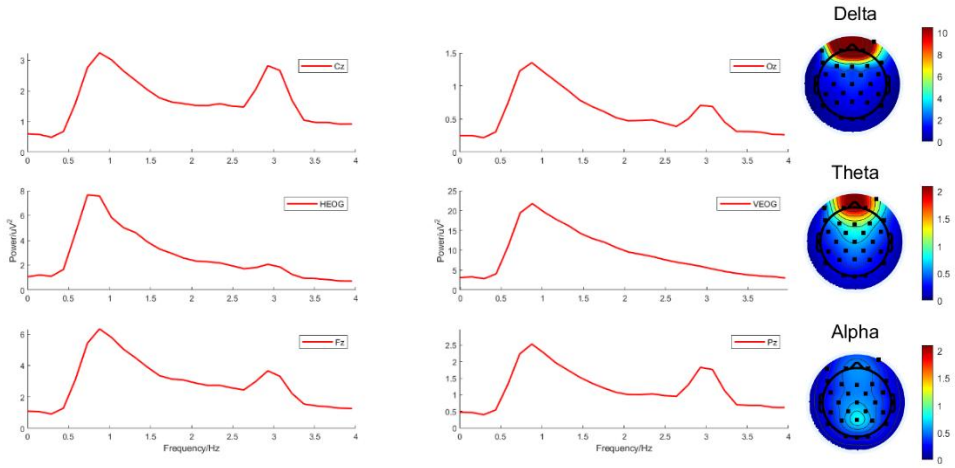


图3-6 词汇条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

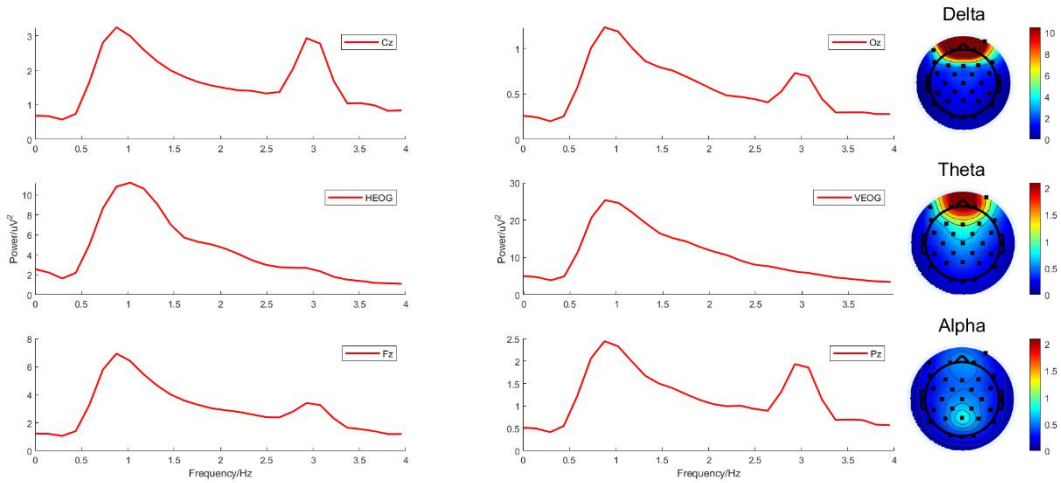


图3-7 单字条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

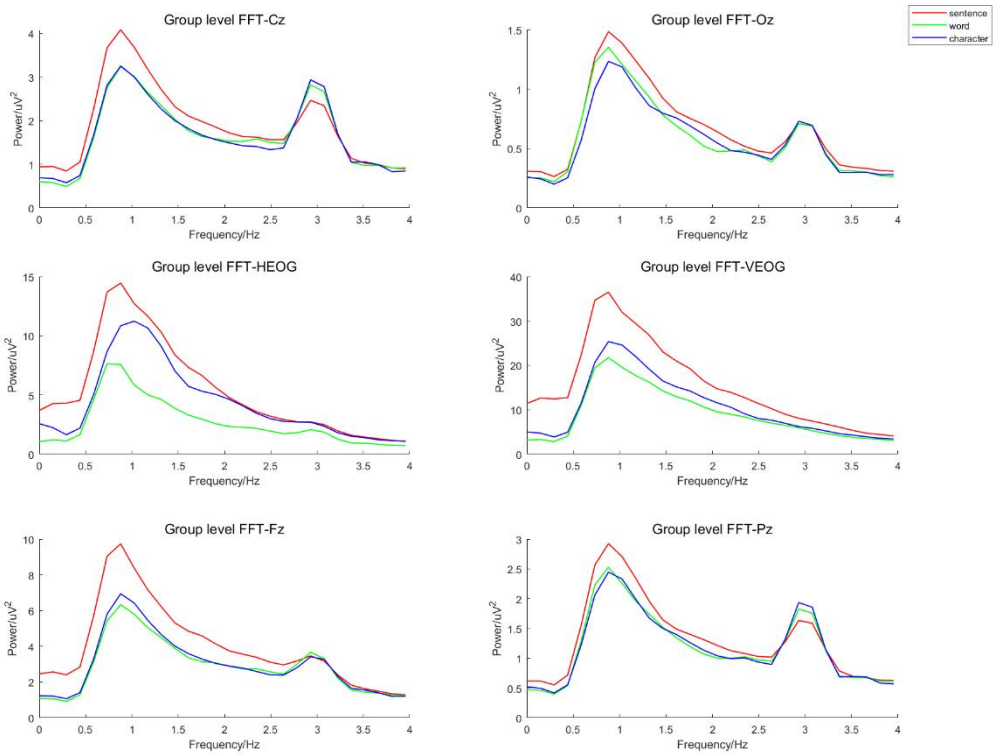


图3-8 不同实验材料条件下频谱图对比

对三种不同材料的能量进行方差分析结果显示，见图3-8：

0.75Hz时，HEOG、VEOG、Fz的不同材料的主效应显著$F(2,189) = 2.96$, $p = 0.024$, $\eta^2p = 0.100$。Bonferroni 多重比较校正后发现：句子条件强于单字条件的频谱能量,$t = 3.015$, $p = 0.032$; $t = 2.985$, $p = 0.041$; $t = 2.878$, $p = 0.047$，其他结果差异不显著。

1.5Hz时，HEOG 的不同语序的主效应显著 $F(2,189) = 4.33$,$p = 0.030$,$\eta^2p = 0.141$。Bonferroni 多重比较校正后发现：单字条件和句子条件强于词语条件的频谱能量，$t = 3.649$, $p = 0.012$; $t= 2.945$, $p = 0.031$。

3Hz时，所有条件之间差异均不显著。

3.3.2 频率分析

对快速系列视觉呈现范式下三种条件不同电极点进行频率分析比较，得到结果如图3-9。

结果显示，在频率为0.75Hz和1.5Hz时，词语条件的振幅在Cz、Oz、VEOG、Fz、Pz点强于单字和句子条件；频率为3Hz时，三个条件下的振幅差异不显著。

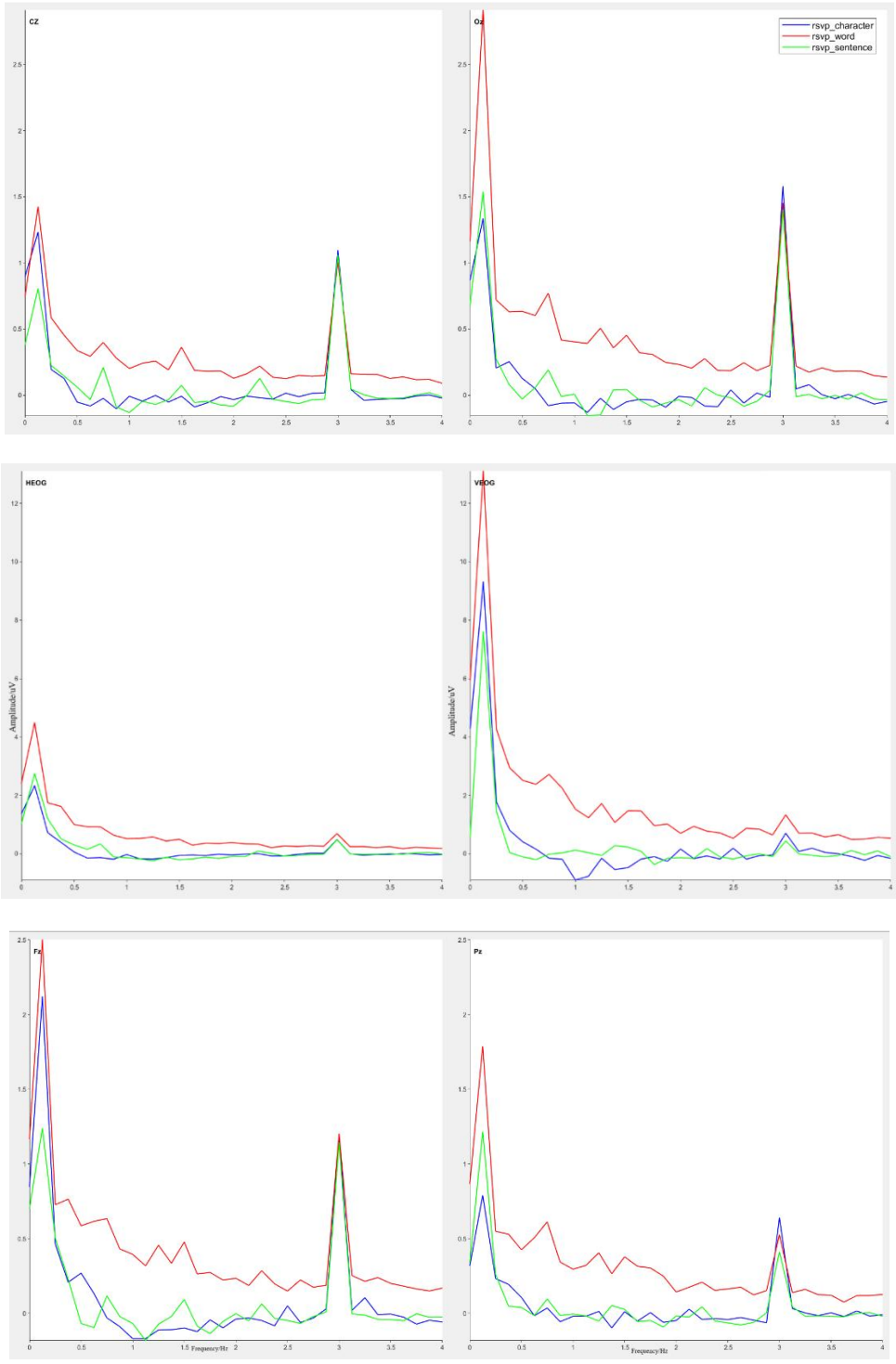


图3-9 三种材料条件频率图

对跳动引导式下三种条件不同电极点进行频率分析比较，得到结果如图3-10。

结果显示，在频率为0.75Hz时，句子条件的振幅在Oz、Fz、Pz点强于单字和词语条件；频率为1.5Hz时，词语条件的振幅在HEOG强于单字和句子条件，句子条件的振幅在VEOG强于单字和词语条件；频率为3Hz时，三个条件下的振幅差异不显著。

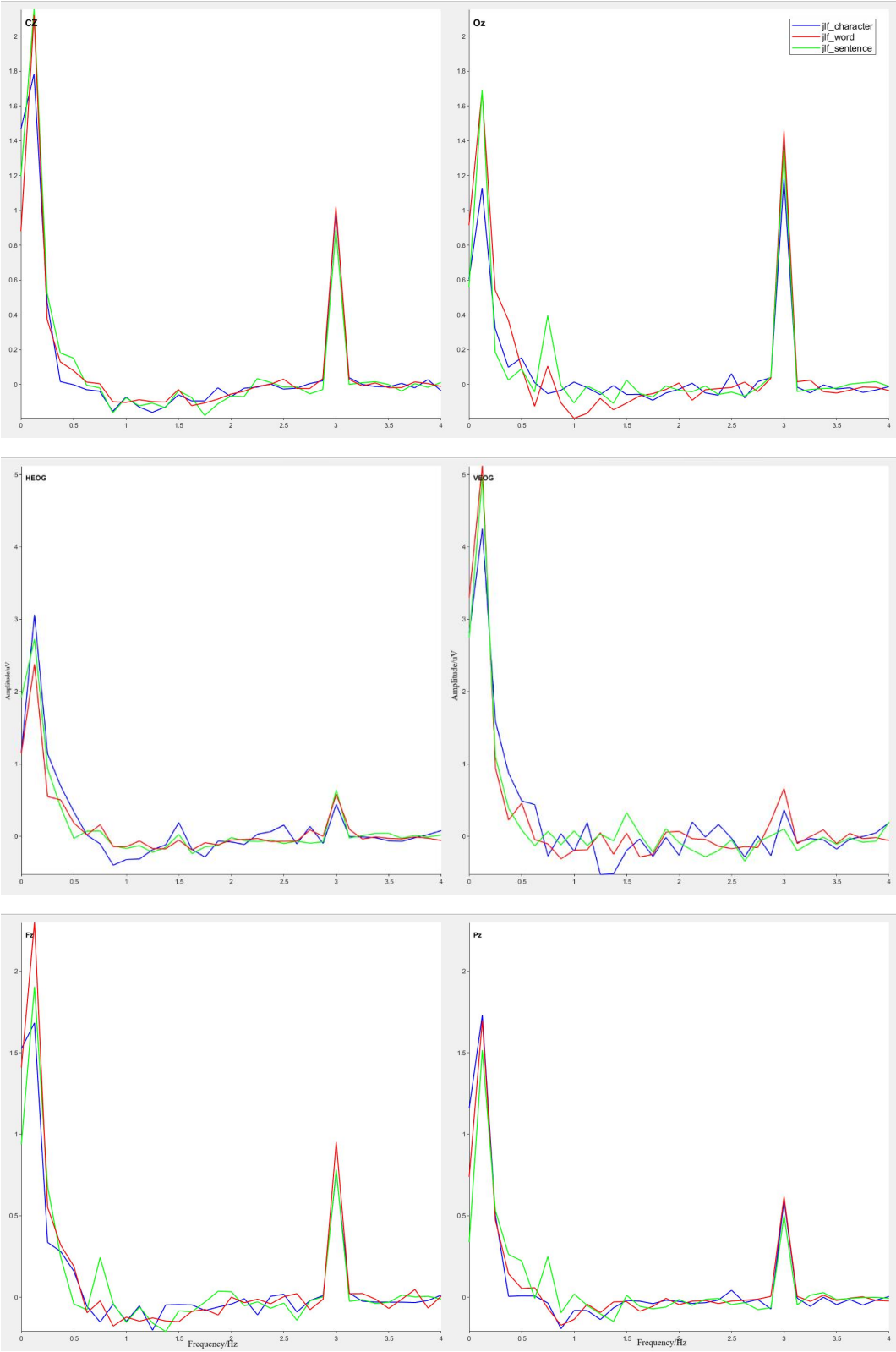


图3-10 句子条件下频率图

3.3.3 两程序的比较

对三种实验材料呈现下的两种呈现方式进行t检验，关注CZ、OZ、HEOG、VEOG、Fz、Pz等电极点，下面只对存在显著差异的结果进行报告。

在句子条件下，Cz、Fz点在3Hz有显著差异，t = 2.383, p = 0.0196; t = 2.564, p = 0.132；在词语条件下，Fz点在3Hz有显著差异，t = 2.050, p = 0.0451；在单字条件下，Cz、Fz在3Hz有显著差异，t = 2.405, p = 0.0194; t =3.764, p = 0.0004; HEOG在0.75Hz有显著差异，t = 2.102; p = 0.0400。

根据地形图：在句子条件下，快速系列视觉呈现范式的能量主要集中在顶叶，跳动引导式的能量则集中在前额叶；在词语条件下，快速系列视觉呈现范式集中在顶叶和枕叶；在单子条件下，快速系列视觉呈现能量集中在顶叶和颞叶，且有左偏侧化趋势。

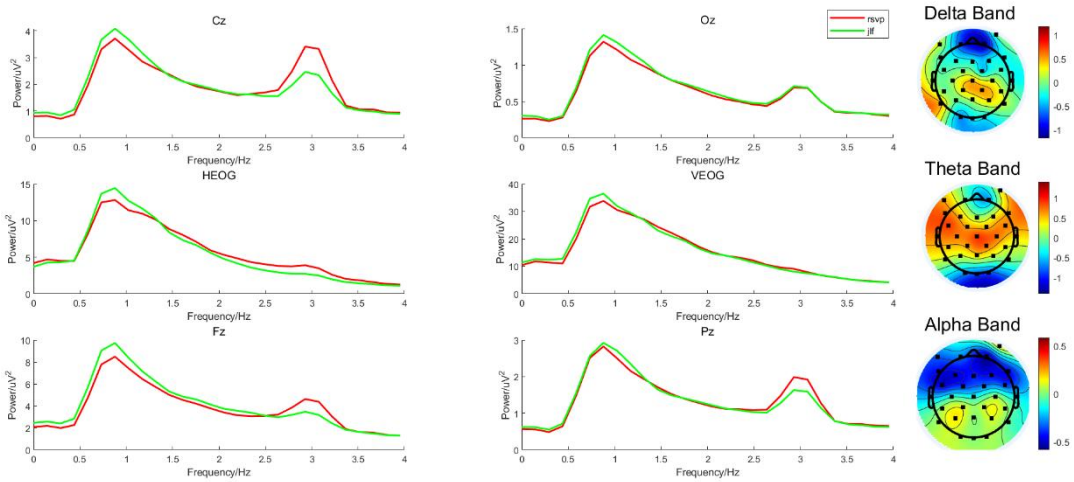


图3-11 句子条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形

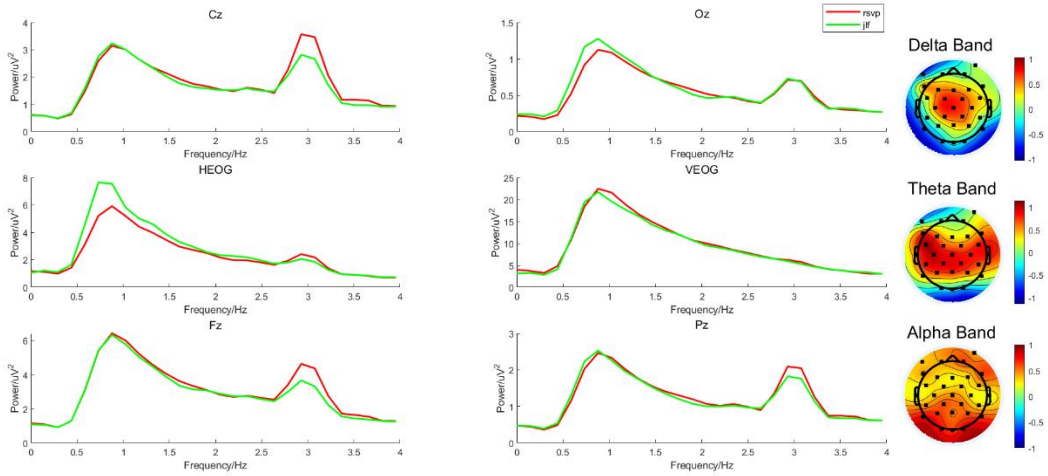


图 3-12 词汇条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

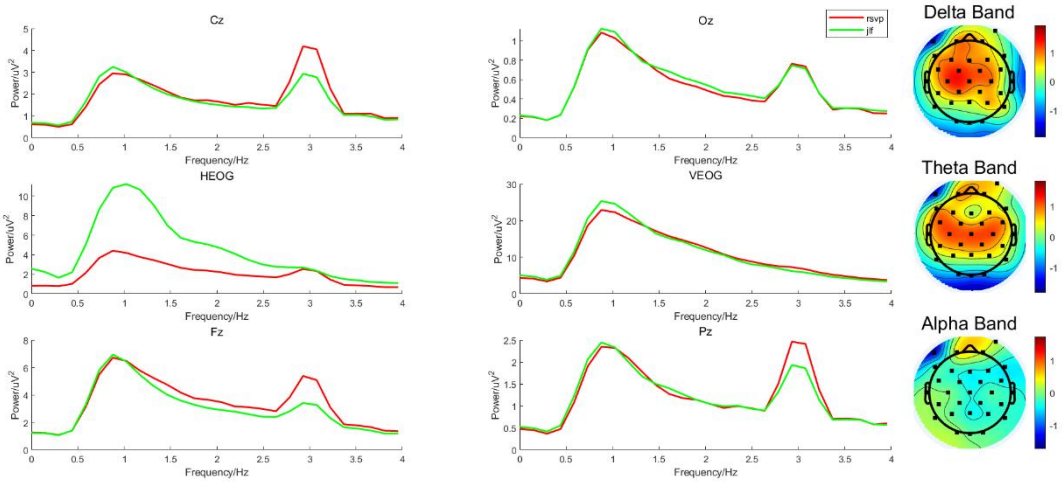


图3-13 单字条件下不同电极点频谱图及地形图

4 讨论

在快速系列视觉呈现范式下，语言层级加工的神经机制呈现显著的频段特异性分化。句子层级的加工诱发了前额叶区域0.75 Hz的delta振荡，其周期性特征与四字句总呈现时长精确匹配，表明低频神经活动可能作为跨模态的时间整合框架，协调长时程的句法结构构建(Lyu, Chishti, & Peng, 2022)。这一发现与听觉语言中delta振荡追踪语法边界的机制存在跨模态一致性，但其空间分布更偏向前额区域，提示视觉阅读依赖前额叶的执行控制功能对时序信息进行主动编码(Biau, Schultz, Gunter, & Kotz, 2022)。相比之下，单字层级的加工主要依赖颞顶区的3 Hz活动，其频率与输入速率同步，可能通过相位锁定机制实现视觉特征的快速绑定与词典检索，优化字形解码效率(Sinha et al., 2024)。词语层级的加工效率优势（行为正确率最高）可能源于其平衡了局部语义整合与认知负荷需求，表现为delta-theta交界频段的过渡性振荡特征，既未完全依赖低频整合框架，也无需高频特征精度的额外消耗(Slaats, Weissbart, Schoffelen, Meyer, & Martin, 2023)。

水平眼电活动（HEOG）的0.75 Hz同步性进一步揭示了眼动系统在时间编码中的辅助作用。尽管快速系列视觉呈现消除了自然阅读的眼跳行为，但水平眼动的节律性位移仍与文字输入速率锁定，类似“节拍器”机制标记时间窗口，通过上丘-前额叶通路协调注意脉冲分配。这种外源性驱动模式表明，在序列输入条件下，眼动系统被动适配外部节奏，而非主动生成预测性信号。

跳动引导式范式下，语言层级加工的神经特征呈现空间-时间网络的动态耦合。句子层级的加工引发枕叶0.75Hz振荡与前额3 Hz的跨频耦合，表明视觉空间布局的层级表征（如透明度梯度构建的“心理文本行”）通过低频振荡编码，而前额theta可能驱动语义预测与跨注视点的信息整合。这种“空间-语义”双通路机制与自然阅读中副中央凹预视的认知功能一致，提示文本跳转引发的注意重分布需要多频段振荡的协同支持(Parker, Kirkby, & Slattery, 2017; Rauschecker, 2018; Ueno & Ralph, 2013)。单字层级的加工优势（行为正确率最高）伴随颞顶区theta能量的显著增强，其频率特征与实验一相同，但振荡强度更高，可能源于预视机制通过空间线索加速字形解码，表现为“探照灯效应”——中央凹注视通过透明度梯度提前激活邻

近字符的轮廓特征，优化视觉工作记忆的负载分配(Cui, Drieghe, Bai, Yan, & Liversedge, 2014; Degno et al., 2019)。

垂直眼电活动（VEOG）的3 Hz同步性揭示了眼动系统在空间预测中的主动角色。跳动引导式通过模拟自然阅读的文本跳转，诱发垂直微跳的theta节律性调整，可能通过小脑-顶叶通路调节中央凹注视稳定性，减少视网膜图像漂移对字形识别的干扰。这种内源性眼动节律与theta振荡的相位同步，表明视觉-运动环路在预视加工中通过时空预测优化层级构建效率。

不同文本呈现范式通过改变时空信息输入特性，显著调节了语言层级加工的神经动力学特征。快速系列视觉呈现（RSVP）强制序列化输入构建了时间编码框架，前额叶delta振荡（0.75 Hz）的周期性活动严格锁定文字输入速率，形成自上而下的句法整合窗口。这种时间驱动模式虽优化了词语层级的组块化加工（如双字词局部语义整合），却因缺乏空间预视线索导致高级句法结构的运算受限——前额叶的时序同步难以动态调整以应对跨词依赖关系的意外中断，最终引发句子层级的整合效率下降。跳动引导式（JLF）通过模拟自然阅读的空间梯度预视机制，激活了枕-额叶通路的多频段耦合。枕叶delta振荡（0.75 Hz）编码文本行的空间分布特征，与前额theta（3 Hz）活动的跨频交互形成动态预测环路：中央凹注视通过透明度梯度提取字形核心特征的同时，副中央凹模糊线索预激活邻近词汇的语义轮廓，实现“空间锚定-语义预测”的协同加工(Pan, Yan, & Laubrock, 2020; Parker et al., 2017; Vasilev, Yates, Prueitt, & Slattery, 2021; White, Warren, & Reichle, 2011)。然而，这种分布式处理模式需要精确协调时间窗口与空间注意分配，导致句子层级的跨注视点整合面临认知控制资源的竞争，表现为行为效率的次优状态。

眼动系统的适应性重组进一步揭示了感知运动环路的功能特异性。RSVP范式下水平眼动（HEOG）表明外源性输入节奏通过基底节-丘脑通路强制调制眼动节律，使其退化为被动的时间标记器；而JLF中垂直眼动（VEOG）的theta自发同步，则映射了小脑-顶叶通路通过微跳调整优化中央凹注视稳定性的主动调控机制(Vasilev et al., 2021)。这种“外源驱动-内源生成”的节律分化，证实了眼动系统在语言层级加工中具有双重角色：既可作为时间编码的物理载体，也可通过空间预测参与认知重构。

两种范式的对比突显了语言层级加工的神经可塑性本质——大脑通过动态选择主导振荡频段（delta时间框架 vs. theta空间预测）来适配输入模态的约束条件。时间编码范式通过前额叶的刚性同步保障序列加工的可靠性，却牺牲了高阶整合的灵活性；空间预测模式依赖枕-额网络的弹性耦合提升局部特征提取效率，但受限于跨模态协调的代谢成本。这种时空资源的动态博弈，为理解自然阅读中“序列解码-并行预测”的平衡机制提供了神经振荡层面的证据。

本研究通过行为与脑电证据揭示了汉语阅读中语言层级加工的神经振荡动态机制。研究表明，（1）句子层级的句法整合依赖前额-中央区delta振荡（0.75 Hz）的时间编码框架，其频率周期与输入时序严格匹配；（2）单字层级的字形识别则由颞顶区3Hz振荡驱动，通过同步化视觉特征绑定与词典检索提升效率；（3）两种视觉呈现范式（RSVP与JLF）的对比进一步揭示了层级加工的神经可塑性：RSVP通过强化时序整合优化词语层级的串行加工，而JLF则通过空间预视机制增强单字的theta节律预测性激活。

理论层面，研究首次在视觉语言中证实delta振荡的句法构建功能，并揭示了眼动节律（HEOG、VEOG）通过运动-感觉环路主动调节语言加工的时空动态，为感觉运动理论提供了实证支持。应用上，研究为

阅读障碍的神经调控（如靶向delta/theta频段刺激）和电子文本界面设计（如动态预视布局）提供了依据。未来需结合自由眼动追踪与多模态成像技术，拓展至复杂句法与跨语言比较，以全面解析层级加工的神经机制及其适应性边界。

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Balancing Cultural Specificity and Global Resonance: The Multimodal Narrative Synergy Mechanisms in the Beijing Central Axis World Heritage Nomination

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Abstract. With the accelerating process of globalization, the international dissemination of cultural heritage has become a critical means of enhancing national cultural soft power. As a spatial symbol of the continuity of Chinese civilization, the Beijing Central Axis demonstrates through its World Heritage application how multimodal narratives convey the enduring vitality of Chinese culture to the world. However, existing research has yet to establish a systematic theoretical framework for analyzing its multimodal cross-cultural communication mechanisms. This study adopts a multimodal discourse analysis perspective, utilizing news reports published on the English version of Xinhuanet (2024-2025) about the Beijing Central Axis World Heritage nomination as primary data. It aims to explore the collaborative design strategies of multimodal signs including linguistic, visual, and auditory semiotic resources. The research develops through two aspects: Firstly, a multimodal corpus is constructed to conduct word frequency count via Nvivo software, systematically comparing discrepancies in cultural metaphors. Secondly, three dimensions are used to interpret how multimodal resources shape international cultural identity—ideational function in constructing historical-cultural continuity, interpersonal function in mobilizing emotional engagement, and textual function in the "historical-contemporary" and "China-global" narrative framework. By integrating quantitative with qualitative interpretation, the study adopts a mixed-methods approach to ensure both empirical rigor and contextual depth. The findings reveal that the multimodal synergy mechanism achieves effective balance between cultural specificity and universal values through cultural metaphor transformation in textual discourses, emotional connection fostered by visual signs combining both authority and approachability, and framework integration through immersive audiovisual language. The triadic mechanism contributes to enhancing Chinese cultural soft power and resonating with international audiences culturally, offering a valuable analytical framework for building a more effective international cultural communication system. However, due to limitations in corpus size and research methods, future studies are encouraged to incorporate larger and diversified corpus and audience feedback to further validate the communication effectiveness.

Keywords: Beijing Central Axis World Heritage Nomination; Multimodal Discourse Analysis; Systemic Functional Linguistics; Cultural Soft Power; International Communication

1 Introduction

The international dissemination of cultural heritage has emerged as a pivotal strategy for enhancing national cultural soft power amid accelerating globalization (Li & Zhang, 2024). Tangible cultural heritage, as defined by UNESCO (1972), encompasses physical artifacts and monumental ensembles that embody historical, artistic, and sociopolitical significance, serving as a mirror of civilizational continuity and a bridge for cross-cultural dialogue. While existing scholarship has extensively explored the transmission of intangible cultural heritage (ICH), such as traditional performing arts and crafts (Chen & Sun, 2024), tangible heritage remains underexamined in academic discourse. As the spatial and symbolic heart of Chinese civilization, the Beijing Central Axis epitomizes millennia of urban planning ingenuity, layered historical-political narratives, and the cultural identity of the capital of China (Fan & Wei, 2025). Despite its profound significance, research on its international communication mechanisms remains scarce, leaving a critical gap in understanding how such heritage negotiates cultural specificity and universal resonance in global contexts.

Methodologically, prior studies on heritage dissemination have predominantly relied on linear communication frameworks, emphasizing sender-receiver dynamics but neglecting the role of multimodal semiotic synergies. Furthermore, while Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) have been proven instrumental in decoding meaning-making across diverse disciplines—from political discourse to ecolinguistics (Yang, 2024; Feng, 2023)—their application to World Heritage Nomination discourses remains limited. Few studies have systematically addressed how linguistic, visual, and auditory modalities collectively legitimize heritage claims, bridge interpretative divides, and foster transnational cultural identity. This oversight underscores an urgent need to integrate SFL's meta-functional framework with MDA to unravel the strategic interplay of multimodal resources in heritage narratives.

To address these gaps, this study conducts investigation on the Beijing Central Axis World Heritage nomination as a paradigmatic case, employing a mixed-methods approach that combines corpus analysis with MDA. Focusing on news reports from the English edition of Xinhuanet (2024-2025), the research constructs a multimodal corpus to examine how textual, visual, and auditory semiotics synergistically articulate cultural specificity and global resonance. Guided by SFL's tripartite meta-functions——ideational, interpersonal, and textual—this study will answer the following questions:

1) What kind of multimodal synergy strategy does the international communication of the Central Axis in the World Heritage Nomination reflect?
2) How to achieve more effective international dissemination of cultural heritage through multimodal collaborative strategies?

2 Literature Review

2.1 International Dissemination of Tangible Cultural Heritage

UNESCO (1972) defines cultural heritage as encompassing artifacts, monuments, architectural ensembles, and museums that hold symbolic, historical, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological, scientific, or social significance. This includes both tangible cultural heritage—physical artifacts or tangible products of human creativity that are invested with cultural significance—and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) (UNESCO, 1972).

Cultural heritage serves as a mirror of a nation's exceptional culture and plays a critical role in fostering international communication, necessitating both preservation and global dissemination. Cultural Heritage International Communication thus refers to the process of transmitting cultural heritage across linguistic and cultural boundaries to foster global understanding and enhance soft power, while preserving diversity. It is of great importance to disseminate the universal human significance, contemporary relevance, and global communicative value of outstanding traditional culture to every corner of the world through diverse channels (Li & Zhang, 2024).

Existing research has extensively explored the value and strategies of heritage dissemination, particularly focusing on ICH such as local operas (Li & Zhang, 2024) and traditional paper-cutting in Xu Zhou (Chen & Sun, 2024). However, tangible heritage— especially monumental architectural ensembles like the Beijing Central Axis— was overlooked in academic discourse. The Beijing Central Axis epitomizes the grand creativity and urban planning ingenuity of Chinese civilization. It embodies layered historical-political symbolism and represents the cultural heartland of China and the dignified image of a global capital (Fan & Wei, 2025). Despite its significance, studies on its international communication mechanisms are scarce.

Methodologically, prior research has predominantly analyzed communication processes through frameworks like 5W model (Chen & Sun, 2024), emphasizing sender-receiver dynamics, yet seldom incorporating discourse analysis approaches. To address this gap, the present study introduces a small-scale multimodal corpus, providing insights for enhancing the global of tangible heritage through interdisciplinary narratives.

2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), established by M.A.K. Halliday, is a sociolinguistic framework that integrates systemic grammar, functional grammar, and contextual-semantic perspectives to analyze language as a meaning-making resource (Chen, 2023). Among the functional grammar of languages, SFL is structured around three meta-functions: Ideational Metafunction, Interpersonal Metafunction, and Textual Metafunction (Halliday, 2003). The Ideational Function enables the conceptualization of experiences through linguistic representation, operationalized via transitivity systems (including participants, processes and circumstances), polarity, and voice. Interpersonal Function Facilitates social interaction through mood, modality and key, positioning language as a tool for maintaining human relations and exchanging ideologies. Textual Metafunction organizes discourse coherence through theme-rheme structures, information flow, and cohesive devices (including reference, ellipsis, and conjunction), ensuring textual coherence and consistency. From both the perspective of international academic trends and the intrinsic attributes, SFL undoubtedly remains a pivotal linguistic theory in the 21st century for its capability of engaging with all meaning-making activities, whether through written text, sound, images, or other semiotic modes (Yang, 2024).

Subsequent research has extended these metafunctions to multimodal discourse analysis (MDA). For instance, Kress and van Leeuwen's (2020) visual grammar framework adapts SFL principles to analyze images, categorizing visual meaning into three dimensions: representation, interaction, and composition in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Similarly, van Leeuwen's sound grammar explores auditory semiotics, though theoretical refinements remain ongoing. These extensions underscore SFL's adaptability to non-linguistic modalities, with related analytical frameworks continuing to increase to address concrete practical issues (Yang, 2024).

In terms of empirical studies on MDA, a particular emphasis has been placed on psycholinguistics and education field (Yan, 1998; Yang, 2025). For example, MDA has been correlated with the cultivation of

harmonious relationship between doctor and patient (Liang, 2024) and the establishment of a trans-disciplinary multimodal language teaching model (Zhang, 2024). However, few studies fall within the academic field of Communication and Journalism. Notable exceptions include Wang et al.(2021) 's analysis of rumor management during public health emergencies and Wei (2022)'s investigation of ecologized China's images shaped by Chinese and foreign media. Therefore, the study of Beijing Central Axis World Heritage Application could fill this gap, exemplifying how SFL's meta-functions can decode the strategic synergy to negotiate universal value assertions, transcultural communicative efficacy, and heritage narrative coherence.

2.3 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

Rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) examines how linguistic, visual, and auditory resources dynamically interact through the three meta-functions to construct sociocultural meanings. This framework has been extensively applied across diverse disciplines. Scholars employ MDA to analyze narratives in films (Li & Sun, 2024) and websites (Zhao, 2025) in culture field, and consolidate national image building (Feng, 2023) and constructing cultural diplomacy (Sun, 2025) in the politic field. For example, Yan and Xu (2024) demonstrate MDA's efficacy in analyzing food documentary film, highlighting how visual close-ups, auditory elements, and linguistic metaphors realize the effect of multimodal synergy to promote television dissemination of the traditional Chinese food culture. Similarly, Niu (2025) leverages MDA to examine strategies in animated film, carrying positive significance in promoting cross-cultural understanding and communication.

Despite the multiple applications in political and cultural fields, critical gaps persist in applying MDA to World Heritage nomination discourses, particularly in neglecting how multimodal synergies collectively legitimize cultural heritage claims and bridge cross-cultural interpretative divides. This study adopts a mixed-methods approach, integrating corpus analysis with MDA to analyze the Beijing Central Axis's World Heritage Application, advancing a replicable framework for enhancing cultural soft power.

3 Methods

3.1 Data Collection

Data were collected from the English version of Xinhuanet (https://english.news.cn/home.htm). As one of the official media platforms under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, Xihuanet serves as a vital channel to present Chinese culture to the global audience and comprehensively showcase China's proactive image as a nation with profound cultural roots. Through its rigorous reporting and strategic narrative construction, Xinhua's English edition solidifies its role as a trusted voice in international discourse (Zhao and Zhang, 2025), enhancing China's soft power on the global stage. The significant influence of this website justifies its selection as the data source for this study.

A total of 22 English news reports were selected from Xinhuanet. The search keywords were defined as "Beijing Central Axis," "inscribe," "UNESCO," and "application" to identify articles relevant to the inscription

process of Beijing Central Axis, covering the period from the successful application announcement on July 27, 2024 to February 2025. The selected reports comprised 4 text-based articles, 11 image-text reports, and 6 videos. The reports were processed in two stages. First, all the videos were transcribed using CapCut, a video editing tool with transcribing function, yielding approximately 724 words. Then, combined with the text articles (11578 words), the raw corpus was established with a total amount of 12302 words. However, a notable degree of redundancy was observed across the reports, particularly the critical data and factual information. After manually deleting redundant contents, a small-scale corpus was established comprising 3228 words.

3.2 Data Analysis

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was adopted as the primary framework of this study. According to Halliday (2003), language operates through three metafunctions: Conceptual metafunction, Interpersonal metafunction, and Textual matafunction. Ideational function reflects how language represents experiences and logical relations; interpersonal function examines social interactions, including mood and modality; and textual function focuses on discourse coherence through theme-rheme structures and cohesive devices (Chen, 2023).

To address multimodal data including images and videos, the framework was extended using Visual Grammar, which adapts SFL's meta-functions to visual analysis: Representational meaning features analyzing how images depict narratives; interactive meaning features exploring viewer-image relations via gaze, distance, and perspective; and composition meaning features examining layout, salience, and framing to interpret visual coherence (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020). For auditory elements in videos, sound can enhance contextual connections through perspective and social distance, melody, and sound quality according to auditory grammar.

Data were coded with the help of NVivo 15, a qualitative data analysis software. All textual and visual data were imported into NVivo for systematic coding where textual transcripts were designated into meta-discourse subcategories, while images and audio components were manually tagged based on visual and auditory grammar principles.

Quantitative analysis includes word frequency to compare the discrepancies in cultural metaphors. Qualitative analysis focused on how linguistic, visual and audio discourses collectively contributed to the construction of national pride and global cooperation through multimodal synergy mechanism.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Word Frequency Analysis

To investigate the textual strategies in Xinhua News's coverage of the Beijing Central Axis heritage nomination, we conducted a corpus-based word frequency analysis on all encoded textual units. The word frequencies are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Word frequency of textual discourses from Xinhuanet.

Word	Occurrence	Frequency (%)
axis	104	4.78
central	86	3.95
Beijing	84	3.86
heritage	51	2.34
world	40	1.84
along	33	1.52
cultural	30	1.38
tourists	30	1.38
shows	28	1.29
list	27	1.24

The finding reveals the emphasis on core cultural identity, strategic alignment with the world, and promotion of Chinese culture and tourism. “Axis” (4.78%) and “Central” (3.95%) function as spatial metaphors, positioning the Beijing Central Axis as both a physical and symbolic backbone of Chinese civilization. The repetition reinforces its role as a physical embodiment of Chinese ideal order. The high frequency of “Beijing” (3.86%) and “World” (1.84%) signals a focus on UNESCO’s universal value criteria, positioning the Axis as a shared heritage of humanity. This metaphor strategically delocalizes the Axis’s culturally specific meanings into a globally resonant perspective. “Tourists” (1.38%) indicates a strong attractiveness to the people domestically and internationally while “Culture” (1.38%) positions the Axis as a portal for international audiences to enter Chinese history and culture, correlating with narratives about economic and cultural benefits. The word frequency chart reveals partial implementation of cultural metaphorical features, though deeper multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is required to fully assess their effectiveness.

4.2 Metafunctions Analysis

4.2.1 Ideational Metafunction

The predominance of the Ideational Metafunction (82.8%) aligns with Halliday’s (2003) emphasis on language as a tool for constructing experiential meaning. By prioritizing factual descriptions through multi-modalities resources, the discourse establishes a cognitive foundation for cross-cultural audiences. For example, “*There is a line exhibiting the beauty of Beijing. It represents China's ideal capital order, and has been spanning without interruptions for centuries. The Beijing Central Axis is 7.8 kilometers long, starting from the Yongding Gate in the south of the city and ending with the Drum Tower and Bell Tower in the north. Gates, palaces, temples, squares and gardens of the old city are all linked up to the axis.*” (Xinhuanet, 2024) The text constructs the Beijing Central Axis as both a geographically anchored heritage site and a trans-cultural symbol of ordered civilization. By balancing precise data (e.g. 7.8 kilometers) with cultural metaphors (e.g. ideal capital order), the text offered information about the Axis’s physical and historical reality.

Multimodal reinforcement further consolidates this representational meanings. Visual modalities, such as archival maps (Figure 1) and 3D reconstructions (Figure 2), provide empirical evidence of its scale and composition, mitigating potential misinterpretations. Auditory modalities, including documentary-style

voiceovers delivered in measured, authoritative tones, enhance objectivity and authenticity. Collectively, led by text discourses with the help of visual and auditory discourses, multimodal resources collaborate to construct historical-cultural continuity.



Fig. 1. The video screenshot shows an archival map of Beijing Central Axis.



Fig. 2. The video screenshot shows a 3D reconstruction of Beijing Central Axis.

4.2.2 Interaction Metafunction

The Interpersonal Metafunction (21.1%) strategically constructs social relations and fosters emotional engagement by synthesizing linguistic, visual, and auditory modalities. Through an authority-approachability dynamic framework, the discourse cultivates trust and inclusivity, particularly among foreign audiences. Linguistically, this function is realized through three key systems proposed by Halliday (2003): mood, modality, and appraisal.

Mood System

The "mood system" employs declarative sentences to connect authenticity and personal connection. For instance, *"So I am happy to live here. I see all the changes and still like to live here."* (Xinhuanet, 2024) A foreign resident utilizes first-person narration to narrow the gap between institutional authority and individual experience. Similarly, the vivid story of a shoemaker from a century-old shoe shop on the axis reinforces cultural continuity and social identity.

Modality System

The "modality system" projects possibility and desire to engage audiences. Phrases employ modal verbs to evoke curiosity, particularly resonating with foreign tourists. For example, *"Wondering Shichahai, you will be lured by local food culture artifacts."* (Xinhuanet, 2024) This is further exemplified in narratives of a foreign

visitor who "*fell immediately in love with the hutong*," positioning the axis as a cross-cultural bond.

Appraisal System

The "appraisal system" amplifies affective engagement through evaluative language, such as adjectives (e.g. *"beautiful scenery"*) and adverbs (e.g. "*really fun*"), which encode positive assessments.

What's more, vibrant imagery and close social distance (Figures 3–6) featuring tourists' active interactions, fostering familiarity and inclusiveness. People enjoyed their time visiting Qianmen Street along the Central Axis or jogging in front of the Shenwu Gate. Each image conveys a welcoming warmth and a harmonious atmosphere.

The findings underscore the efficacy of multimodal strategies in legitimizing cultural heritage within global narratives. By combining authoritative discourse with vivid human stories through the cooperation of texts and pictures, the Beijing Central Axis is positioned not merely as a spatial entity but as a living embodiment of Chinese civilization. Practically, this approach offers a replicable framework for the image building of heritage sites seeking to balance authority and approachability.





Fig.3. Tourists visit the Qianmen Street along the Central Axis in Beijing.
Fig.4. Joggers run past the Shenwu Gate of the Forbidden City in Beijing.





Fig.5. The video screenshot shows a smiling face of a foreign citizen in China.
Fig.6. A woman watches an exhibition showcasing the Beijing Central Axis.

4.2.3 Textual Metafunction

While the textual metafunction constitutes a quantitatively minor proportion (1.9%) of the analyzed discourse, its qualitative significance in constructing the dual narrative frameworks of "China-global" and "historical-contemporary" remains pivotal. This function is predominantly realized through the strategic interplay of multimodal resources, with visual composition serving as the primary driver, complemented by linguistic elements and auditory grammar to reinforce narrative coherence and cultural resonance.

A significant 24.6% of visual discourses employ central axis symmetry (e.g. Figure 7)—a compositional

technique mirroring the Beijing Central Axis itself—to encode spatial and cultural authority. This symmetrical framing not only echoes traditional Chinese architectural aesthetics but also legitimizes the axis's status as a symbol of cultural continuity.

Images frequently position foreign visitors at the visual center (e.g., Figure 3), connecting China context with global perspective. This technique visually underscores cross-cultural engagement, symbolizing openness to the world. Furthermore, the ancient architecture and modern skyscrapers (e.g. Figure 8) add radiance and beauty to each other, forming the "historical-contemporary" framework where past and present coexist.

Auditory grammar including music and narration voices bridges gaps through complementary roles, creating an immersive soundscape that parallels visual-textual narratives. The seamless integration of immersive audiovisual language, including traditional Chinese instrumentation and bilingual narration, ensures textual cohesion across modalities. For instance, music featuring hybrid East-West arrangements (e.g., pipa—traditional Chinese instrument—cooperate with violins from the West) further reinforces the "China-global" framework.

Though quantitative analysis, the textual metafunction's qualitative impact lies in its ability to weave China's historical grandeur and global openness into a cohesive, immersive narrative. By strategically deploying auditory-visual synergy, the discourse transforms the Beijing Central Axis into a transcultural symbol.

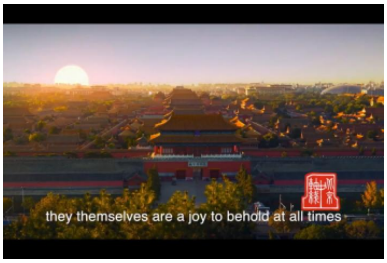




Fig.5. The video screenshot shows an overlooking view of the Forbidden City.
Fig.6. A bullet train runs past Yongdingmen Gate in Beijing.

In summary, by balancing cultural authority, affective resonance, and narrative cohesion, multimodal synergy transforms the Beijing Central Axis into a transcultural heritage, bridging local identity and global relevance. This triadic dissemination mechanism offers replicable strategies for global communication of cultural heritage.

5 Conclusion

Based on detailed MDA of 22 English reports from Xinhuanet, the present study investigated the use of textual, visual, and auditory resources about the application of Beijing Central Axis into the World Heritage List. The findings demonstrate how multimodal synergy constructs the global communication of the Axis through three metafunctions as both a symbol of Chinese civilization and a transcultural heritage of universal value. Ideational Metafunction dominated the discourse, emphasizing factual precision and historical continuity

through fact-stating texts and pictures as well as voice of objectivity. Interpersonal Metafunction balanced authority and approachability, utilizing declarative narratives from local residents and vibrant visual language to foster emotional resonance. Textual metafunctions achieved narrative coherence via visual symmetry and music fusion, weaving a dual "China-global" and "historical-contemporary" framework.

Theoretically, this research extends SFL and MDA frameworks to heritage communication, illustrating how multimodal resources negotiate cultural specificity and universal relevance. By integrating quantitative metrics with qualitative discourse analysis, the study advances methodologies for analyzing transcultural narratives. Practically, the multimodal synergy on different metafunctions offer an actionable strategies for cultural heritage disseminators to build a more effective international cultural communication system. Applying this mechanism contributes to enhancing national cultural soft power.

Despite its merits, this study has limitations which may suggest directions for future studies. First, the corpus was restricted to Xinhuanet's English reports, which was limited in scale and may prioritize institutional narratives over grassroots perspectives. An intriguing avenue for future research would be to capture public discourse and form a more diverse corpus. Comparative studies across media platforms could also further test the replicability of the proposed framework. In addition, another limitation of the study is its exclusive focus on the disseminator's side. Audience reception studies are needed to assess how global publics interpret these multimodal strategies, making it better serving the goal of global communication in an increasingly interconnected world.

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An Empirical Study of Modality Effect in L2 Embodied Semantic Processing

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Abstract: Based on the embodied cognition framework, this paper conducts an empirical investigation into the audiovisual modality effect in the semantic processing of L2 embodied verbs by Chinese EFL learners. The embodied semantic processing of L2 verbs involves the concept of relative embodiment, which is used to represent the richness of embodied semantic information contained in vocabulary. The audiovisual modality effect emphasizes that the dual-modal condition of both auditory and visual inputs facilitates information processing more than either audio or visual single-modal condition. Previous research on embodied semantic processing has primarily focused on the visual modal, in which participants only need to respond to the visual stimuli presented on the screen, while few studies incorporating other non-visual modals (such as the audio modal) into experimental design. Therefore, the innovation of this study lies in extending the embodied semantic processing of vocabulary to the audio modal and exploring whether facilitative or interfering effects between audio and visual modals also exist in the processing of embodied semantics of L2 verbs.

The experiment selected 35 upper-intermediate English learners as formal participants. The experimental materials consisted of 80 verbs with different embodiment levels, all selected from Sidhu et al.'s list of embodiment level. This research used E-prime 3.0 software to design the experiment and collect participants' data, followed by statistical analysis of the experimental data using SPSS 26.0 software.

The results show that: 1) The embodiment level of L2 verbs affects semantic processing with the higher-level embodied verbs resulting in higher processing efficiency; 2) The modal stimulus consistency affects the semantic processing of L2 embodied verbs. When modal stimuli are consistent, the processing efficiency is higher; 3) The interference of visual modal to audio modal is greater than that of audio modal to visual modal, and visual modal is the dominant modal in L2 embodied semantic processing.

Keywords: embodied cognition; relative embodiment; modality effect

1. Introduction

In recent years, embodied cognition has attracted widespread attention in the academic community, not only becoming a focal topic in the field of psychology and cognitive science, but also providing new ideas and directions for linguistic research. Embodied cognition is different from traditional cognition. The tradition view of language, namely disembodied cognition, holds that the essence of cognition is the brain's calculation of abstract linguistic symbols according to grammatical rules and that cognition is functionally independent of the body and environment. While the embodied view of language holds that cognition originates in the body, and that our body structure, movement, senses and nerves shape our cognition, i.e., language is based on motor experience and perceptual system, rather than abstract representations that are separate from the body and the environment[1]. For example, when we read or hear the word *apple*, in addition to thinking of its literal meaning, its written and phonetic forms simultaneously activate all the early experiences associated with it in our minds, including its shape, color, smell, texture, and even the crisp sound when we bite it, all the information that in embodied language and its comprehension is considered part of semantics[2].

As research progressed, some scholars proposed the concept of relative embodiment on the basis of embodied cognition theory to explore the effect of embodied relativity on language processing[3]. Relative embodiment, also known as body sense[4], is used to indicate the degree of lexical association with the body, and the more lexical information involving body sense, the higher its embodiment level[2]. However, most of the current linguistic researches on relative embodiment focus mainly on the visual modal (e.g., Pexman et al.[5]; Sidhu et al.[3]; Yap et al.[67]; Lin et al.[2]; Tao & Yu[8]), and other non-visual modals are seldom considered in the design of experiments. Therefore, this paper extends the study of relative embodiment to audio modal, aiming to investigate the different performances of L2 embodied semantic processing under different modal conditions, and to provide new ideas for embodied cognition theory.

2. Brief Literature Review and Research Questions

A brief description is given in terms of relative embodiment and modality effect.

First, a brief review of the research on relative embodiment is presented. Early studies related to the effect of relative embodiment on lexical semantic processing focused mainly on nouns (e.g., Pexman et al.[5]; Yap et al.[6-7]), which found that the higher the semantic richness of a noun, the faster its processing speed. Later, Sidhu et al.[3] shifted the study to verb perspective to examine whether semantic richness had the same effect on verb processing. The study firstly asked subjects to rate 687 target verbs in terms of embodiment, which were divided into seven levels according to their degree of association with the body (the verb scoring more than 3.5

was named high embodied verb, while the verb scoring less than 3.5 was named low embodied verb), then the subjects were asked to finish three experiments including lexical decision, picture naming and syntactic classification. The results showed that the higher the verb embodiment, the shorter the response time for lexical processing, which also indicated that relative embodiment is an important component of verb lexical meaning.

There are relatively fewer domestic studies on verb relative embodiment. Based on Sidhu et al.'s[3] experimental paradigm, Lin et al.[2] conducted a repetitive empirical study on the relationship between lexical semantic processing and relative embodiment among Chinese English learners. Through syntactic judgment task, it was found that there were similarities and differences between the embodied processing conducted by native English speakers and Chinese English learners: the former processed high embodied verbs with significantly shorter response time than low embodied verbs, with no significant difference in accuracy; low-level English learners processed high embodied verbs with slightly shorter response time than low embodied verbs, and with significantly higher rates of accuracy than low embodied verbs; high-level English learners' response time for processing high embodied verbs was significantly longer than low embodied verbs, and the accuracy rate was significantly lower, which shows that the inter-group factor of second language level affects the processing efficiency of high and low embodied verbs. Based on the theory of embodied cognition, Tao & Yu[8] conducted an empirical research on Chinese English learners' semantic processing of ergative verbs, and the results showed that the response time of low-level subjects who processed high embodied ergative verbs was significantly shorter than that of low embodied ergative verbs, and the rate of accuracy was significantly higher than that of low embodied ergative verbs; the response time of high-level subjects who processed high embodied ergative verbs was significantly shorter than that of low embodied ergative verbs, and there was no significant difference in accuracy for processing high and low embodied ergative verbs.

Combining the above studies, it can be found that most of the experiments on relative embodiment use visual online processing, in which subjects only need to respond to the visual stimuli presented on the screen, while few experiments take non-visual modals (e.g., audio modal) into consideration to present stimuli. Therefore, the development of embodied cognitive linguistics poses a new challenge for the academic community, namely, to expand the dimensions of embodied cognition research to other modals on the basis of visual modal, so as to provide a development direction for in-depth investigation of the embodied nature of language in different dimensions[9].

Second, the multi-sensory integration and the modality effect are briefly reviewed. Most of the information we receive in life enters the brain through different sensory modals, and the brain processes these stimuli organically and uniformly, a process known as multi-sensory integration[10]. In the process of multi-sensory integration, vision and hearing are the most important modals for human beings to perceive information, and the integration of the two in the brain also plays an important role in accurately perceiving

external stimuli[11-12]. In the filed of multimedia learning, Mayer[13] found that learners learning audio-visual dual-modal materials consisting of pictures and audio narration were significantly better than learners learning visual single-modal materials consisting of pictures and visual text, this phenomenon is known as the modality effect.

The modality effect emphasizes that audio-visual dual modals facilitate information processing more than visual single modal or audio single modal, and this phenomenon has been widely studied (e.g., Murray et al.[14]; Zhao et al.[15]; Zhao et al.[16]). Murray et al.[14] found that cross-modal signal can enhance perceptual learning and event memory, and that the visual recognition can extract more information from multi-sensory encoding. Zhao et al.[15] found that there was a significant cooperative synchronization between visual and audio brain regions when visual stimuli were synchronized with audio stimuli through ERP technology. Zhao et al.[16] used a number comparison task to explore the characteristics of quantity space representation in audio-visual single-modal and dual-modal conditions. It was found that the Spatial Numerical Association of Response Codes (SNARC effect) was more significant in the audio-visual dual-modal condition than single-modal condition. Moreover, whether the audio-visual modality effect can promote information processing also depends on the consistency of stimuli in audio and visual modals (e.g., Zhao et al.[16]; Zhou et al.[17]). Zhao et al.[16] found that when stimuli in audio and visual modals were inconsistent, the SNARC effect was significantly affected, which was manifested as reduced or disappeared. Zhou et al.[17] conducted a research on emotional processing and found that when emotional information from different sensory modals was consistent, it can improve the efficiency of emotional processing, whereas, when the emotional information between the modals was inconsistent, it interferes with the individual's emotional processing and produces the emotional conflict effect.

Meanwhile, even in the audio-visual dual-modal condition, the magnitude of the role played by the visual and audio modals varies depending on the specific content of the study. Among the two modals, there is a dominant modal, which plays a leading role in information processing[17]. Currently, there are two views on the modal dominance effect in audio-visual integration. One view is that there is an audio modal dominance effect in audio-visual integration, in which information in the audio modal is prioritized to be processed and thus dominated[18-19]. The other view is that there is a visual modal dominance effect in audio-visual integration[20-24], it can be seen that there is still no unified conclusion in academic community on the question of whether visual or audio modal is the dominant processing modal. At the same time, the method of determining the dominant modal has been gradually improved. Instead of focusing on audio-visual dual modals, early studies directly compared the processing efficiency of audio single modal with that of visual single modal, with the more efficient modal being the dominant modal[25]. Subsequent studies have improved this approach by taking the dual-modal condition into account, i.e., directly designating one modal as the target modal in

dual-modal condition, or directing subjects to pay attention only to one modal and the other modal as the non-target modal through instructions. If the processing efficiency of the target modal decreases compared to its single-modal condition, it means that information processing in the target modal is influenced by the non-target modal, and the degree of the decrease represents the influence of the non-target modal, the non-target modal with more influence is regarded as the dominant modal[26-27].

In summary, although there are many existing studies on verb embodied semantic processing and audio-visual modality effect, few scholars have combined the two to examine their association. Does the facilitating or interfering effect between audio and visual modals also exist in L2 verb embodied semantic processing? Therefore, with the support of theories such as the embodied language view and the modality effect, exploring the audio-visual modality effect in verb embodied semantic processing not only helps to clarify the important role of relative embodiment in second language acquisition, but also clarifies the practical significance of the theory of embodied cognition and the embodied language view to the Chinese English learners, and also helps to inspire teachers to find out the importance of the cross-modal information in foreign language teaching, so as to adapt to the rapid development trend of the multimedia teaching. In view of this, this paper intends to examine the modality effect of Chinese English learners' embodied semantic processing of L2 verbs based on the response time and accuracy of processing within the framework of embodied cognition theory. The specific questions are as follows:

1) Does relative embodiment level affect L2 verb embodied semantic processing?
2) Does modal stimuli consistency affect L2 verb embodied semantic processing?
3) Under the audio-visual dual-modal condition, which modal is the dominant modal?

The above questions will be answered through two experiments with reference to the method of determining the dominant modal.

3. Experiment 1: Audio-visual Single-modal's Effect on L2 Embodied Semantic Processing

3.1 Research Purpose

Experiment 1 is a control experiment to examine subjects' semantic processing of verbs of different embodiment levels under the audio-visual single-modal condition, in order to provide data reference for the subsequent examination of which modal is the dominant modal in the audio-visual dual-modal condition.

3.2 Research Subjects

The subjects are master's degree students majoring in English at a university in Zhejiang Province. We first randomly selected 50 students to participate in the experiment, ranging in age from 22 to 28. Subsequently, 35 upper-intermediate English learners with scores between 40 and 47 were screened as formal subjects according to the Oxford Quick Place Test (QPT) and its criteria, and their age, years of English learning and other related information were counted (see Table 1). All subjects have not participated in similar experiments, have normal naked eye vision or corrected vision, and have normal hearing. All subjects volunteered to participate in the experiment and received a small payment at the end of the experiment.

Table 1. Relevant information for formal subjects (data in parentheses are standard deviations)

Group	Number	Age	Years of English Learning	QPT
Upper-intermediate	35	23.1（1.19）	14.51（1.57）	44.49（2.58）

3.3 Research Materials

The 40 target verbs used in Experiment 1 are selected from Sidhu et al.'s[3] list of embodiment level of 687 verbs, of which 20 verbs are high embodied verbs and the other 20 verbs are low embodied verbs. Before the experiment, the selected words have been rated for familiarity (1-7, with 1 being very unfamiliar and 7 being very familiar) by 5 non-subjects with comparable English proficiency to the subjects, and words with a familiarity score less than 5 are excluded. In addition, variables such as the word length (4-5 letters) of the target verbs are strictly controlled (see Table 2), and the Chinese words used for semantic judgment are selected from the first entry corresponding to the target English verbs in *The English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary (2nd edition)*, and the Chinese word length is controlled to be two Chinese characters. Moreover, in order to prevent subjects from realizing the purpose of the experiment, 40 interfering nouns are selected, which are not significantly different from the above 40 target verbs in all variables. The listening material is the audio of the selected 40 target verbs, presented through the headphone at a moderate volume.

Table 2. Relevant data of Experiment 1's materials (data in parentheses are standard deviations)

	Relative Embodiment	Familiarity	Word length
20 high embodied verbs	6.12（0.19）	6.52（0.61）	4.45（0.49）
20 low embodied verbs	2.94（0.41）	6.33（0.42）	4.50（0.50）
40 interfering nouns	/	6.47（0.59）	4.45（0.49）

3.4 Research Design and Procedure

The experiment is conducted in a quiet and undisturbed environment in a 2 (modal type: visual single modal, audio single modal)×2 (verb embodiment level: high embodiment level, low embodiment level) two-factor mixed design. The dependent variables are subjects' accuracy rate and response time in judging the target trial, where the accuracy rate is used only as a filter for valid data.

The experiment is programmed using E-prime 3.0 software, and the English-Chinese word meaning matching task is set up according to the experimental procedure of Zhao et al.[16]. There are a total of 40 trials in Experiment 1, and in 1-20 trials, a fixation "+" is presented in the center of the screen for 500ms at the beginning of the experiment, and after the fixation disappears, L2 target words of high and low embodied levels are randomly presented on the screen for 1000ms, and then disappear. After that, a Chinese word is presented in the center of the screen, and the subjects need to recall the target English word they have seen before as soon as possible and judge whether the Chinese word's meaning matches the target English word's meaning. If their meaning match, subjects need to press the button "P", and if not, press the button "Q". In 21-40 trials, a fixation "+" is presented in the center of the screen for 500ms at the beginning, after the fixation disappears, L2 target words of high and low embodied levels are randomly presented in the headphones for 1000ms and then disappear. After that a Chinese word is presented in the center of the screen and subjects need to recall the target English word they have heard before as soon as possible and judge whether the Chinese word's meaning matches the target English word's meaning. If their meaning match, subjects need to press the button "P", and if not, press the button "Q". Before the formal experiment, the subjects are familiarized with the experimental procedure by practicing for 10 trials, and the vocabulary used in the practice would not appear in the experiment. Figure 1 shows the flow of Experiment 1 (pick, kick as example):

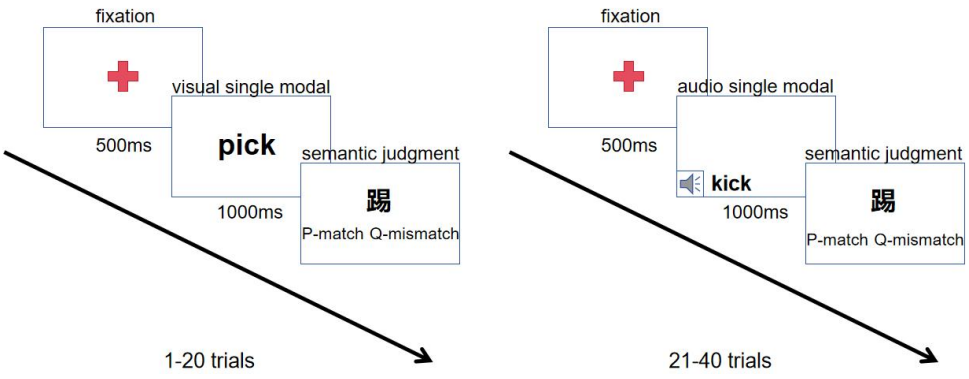


Figure 1. Procedure of Experiment 1 visual single modal (left) and audio single modal (right)

3.5 Research Results and Analysis

We first adopt Sidhu et al.'s[3] exclusion criteria and exclude three subjects with a accuracy rate lower than 70%, which accounts for 8.57% of the total number of subjects. Next, trials with a response time longer than 2.5 standard deviations are excluded, accounting for 1.07% of the total number of trials (see Table 3 for data of Experiment 1).

Table 3. Mean accuracy rate and response time of processing in Experiment 1

Modal Type	Verb Embodiment Level	Accuracy Rate（%）	Response Time（ms）
Visual single modal	High embodied verb	99.68（1.79）	978.72（213.36）
	Low embodied verb	95.48（7.23）	1067.73（270.91）
Audio single modal	High embodied verb	96.45（4.86）	1168.65（284.19）
	Low embodied verb	93.55（7.55）	1325.47（350.10）

Next, a 2 (modal type: visual single modal, audio single modal)×2 (verb embodiment level: high embodiment level, low embodiment level) two-factor repeated measures ANOVA is conducted on the data using SPSS 26.0, where both modal type and verb embodiment level are intra-group variables and the dependent variables are subjects' accuracy rate and response time in judging the target trial. After analyzing subjects' response time of processing, we found that: 1) there is a significant main effect of modal type, F（1,31）=33.402，p=0.000<0.05. In particular, the visual single-modal processing response time (M=1023.223，SD=243.965) is significantly shorter than the audio single-modal processing response time (M=1247.059，SD=323.325); 2) there is a significant main effect of verb embodiment level, F（1,31）=17.012，p=0.000<0.05. In particular, the response time of processing high embodied verbs (M=1073.680，SD=264.813) is significantly shorter than that of processing low embodied verbs (M=1196.602， SD=333.809); 3) there is a significant interaction effect between modal type and verb embodiment level, F（1,31）=4.668，p=0.039<0.05.

To further analyze the interaction effect between modal type and verb embodiment level in terms of response time, a simple effect test is required. The results show that: 1) under the visual single-modal condition, there is a significant difference between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.013<0.05), and the response time for high embodied verb processing is significantly shorter than that for low embodied verbs; under the audio single-modal condition, there is a significant difference between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.000<0.05), and the response time for high embodied verb processing is significantly shorter than that for low embodied verbs; 2) in high embodied verb processing, there is a significant difference between visual and audio single

modal (p=0.000<0.05), with visual single-modal processing response time significantly shorter than audio single-modal; in low embodied verb processing, there is a significant difference between visual and audio single modal (p=0.000<0.05), with visual single-modal processing response time significantly shorter than audio single-modal.

4. Experiment 2: Audio-visual Dual-modal's Effect on L2 Embodied Semantic Processing

4.1 Research Purpose

Experiment 2 examines subjects' L2 embodied semantic processing under the audio-visual dual-modal condition, aiming to investigate whether verb embodiment level, target modal type and modal stimuli consistency affect processing efficiency, as well as figuring out which is the dominant modal between visual and audio modal during embodied semantic processing.

4.2 Research Subjects

The same as Experiment 1.

4.3 Research Materials

The experimental materials are 40 target verbs different from Experiment 1, all selected from Sidhu et al.'s[3] list of embodiment level of 687 verbs, of which 20 verbs are high embodied verbs and the other 20 verbs are low embodied verbs. Variables such as familiarity and word length of the selected target verbs and interfering nouns are also strictly controlled (see Table 4) so that they are not significantly different from the material in Experiment 1 (p<0.05). The Chinese words used for semantic judgment are selected from the first entry corresponding to the target English verbs in *The English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary (2nd edition)*, and the Chinese word length is controlled to be two Chinese characters. The listening material is the audio of the selected 40 target verbs, presented through the headphone at a moderate volume.

Table 4. Relevant data of Experiment 2's materials (data in parentheses are standard deviations)

	Relative Embodiment	Familiarity	Word length

20 high embodied verbs	5.56（0.33）	6.37（0.49）	4.45（0.49）
20 low embodied verbs	2.85（0.21）	6.69（0.39）	4.60（0.49）
40 interfering nouns	/	6.57（0.46）	4.50（0.50）

4.4 Research Design and Procedure

This experiment uses a 2 (verb embodiment level: high embodiment level, low embodiment level)×2 (target modal type: visual target modal, audio target modal)×2 (modal stimuli consistency: consistent, inconsistent) three-factor mixed design. The dependent variables are subjects' accuracy rate and response time in judging the target trial, where the accuracy rate is used only as a filter for valid data.

Experiment 2 consists of 40 trials, in 1-20 trials, the visual modal is designated as the target modal and the audio modal is the non-target modal, and audio stimuli are randomly presented in the headphone that are either consistent or inconsistent with the visual modal. Subjects are required to respond to the stimuli presented in the visual modal while maintaining attention to the audio stimuli, during which subjects could not close their eyes or remove the headphone. At the beginning of the experiment, a fixation "+" is presented in the center of the screen for 500ms, after the fixation disappears, a L2 target word appears in the center of the screen, at the same time, the audio of target words or the audio of interfering words (the same embodiment level as target words) is presented in the headphone, and both the vocabulary and audio appear for 1000ms before disappearing, after which a Chinese word is presented in the center of the screen. Subjects need to recall the target English word they have seen before as soon as possible and judge whether the Chinese word's meaning matches the target English word's meaning, if their meaning match, subjects need to press the button "P", and if not, press the button "Q". In 21-40 trials, the audio modal is designated as the target modal and the visual modal is the non-target modal, and visual stimuli are randomly presented on the screen that are either consistent or inconsistent with the audio modal. Subjects are required to respond to the stimuli presented in the audio modal while maintaining attention to the visual stimuli. If the Chinese word's meaning matches the target English word's meaning in the headphone, subjects need to press the button "P", and if not, press the button "Q". Before the formal experiment, the subjects are familiarized with the experimental procedure by practicing for 10 trials, and the vocabulary used in the practice would not appear in the experiment. Figure 2 shows the flow of Experiment 2 (pick, kick as example):

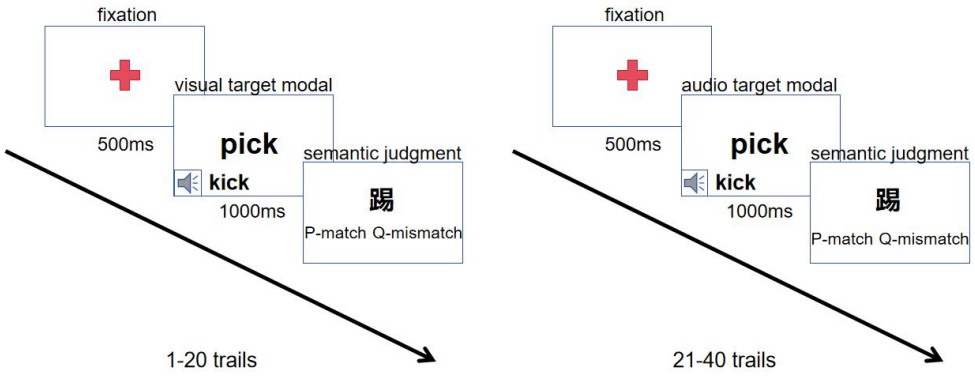


Figure 2. Procedure of Experiment 2 visual target modal (left) and audio target modal (right)

4.5 Research Results and Analysis

We follow the same exclusion criteria and exclude two subjects with a accuracy rate lower than 70%, which accounts for 5.71% of the total number of subjects. Next, trials with a response time longer than 2.5 standard deviations are excluded, accounting for 2.57% of the total number of trials (see Table 5 for data of Experiment 2).

Table 5. Mean accuracy rate and response time of processing in Experiment 2

Target Modal Type	Verb Embodiment Level	Stimuli Consistency	Accuracy Rate（%）	Response Time（ms）
Visual target modal	High embodied verb	Consistent	96.36（7.83）	1038.52（344.16）
		Inconsistent	96.36（7.83）	1175.23（378.69）
	Low embodied verb	Consistent	95.15（10.04）	1187.75（397.78）
		Inconsistent	98.79（4.85）	1368.55（466.76）
Audio target modal	High embodied verb	Consistent	97.58（6.63）	1219.59（395.58）
		Inconsistent	94.55（11.48）	1465.99（493.31）
	Low embodied verb	Consistent	96.97（8.83）	1333.04（409.06）
		Inconsistent	96.36（9.29）	1376.48（402.17）

Next, a 2 (verb embodiment level: high embodiment level, low embodiment level)×2 (target modal type: visual target modal, audio target modal)×2 (modal stimuli consistency: consistent, inconsistent) three-factor repeated measures ANOVA is conducted on the data using SPSS 26.0, where both verb embodiment level, target modal type and modal stimuli consistency are intra-group variables and the dependent variables are

subjects' accuracy rate and response time in judging the target trial. After analyzing subjects' response time of processing, we found that: 1) there is a significant main effect of verb embodiment level, F（1,32）=7.629，p=0.009<0.05. In particular, the response time of processing high embodied verbs (M=1224.83，SD=429.24) is significantly shorter than that of processing low embodied verbs (M=1316.45， SD=420.40); 2) there is a significant main effect of target modal type, F（1,32）=11.625，p=0.002<0.05. In particular, the response time of visual target modal processing (M=1192.51， SD=410.38) is significantly shorter than that of audio target modal processing (M=1348.78，SD=429.61); 3) there is a significant main effect of modal stimuli consistency, F（1,32）=29.678，p=0.000<0.05. In particular, the response time of processing when modal stimuli are consistent (M=1194.72， SD=395.76) is significantly shorter than that of processing when modal stimuli are inconsistent (M=1346.56， SD=443.89); 4) there is a significant interaction effect between verb embodiment level and target modal type, F（1,32）=6.031，p=0.02<0.05; 5) there is a significant triple interaction effect among verb embodiment level, target modal type and modal stimuli consistency, F（1,32）=4.920，p=0.034<0.05.

To further analyze the interaction effect between modal type and verb embodiment level in terms of response time, a simple effect test is required. The results show that: 1) under the visual target modal condition, there is a significant difference between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.01<0.05), and the response time for high embodied verb processing is significantly shorter than that for low embodied verbs; under the audio target modal condition, there is no significant difference between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.798>0.05), and the response time for high embodied verb processing is slightly shorter than that for low embodied verbs; 2) in high embodied verb processing, there is a significant difference between visual and audio target modal (p=0.000<0.05), with visual target modal processing response time significantly shorter than audio target modal; in low embodied verb processing, there is no significant difference between visual and audio target modal (p=0.188>0.05), with visual target modal processing response time slightly shorter than audio target modal.

Then we conducted a simple effect test for the triple interaction effect among verb embodiment level, target modal type and modal stimuli consistency. The results show that: 1) under visual target modal condition, when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent, there is a significant difference of processing between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.006<0.05), the response time of processing high embodied verbs is significantly shorter than that of processing low embodied verbs; when audio-visual modal stimuli are inconsistent, there is also a significant difference of processing between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.004<0.05), and the response time of processing high embodied verbs is significantly shorter than that of processing low embodied verbs. Under audio target modal condition, when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent, there is no significant difference of processing between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.067>0.05), the response time

of processing high embodied verbs is slightly shorter than that of processing low embodied verbs; when audio-visual modal stimuli are inconsistent, there is also no significant difference of processing between high and low embodied verbs (p=0.201>0.05), the response time of processing high embodied verbs is slightly longer than that of processing low embodied verbs; 2) in the high embodied verb condition, the response time of visual target modal processing is significantly shorter than that of audio target modal processing when the audio-visual modal stimuli are either consistent or inconsistent (p=0.001<0.05). In the low embodied verb condition, when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent, the response time of visual target modal processing is significantly shorter than that of audio target modal processing (p=0.003<0.05); when audio-visual modal stimuli are inconsistent, the response time of visual target modal processing is slightly shorter than that of audio target modal processing (p=0.924<0.05); 3) in visual target modal condition, when the verbs are of high embodied level, the processing response time when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent is significantly shorter than when the stimuli are inconsistent (p=0.006<0.05); when the verbs are of low embodied level, the processing response time when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent is also significantly shorter than when the stimuli are inconsistent (p=0.005<0.05). in audio target modal, when the verbs are of high embodied level, the processing response time when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent is significantly shorter than when the stimuli are inconsistent (p=0.000<0.05); when the verbs are of low embodied level, the processing response time when audio-visual modal stimuli are consistent is slightly shorter than when the stimuli are inconsistent (p=0.476>0.05).

In order to further examine which modal is the dominant modal in the audio-visual dual-modal condition, we combine and analyze the data from Experiment 1 and Experiment 2. Considering the influence of different variables, only the response time for high embodied verbs processing are analyzed (see Table 6). The results show that visual non-target modal interferes with the audio target modal more than audio non-target modal interferes with the visual target modal, so we can conclude that in L2 embodied semantic processing, visual modal is the dominant modal.

5. Discussion

Within the framework of embodied cognition theory, this paper probes into the modality effect in the semantic processing of L2 embodied verbs by Chinese EFL learners. The three previous research questions can be answered as follows: 1) The embodiment level of L2 verbs affects semantic processing with the higher-level embodied verbs resulting in higher processing efficiency; 2) The modal stimulus consistency affects the semantic processing of L2 embodied verbs. When modal stimuli are consistent, the processing efficiency is higher; 3) The interference of visual modal to audio modal is greater than that of audio modal to visual modal,

and visual modal is the dominant modal in L2 embodied semantic processing. We discuss the above results from three aspects:

5.1 Analysis of Embodied Semantic Processing with Different Embodiment Levels

Combining the above two experiments, we find that no matter it is under visual single-modal, audio single-modal or audio-visual dual-modal condition, the processing efficiency of high embodied verbs is significantly higher than that of low embodied verbs. This result not only strongly supports the effect of verb embodied relativity on semantic online processing in visual modal, but also demonstrates that the effect of verb embodied relativity on semantic processing also exists in audio modal. Both aspects are analyzed below.

First, both our visual and auditory senses belong to sensory modals, which can activate the corresponding sensory-motor simulation in the brain when receiving embodied information conveyed by verbs. The semantic processing mechanism of visual and audio modals can be explained as follows: any language word has three representations of its phonological structure (PS), syntactic structure (SS) and conceptual structure (CS), which are located in three different information stores. Due to the closed nature of the modules, the phonological, syntactic and conceptual structures must be connected by specific interfaces in order to coordinate with each other. The three structures share the same index, i.e., shared index, so that the three representations can be connected by the interface to form a composite representation[28]. When subjects process online the verbs using the visual system, the written visual structures VSO (orthographic visual structures) representation of the verb can be directly co-indexed with its CS representation, and then the conceptual semantics of the target word is activated in the brain[29], therefore, the subjects can make a judgment of whether the English-Chinese semantics match or not. Similarly, when subjects use the auditory system to process online a verb, the AS (auditory structures) representation of the verb is co-indexed with its PS structure, and then the conceptual structure of the target word is activated by its phonological structure[29], which enables subjects to make judgment about whether or not a word presented in audio form is semantically consistent with a Chinese word. We can see that the semantic processing in the audio modal converges with that in the visual modal, which explains why the law of verb embodied relativity is also reflected in the audio modal.

Second, the finding that the higher the verb embodiment level, the more efficient the processing is supports the basic claim of Sidhu et al's[3] embodied language view that the meaning of language is embodied, and that perceptual-motor information in lexical meanings is an important aspect of word meaning and has a significant impact on semantic processing[2]. For high embodied verbs, their relatively higher degree of association with the body and richer embodied semantics are more likely to stimulate subjects' bodily perception of the word, thus reducing the time cost of recognition or processing; whereas for low embodied

verbs, their relatively lower degree of association with the body and less body sense information involved make it difficult to stimulate the perceptual-motor simulation of the body during the L2 embodied semantic processing, leading to lower processing efficiency.

5.2 Analysis of Embodied Semantic Processing with Different Modal Stimulus Consistency

The results of Experiment 2 show that in the audio-visual dual-modal condition, the processing efficiency is significantly higher when the stimuli are consistent in audio and visual modals than when the stimuli are inconsistent, which supports the conclusions of Zhao et al.[16] and Zhou et al.[17]. We discuss the results from the following two aspects:

First, the dual-modal condition involves two sensory modals including visual and audio modals, the consistent or inconsistent stimuli between the modals can affect processing. Mayer's[13] dual-modal assumption and limited-capacity assumption suggest that individuals have separate information processing modals for visual and audio stimuli, and that the capacity allocated by individuals to process information in each modal per unit of time is limited. When the stimuli are consistent between visual and audio modals, processing visual information consumes more working memory resources in the visual modal, while processing audio information consumes more working memory resources in the audio modal, and the two modals operate collaboratively and mutually reinforce each other, thus focusing subjects' attention and making the processing more efficient. Whereas, when the stimuli are inconsistent between visual and audio modals, the two modals jointly compete for limited attention resources, producing an attentional separation effect[30], making processing efficiency lower.

Second, the consistency or inconsistency of stimuli between visual and audio modals also involves the action-sentence compatibility effect (ACE)[31]. ACE effect was initially used to explain the phenomenon that subjects process faster when the direction of the action is consistent with the direction of the verb in the sentence, and this effect has since been extended to more aspects, such as the match between text type and the readers' emotional state[32]. The effect of audio-visual modal stimuli consistency on embodied semantic processing can also be explained by the ACE effect: when the stimuli presented in visual and audio modals are consistent, they are compatible with each other, facilitating subjects' processing of the verb's semantics; while when the stimuli presented in visual and audio modals are inconsistent, the information between the two modals is incompatible and interferes with each other, and the subjects need to expend more effort to complete the semantic judgment task, leading to an increase in response time and a decrease in processing efficiency.

5.3 Analysis of Embodied Semantic Processing with Different Target Modals

Combining the results of Experiment 1 and Experiment 2, it can be found that the processing efficiency of visual target modal is higher than that of audio target modal, and the interference of the visual modal with the audio modal is greater than that of the audio modal with the visual modal, and that the visual modal is the dominant modal in L2 embodied semantic processing. On the one hand, previous studies have suggested that simultaneously presented visual and audio stimuli make visual targets more salient from the background, and thus subjects respond faster to visual stimuli[33]. At the same time, the difference in processing between the visual and audio modals may also result from an asymmetry between the two modals, with the visual modal usually processing information better than the audio modal[23]. On the other hand, for subjects, L2 verbs processed through the visual modal may have a higher activation threshold and a more comprehensive capture of information, whereas processing L2 verbs through the audio modal may exist a situation in which subjects are unable to activate their conceptual structures through the interface even thought they hear the sound stimulus, thus prolonging the response time for subjects to make semantic judgments.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we used English-Chinese semantic judgment tasks with different levels of embodied verbs to explore the similarities and differences in the semantic processing of L2 verb embodiment under different modal conditions. The results show that L2 verb embodiment level, audio-visual modal stimuli consistency and target modal type all have significant effects on semantic processing. This paper analyzes the results from the perspectives of co-index theory, dual-modal assumption, limited-capacity assumption and ACE effect under the framework of embodied cognition theory. However, due to the limited space and ability of the author, there are still related issues to be explored in depth, such as whether the audio-visual modality effect can be verified in other domains of second language acquisition, and whether there is any significant difference in the sensitivity to audio-visual information among learners with different levels of second language proficiency, etc. These issues need to be explored in the future.

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Deconstructing the “Modernization = Westernization” Myth: A Postcolonial Study of Chinese Modernization through the China Daily Cover Story Corpus

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Abstract: This study employs a postcolonial theoretical framework to critically analyze the discursive construction of Chinese modernization in the China Daily Cover Story Corpus (2020-2025), interrogating the Eurocentric equation of modernization with Westernization. By integrating concepts from Orientalism, provincializing modernity, and decolonial theory, the research investigates how China's official media dismantles Western narrative hegemony and articulates a socialist-aligned, culturally grounded alternative through three interconnected dimensions: cognitive deconstruction, path reconstruction, and systemic transcendence. Methodologically, the study combines the corpus linguistics tools AntConc and critical discourse analysis to examine approximately 783,000 tokens of media texts, identifying lexical patterns, thematic clusters, and insightful specific concordances. The findings reveal that cognitive deconstruction challenges Orientalist teleologies by asserting "modernization with Chinese characteristics" and "socialist modernization" as counter-hegemonic framework. Path reconstruction provincializes modernity by integrating cultural revitalization, people orientation, and rural-urban synergy into hybrid practices that reject homogenizing Western templates. Finally, systemic transcendence positions Chinese modernization as a pluriversal alternative for the Global South, advocating sustainable development, anti-colonial solidarity, and peaceful cooperation. The study concludes that China's media-driven discourse redefines modernity as a decolonial project, balancing socialist governance, cultural sovereignty, and ecological interdependence. By deconstructing Eurocentric paradigms and offering systemic alternatives, the research contributes to postcolonial media scholarship, bridging corpus linguistics with decolonial epistemology, and demonstrating how rising powers like China reshape global narratives through institutionalized practices.

Keywords: Chinese modernization, Postcolonial theory, Corpus linguistics, China Daily Cover Story Corpus, Global South

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The year 2020 marked a historic milestone in China's modernization journey with the successful achievement of its first Centenary Goal: building a "moderately prosperous society in all respects" (Xi, 2022). This accomplishment not only reflects decades of socio-economic transformation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) but also underscores the distinctiveness of China's modernization path. As

articulated in the 20th National Congress Report of the CPC, Chinese modernization diverges fundamentally from Western-centric paradigms by prioritizing socialist principles, cultural revitalization, and people-centered development (Xi, 2022). Such a trajectory challenges the long-standing Eurocentric narrative that equates modernization with Westernization -- a narrative historically rooted in theories such as Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth (1960) and Lipset's modernization thesis (1959), which posit liberal democracy, capitalism, and individualism as universal prerequisites for progress.

In the context of globalization, the role of media in shaping national and international perceptions of modernity has become increasingly significant. Official media outlets like China Daily serve as key platforms for constructing and disseminating narratives of national identity and development. These narratives not only reflect policy priorities but also actively frame China's modernization achievements within broader ideological frameworks (Xu, 1996). However, the global discourse on modernization remains dominated by Western-centric perspectives, which often marginalize alternative models rooted in non-Western socio-political and cultural contexts. Against this backdrop, China's articulation of a socialist modernization path offers a critical counter-narrative, redefining modernity through localized practices that integrate tradition, innovation, and global solidarity.

This study focuses on the period from 2020 to 2025, a critical juncture that encapsulates China's transition toward its second Centenary Goal of building a "modern socialist country" by 2049. The temporal scope aligns with the post-2020 era, during which China's official media discourse has intensified efforts to communicate its modernization philosophy to both domestic and international audiences. By analyzing the China Daily Cover Story Corpus (2020-2025), this research seeks to illuminate how China's media narratives contribute to redefining modernity beyond Western hegemony, thereby advancing a pluralistic vision of global development.

1.2 Literature Review

The conceptualization of modernization has undergone significant transformations since its emergence as a Western-centric paradigm in the mid-20th century. Early modernization theories, epitomized by Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth (1960) and Lipset's socio-political requisites (1959), framed modernization as a linear, universal process synonymous with Westernization. These theories posited that all societies must adopt capitalist economies, liberal democracies, and secular individualism to achieve progress, thereby reinforcing a hierarchical global order that marginalized non-Western experiences (Shahin, 2015).

However, this Eurocentric narrative faced mounting critiques from postcolonial scholars who highlighted its inherent contradictions and historical amnesia. Chakrabarty (2000), for instance, argued that Western modernity was provincialized through its entanglement with colonialism, rendering it inadequate to explain diverse trajectories of development. Similarly, Mignolo (2011) called for a decolonial turn, urging scholars to "delink" from colonial epistemologies and embrace pluriversal visions of modernity rooted in local epistemologies. These critiques laid the groundwork for reconceptualizing modernization as a pluralistic, context-dependent process (Eisenstadt, 2000; Dirlik, 2018).

Recent scholarship has further expanded this discourse by examining how non-Western societies integrate global modernity with indigenous practices. For example, Rofel (2021) explores China's "socialist modernity" as a hybrid model that combines state-led industrialization with Confucian values, while Mbembe (2021) analyzes African attempts to redefine development through pan-African solidarity and ecological sustainability. These studies collectively underscore the inadequacy of Western-centric frameworks and the need to recognize multiplicity in modernization narratives.

The role of media in shaping modernization discourses has similarly evolved, reflecting broader shifts in globalization and technological change. Early modernization theorists, such as Schramm (1964), viewed mass media as tools for disseminating Western values to "traditional" societies, assuming a unidirectional flow of influence. However, this deterministic perspective has been challenged by research emphasizing the agency of non-Western media in negotiating global-local tensions. Kraidy's (2017) work on Arab media demonstrates how hybrid formats blend global entertainment tropes with Islamic cultural norms, creating distinctively local modernities.

Despite these advancements, critical gaps persist, especially in the Chinese context. While existing research acknowledges the interplay between media and modernization, few studies systematically analyze how official media deconstruct the "modernization=Westernization" myth through linguistic and discursive practices. Furthermore, although corpus linguistics has gained traction in media studies (Baker et al., 2021), its integration with postcolonial theory to dissect modernization narratives is virtually absent. This lacuna is particularly striking given China's rising influence in global discourses and the CPC's emphasis on "Chinese-style modernization" as a counter-hegemonic project (Xi, 2022). By bridging these theoretical and methodological divides, this study not only addresses a critical gap in the literature but also contributes to broader debates on decolonial epistemologies and media-driven sovereignty in the Global South.

1.3 Research Questions

The construction of China's modernization discourse in official media represents a critical yet underexplored dimension of postcolonial epistemology and global development debates. Building on the theoretical critiques of Eurocentric modernity (Chakrabarty, 2000; Mignolo, 2011) and the evolving role of media in shaping socio-political narratives (Kraidy, 2017), this study addresses two interconnected research questions:

1) How do Chinese official media outlets, exemplified by China Daily, linguistically and discursively construct the discourse of "Chinese modernization"?

2) How does this discourse, through a post-colonial perspective, deconstruct the entrenched myth that modernization equates to Westernization?

By exploring these questions, the study aims to advance scholarly understanding of how rising powers like China reconfigure hegemonic narratives through institutionalized media practices, offering methodological and theoretical innovations for postcolonial media studies.

2 Theoretical Framework: A Postcolonial Perspective

Postcolonial theory provides a critical lens to interrogate the power dynamics embedded in modernization discourses, particularly the historical imposition of Western-centric paradigms as universal truths. This framework challenges the epistemic violence of colonial modernity by foregrounding the agency of non-Western societies in redefining development trajectories. The following sections delineate three interconnected postcolonial concepts -- Orientalism, provincializing modernity, and decolonial modernity -- and demonstrate their analytical relevance to deconstructing China's official media narratives on modernization.

2.1 Orientalism: The Hegemony of Western Modernity

Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) remains foundational for understanding how Western discourses historically constructed the "Orient" as an exotic, backward "Other" to justify colonial domination. This binary logic positions the West as the sole agent of progress, relegating non-Western societies to perpetual inferiority unless they adopt Eurocentric models of development. In the context of modernization, Orientalist narratives manifest in the reductionist equation of progress with Westernization -- an ideological framework that dismisses indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices as incompatible with modernity.

2.2 Provincializing Modernity: Cultural Agency and Hybridity

Building on Said's critique, Dipesh Chakrabarty's Provincializing Europe (2000) argues that Western modernity, far from being a universal template, is but one historically contingent trajectory shaped by colonialism. Chakrabarty advocates "provincializing" Eurocentric narratives by recognizing the plurality of modernities forged through local histories and cultural practices. This approach rejects the idea that non-Western societies must erase their cultural heritage to modernize, advocating instead for hybrid models that embed global processes -- such as technological advancement and governance reforms -- within local epistemologies.

2.3 Decolonial Modernity: Toward Pluriversal Alternatives

Walter Mignolo's decolonial theory (2011) extends Chakrabarty's proposal by advocating a radical "delinking" from colonial power structures embedded in knowledge systems. Decolonial modernity seeks to revive marginalized epistemologies -- such as Indigenous ecological practices or communal governance -- and institutionalize alternatives to Western capitalism and liberal democracy. Mignolo emphasizes the necessity of "pluriversality," where multiple ontologies coexist without hierarchical subordination (Mignolo, 2011). This framework challenges the universality of Western modernity and proposes systemic alternatives grounded in postcolonial sovereignty and South-South solidarity.

The integration of these three theoretical pillars -- Orientalism, provincializing modernity, and decolonial modernity -- provides a robust analytical toolkit for dissecting China's media-driven modernization discourse. First, Said's critique exposes the historical erasure of non-Western agency in dominant narratives, enabling researchers to identify how media texts subvert Orientalist binaries. Second, Chakrabarty's provincializing lens uncovers hybrid strategies that embed global processes within localized frameworks, emphasizing cultural agency. Third, Mignolo's decolonial framework positions Chinese narratives as part of a broader epistemic struggle to delink from Western hegemony, advocating systemic alternatives.

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Data Description

The empirical foundation of this study rests on two corpora: the China Daily Cover Story Corpus (Jan 2020-Feb 2025) (hereafter abbreviated as CDCS Corpus) and the Crown_Clob Corpus. The CDCS Corpus serves as the primary dataset for analyzing the discursive construction of Chinese modernization, while the Crown_Clob Corpus functions as a reference corpus to contextualize linguistic patterns through comparative keyword analysis.

Target corpus: China Daily Cover Story Corpus (Jan 2020-Feb 2025)

The CDCS Corpus comprises 534 articles extracted from the cover stories of China Daily, a state-affiliated English-language newspaper, over a five-year period. This corpus totals 783,081 tokens and 28,530 types, encompassing diverse textual genres, including news reports, editorials, and feature articles. The temporal scope (2020-2025) aligns with China's post-2020 era, a critical juncture marked by the achievement of its first Centenary Goal -- building a "moderately prosperous society in all respects" (Xi, 2022) -- and the initiation of its second Centenary Goal toward becoming a "modern socialist country" by 2049. This period is particularly salient for analyzing how official media narratives frame modernization, as it reflects intensified efforts to communicate China's developmental philosophy both domestically and internationally. The corpus focuses on themes such as domestic policy, economic reforms, cultural revitalization, and international relations, offering insights into state-driven discourses on modernity.

Reference corpus: Crown_Clob Corpus

The Crown_Clob Corpus, developed by scholars at Beijing Foreign Studies University, is a general-purpose English-language corpus designed for comparative linguistic analysis. It comprises two sub-corpora: the Crown Corpus, representing American English, and the CLOB Corpus, capturing British English. The corpus consists of 1,444 texts sampled from 15 genres such as press reportage, editorials, academic writing, and fiction, ensuring broad coverage of linguistic registers (McEnery & Hardie, 2012), totaling 2,037,279 tokens and 70,913 types. This structure aligns with the original Brown Corpus framework, which pioneered systematic genre-based text sampling for diachronic and regional comparisons. The corpus's genre diversity and balanced regional representation mitigate potential biases inherent in single-region or single-genre datasets, thereby enhancing the validity of comparative analyses. Methodologically, the Crown_Clob Corpus provides a benchmark for generating the keyword list in this study, identifying statistically significant lexical patterns in the CDCS Corpus, thereby recognizing discursive strategies unique to Chinese official media.

3.2 Data Analysis Tool: AntConc

The analysis was conducted using AntConc (Version 4.0), a corpus linguistics software tool designed for text-based quantitative and qualitative analysis. Developed by Laurence Anthony (2020), AntConc enables researchers to systematically explore linguistic patterns through keyword extraction, collocation analysis, and concordance examination. This section delineates the tool's functionalities and their application to the study's objectives.

3.2.1 Keyword List

The generation of the keyword list commenced with a comparative analysis between the CDCS Corpus and the Crown_Clob Corpus using AntConc's keyword extraction function (Anthony, 2020). This process calculated log-likelihood (LL) and p-value metrics to identify terms with statistically significant frequency differences between the two corpora, yielding an initial raw keyword list (see Appendix I). To minimize the interference of high-frequency function words, a predefined stop list (Appendix II) was applied, systematically excluding articles, prepositions, and other grammatical particles that lack substantive semantic value (Biber et al., 1998). Subsequent manual refinement addressed cross-linguistic discrepancies arising from the inherent differences between Chinese and English naming conventions. For instance, proper nouns such as "Li," "Liu," or "Hong Kong" exhibited artificially inflated keyness values due to their near-absence in the Crown_Clob Corpus. To mitigate this distortion, keywords with reference corpus frequencies below 50 were manually excluded, ensuring retained terms reflected genuine discursive salience rather than linguistic artifacts. This dual-layered approach -- statistical filtering followed by manual curation -- enhanced the reliability of the final keyword list, aligning with corpus linguistic principles of methodological rigor and contextual sensitivity. The resulting keyword list is shown in **Table 1** below.

Table 1. Processed Keyword List (R1-R50)

Rank	Type	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref
1	said	8870	4370	525	838
2	china	4384	389	476	98
3	chinese	2171	193	415	65
4	added	1165	301	406	224
5	year	2703	2208	464	830
6	development	1346	640	338	245
7	percent	1353	734	318	189
8	tourism	490	55	102	17
9	city	1166	736	264	321
10	industry	861	384	221	164
11	people	2497	2806	443	860
12	cultural	634	204	162	109
13	rural	427	71	109	53
14	games	522	151	68	77
15	market	908	590	216	243
16	nation	628	263	242	165
17	adding	447	97	269	87
18	products	610	254	166	110
19	residents	421	84	157	54
20	cities	441	101	185	70
21	international	823	508	257	230
22	according	794	493	297	331

Rank	Type	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref
23	industrial	409	103	121	70
24	online	524	213	193	108
25	village	412	109	87	74
26	university	789	538	284	240
27	million	849	620	294	273
28	sports	420	123	74	70
29	visitors	352	70	100	47
30	platform	351	78	156	51
31	festival	333	66	95	32
32	local	905	751	305	335
33	capital	506	240	250	136
34	overseas	299	50	129	37
35	national	910	783	331	366
36	technology	657	434	206	190
37	travel	456	196	119	103
38	traditional	519	266	194	165
39	company	833	692	229	280
40	efforts	503	264	238	156
41	culture	504	279	160	162
42	center	507	291	221	182
43	launched	324	99	179	81
44	digital	367	149	100	54
45	innovation	307	94	112	50
46	museum	299	88	51	43
47	promote	278	71	157	57
48	countries	654	517	194	184
49	elderly	281	74	77	46
50	quality	505	318	195	196

3.2.2 Word Extraction

The extraction of lexical variants related to the root term "modern" was conducted using AntConc's advanced search function to systematically identify key terms potentially concerning the discourse of Chinese modernization. A regular expression (regex) pattern -- \bmodern\w*\b|\b\w*modern\b -- was deployed to capture all the inflected and compound forms, including "modern," "modernization," "modernizing," "modernity," "modernize," and "modernized", as illustrated in **Table 2** below.

Table 2. "Modern" and Its Variants

Rank	Type	Freq	Range
1	modern	202	118

2	modernization	94	27
3	modernizing	6	5
4	modernity	5	5
4	modernize	5	4
6	modernized	4	4

3.2.3 Cluster Analysis (N-gram Extraction)

The study further employed AntConc's Cluster Tool to systematically identify recurring multi-word expressions (MWEs) associated with the semantic field of modernity. Using the same regex pattern "\bmodern\w*\b|\b\w*modern\b", the tool extracted contiguous word sequences containing "modern" and its morphological variants from the CDCS Corpus. Two cluster configurations were applied: 1) two-word clusters to capture immediate collocations (**Table 3**) and 2) three-word clusters to detect broader phrasal patterns (**Table 4**). By isolating these MWEs, the analysis aims to map how the thematic narrative patterns involving modernity are constructed through lexical repetition and phrasal consistency in *China Daily*.

Table 3. Two-word Cluster Surrounding "Modern" and Its Variants

Rank	Cluster	Freq	Range
1	chinese modernization	22	8
2	modern socialist	18	14
3	modern day	12	10
4	modern agricultural	8	5
5	modern china	8	6
6	modern life	8	7
7	modern industrial	7	6
8	modern agriculture	5	3
9	modern technology	5	5
10	modernization drive	5	4
11	modern chinese	4	4
12	modern times	4	4
13	modern context	3	2
14	modern dance	3	3
15	modern production	3	3
16	modern services	3	3
17	modern society	3	3
18	modern twist	3	3
19	great modern	3	2
20	pre modern	3	2

Table 4. Three-word Cluster Surrounding "Modern" and Its Variants

Rank	Cluster	Freq	Range
1	modern socialist country	18	14
2	advance chinese modernization	5	4
3	modern agricultural industrial	2	1
4	modern agricultural practices	2	1
5	modern chinese society	2	2
6	modern service industries	2	2
7	pursuing chinese modernization	2	2
8	modern age china	1	1
9	modern agricultural cultivation	1	1
10	modern agricultural development	1	1
11	modern agricultural service	1	1
12	modern agricultural techniques	1	1
13	modern agriculture industrial	1	1
14	modern agriculture northeast	1	1
15	modern agriculture obtaining	1	1
16	modern agriculture tourism	1	1
17	modern appearance covering	1	1
18	modern art exhibitions	1	1
19	modern astrophysics measuring	1	1
20	modern audiences young	1	1

3.2.4 Concordance Analysis

Concordance analysis enables qualitative examination of the specific contexts centering on keywords, extracted words, and identified clusters. By analyzing the surrounding texts of each instance, this method helps contextualize the words' usage and allows for a deeper understanding of how modernity is framed in the media. For example, instances of "modernization" were analyzed for co-occurring terms (e.g., "socialist," "sustainable") and syntactic frames (e.g., "achieve modernization"). This approach, informed by Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analysis framework, bridged quantitative frequency data with qualitative interpretations.

4 Findings

Through a postcolonial analytical lens, this study demonstrates that China Daily, as a representative of Chinese official media, systematically constructs a tripartite modernization discourse aimed at redefining global narratives of progress. The corpus-driven analysis reveals three mutually reinforcing dimensions: 1) cognitive deconstruction of Orientalist teleologies, 2) path reconstruction through localized hybridity, and 3) systemic transcendence toward pluriversal alternatives. Collectively, these dimensions provincialize Western-centric modernity while asserting China's agency in shaping decolonial epistemologies.

4.1 Cognitive Deconstruction: Breaking the Narrative Hegemony of Orientalism

The discursive patterns identified in the CDCS Corpus reveal a systematic effort to dismantle the Orientalist equation of modernization with Westernization, a hegemonic narrative that positions non-Western societies as passive recipients of the institutional and developmental models of the Occident (Said, 1978). By foregrounding the distinctiveness of China's own modernization trajectory, China Daily's narratives challenge the universalizing claims of Western modernity, thereby reclaiming epistemic agency for non-Western societies. This deconstructive process operates through two interrelated dimensions: the assertion of "modernization with Chinese characteristics (4.1.1)" and the ideological framing of "socialistic modernization (4.1.2)."

4.1.1 Modernization with Chinese Characteristics

The most frequent two-word cluster surrounding "modern" and its variants in the CDCS corpus, as shown in **Table 3**, is "Chinese modernization," highlighting China Daily's consistent emphasis on "modernization with Chinese characteristics." This phrase reflects Chinese official media's strategic framing of modernization as distinct from the Western model, establishing a narrative that highlights China's unique path to modernity. By foregrounding "Chinese characteristics," the media actively deconstructs the Orientalist binary that relegates non-Western countries' cultural and political agency to inferiority unless they adopted Eurocentric frameworks, asserting that modernity is not a unidirectional imposition but a pluralistic process shaped by different counties' respective national conditions.

This contrast with the Western model is reinforced throughout the corpus, as can be evidently observed in several key concordances, for example:

> *"Led ultimately by China, you get this incredible transformation where **modernization** is actually the possibility for all of humanity, not for a tiny minority of Western countries. ..." Noting that China's growth is **redefining the notion of modernization**, Jacques (former senior fellow at Cambridge University's Department of Politics and International Studies, author's note) said the nation's rise is going to change the world in a way the West can't cope with.*
> (20230510 *Shanghai forum participants salute new model for human advancement*)

This passage directly challenges Orientalist teleology by framing Chinese modernization as a transformative force that disrupts Western-centric assumptions of linear progress. The emphasis on "redefining modernity" dismantles the hegemonic narrative that equates "backwardness" with non-Westernness and "progress" with Westernization, suggesting that Chinese modernization is envisioned as a distinct global force, with implications far beyond China's borders.

Another example illustrates how Chinese modernization is viewed as a process of innovation in its own right:

> *It (the third plenum of the 20th CPC Central Committee) also focused on the promotion of* ***Chinese modernization****, the fundamental idea that China is* ***inventing its own modernity****.*
> (20240720 *Plenum marks milestone in further reform*)

By promoting the concept of China's "own" modernity, the discourse subverts Orientalist hierarchies that privilege Western epistemology. The term "inventing" actively positions China's development trajectory as uniquely adapted to its national circumstances and values, rather than a derivative of Western models.

Furthermore, **Fig. 1** below shows that the cluster "Chinese modernization" is often associated with positive nouns such as "development", "promotion", "accomplishments", "breakthroughs", and is frequently collocated with active verbs like "advance" and "pursue". These contexts further strengthen the optimistic tone in the discourse surrounding Chinese modernization, highlighting not only past achievements but also an unwavering determination to make continued progress.

Deepening Reform Comprehensively to Advance	Chinese Modernization",	the third plenum
make united efforts to advance	Chinese modernization	for national rejuvenation.
higher-quality population to advance	Chinese modernization.	Zhang Xuyin, deputy
ahead While striving to advance	Chinese modernization,	the CPC is
high-quality development and advance	Chinese modernization	through the thematic
States, said: "The concept of	Chinese modernization,	to me, is
is a defining feature of	Chinese modernization	and explained why
is a major goal of	Chinese modernization.	Hence, fiscal and
focused on the promotion of	Chinese modernization,	the fundamental idea
development with new accomplishments in	Chinese modernization.	It will also
new progress and breakthroughs in	Chinese modernization,	solve conflicts and
sees four key pillars in	Chinese modernization —	cooperation, harmony, peace
pioneer, and example, in pursuing	Chinese modernization.	He called on
Party remains committed to pursuing	Chinese modernization.	To steer such
manufacturers and high-tech companies. "	Chinese modernization	is aimed at

Fig. 1. "Chinese Modernization" in Context

The lexical emphasis on dynamism and self-referential progress further deconstructs Orientalist portrayals of China as a static "Other," instead positioning it as an active architect of global modernity. Through these linguistic patterns, the media reinforces a sense of national pride and collective ambition.

4.1.2 Socialistic Modernization

The discursive prominence of the three-word cluster "modern socialist country" in the CDCS corpus (**Table 4**) reflects Chinese official media's ideological commitment to constructing a socialist modernity that diverges from capitalist paradigms. By redefining modernity through socialist institutional frameworks rather than Western-centric capitalist metrics, this formulation positions political plurality and institutional specificity as constitutive elements of global modernity; hence directly engages with Said's (1978) critique of Orientalist binaries that solely upholds Western liberal capitalist norms above all else.

A key concordance exemplifies this ideological positioning:

> *The Party views **Chinese modernization** as **not** being solely related to achieving material wealth or a higher level of efficiency than that **offered by the capitalist system**. Rather, it is about effectively maintaining a higher degree of **social equity**, providing **1.4 billion people** with a prosperous and dignified life.*
> (20230510 *Shanghai forum participants salute new model for human advancement*)

The explicit rejection of Western capitalist benchmarks ("material wealth", "efficiency") dismantles Orientalist equations of progress with GDP growth. By prioritizing "social equity", the discourse asserts socialist values as legitimate modernization criteria -- a direct challenge to the observed hierarchy that positions Western economic models as universal standards. Meanwhile, the focus on "1.4 billion people" constructs a collective modernization subject, countering stereotypes that frame socialist governance as antithetical to human dignity. This redefines development success through systemic guarantees of collective welfare rather than individualistic metrics.

The persistent collocation of "modern socialist country" with the verb "build" (as shown in **Fig. 2** below) emphasizes the agentive role of socialist governance in shaping China's developmental trajectory. The use of this verb suggests that Chinese modernization is seen as a continuous, constructive endeavor, one that requires both long-term planning and concerted efforts from the government and the people. The emphasis on "building a modern socialist country" presents this as a national mission, grounded in the belief that socialism provides a solid foundation for achieving comprehensive modernizing development.

challenges that lie ahead. "Building a	modern socialist country	in all respects
high-quality development and building a	modern socialist country.	This can be
a blueprint for comprehensively building a	modern socialist country.	However, achieving this
during the course of building a	modern socialist country	until the middle
to realize the second: Building a	modern socialist country	that is prosperous,
fulfill its ambition to become a	modern socialist country	by the middle
and (that China will) become a	modern socialist country	in all respects
the Chinese people to build a	modern socialist country	and realize national
country's efforts to build a	modern socialist country	in all respects
course for high-quality development, a	modern socialist country	in all respects",
to create a model for a	modern socialist country,	one of which
an example for cities in a	modern socialist country,	increase its capabilities
security, and build China into a	modern socialist country,"	Liu said. Over
contribute to the construction of a	modern socialist country	in all aspects,
on a new journey toward a	modern socialist country	in all respects,

Fig. 2. "Modern socialist country" in ContextI

Furthermore, this cluster is often followed by the phrase "in all respects" (as seen in **Fig. 3**), suggesting that Chinese modernization is not limited to certain areas, but rather encompasses all aspects of society. This framing reflects the Chinese government's ambition and vision of creating a well-rounded, balanced nation that is modern in every dimension while remaining firmly rooted in socialist principles.

country's efforts to build a	modern socialist country	in all respects
challenges that lie ahead. "Building a	modern socialist country	in all respects
and (that China will) become a	modern socialist country	in all respects
on a new journey toward a	modern socialist country	in all respects,
To build itself into a great	modern socialist country	in all respects,
contribute to the construction of a	modern socialist country	in all aspects,
course for high-quality development, a	modern socialist country	in all respects",
and work hard for a great	modern socialist country	that is prosperous,
through 2035, and to become a great	modern socialist country	that is prosperous,
to realize the second: Building a	modern socialist country	that is prosperous,
the Chinese people to build a	modern socialist country	and realize national
fulfill its ambition to become a	modern socialist country	by the middle
a blueprint for comprehensively building a	modern socialist country.	However, achieving this
an example for cities in a	modern socialist country,	increase its capabilities

Fig. 3. "Modern socialist country" in ContextII

By emphasizing the "modern socialist country" and its comprehensive development, the discourse highlights China's unique path to modernization -- one that integrates socialist ideals with practical, progressive policies tailored to China's specific context and historical experience.

4.2 Path Reconstruction: Innovative Practices in Localizing Modernity

Building on Chakrabarty's (2000) critique of Eurocentric universalism, this section examines how *China Daily* provincializes Western modernity by reconstructing unique pathways rooted in localized cultural, social, and developmental practices. The CDCS Corpus reveals discursive strategies that reject the homogenizing logic of Western-centric modernization, instead foregrounding hybrid models that integrate global processes with indigenous epistemologies. Through lexical patterns and concordance analysis, three interconnected dimensions emerge: cultural revitalization in a modern context (4.2.1), people-oriented modernization (4.2.2), and reconciliation between urban and rural development (4.2.3). These practices collectively provincialize modernity by redefining progress through China's socialist governance and cultural specificity, challenging the assumption that modernization necessitates erasure of local traditions.

4.2.1 Cultural Revitalization in Modern Context

The CDCS Corpus demonstrates the centrality of cultural revitalization in China's modernization discourse, aligning with Chakrabarty's (2000) call to provincialize Eurocentric narratives by embedding global modernity within local cultural frameworks.

In **Table 1.** Processed Keyword List (R1-R50), the words "cultural" and "culture" respectively rank 12th (freq: 634) and 41st (freq: 504). Further cluster search sorted by the regex "\bcultur(?:al|e)\b" reveals recurring collocations of the two words (**Table 5**), in which the prominent occurrence of "cultural heritage" (freq: 163),

"Chinese culture" (freq: 81), and "traditional culture" (freq: 30), etc. demonstrates a deliberate emphasis on integrating China's historical legacy into its modernization trajectory.

Table 5. Two-word Cluster Surrounding "Cultural" and "Culture"

Rank	Cluster	Freq	Range
1	cultural heritage	163	64
2	chinese culture	91	46
3	intangible cultural	77	33
4	cultural relics	63	25
5	traditional culture	30	23
6	cultural exchanges	23	21
7	national cultural	21	11
8	cultural tourism	16	12
9	local culture	15	12
10	chinese cultural	11	11

A representative concordance illustrates this synthesis:

> *"This interest is partly driven by a desire to* ***reconnect with traditional values and aesthetics*** *in a rapidly* ***modernizing*** *and globalized world. For them (young people, author's note), traditional Chinese music, with its deep historical roots, symbolizes a* ***rich cultural legacy*** *that offers a sense of identity and belonging."*
> (20241023 *Ancient, modern elements in harmony for new generation*)

Here, the media reframes cultural heritage not as antithetical to modernity but as a dynamic resource for constructing a distinctive Chinese modernity. The phrase "reconnect with traditional values" positions cultural revitalization as an act of agency, contrasting with the Western modernization model that prioritizes the global dominance of its commercialized popular culture.

The case of Xunpu below also reflects the successful fusion of tradition and modernity, where cultural revitalization is not merely a nostalgic return to the past but a form of organic integration with modernity:

> *"Besides exploring the natural landscape, old architecture, and customs and traditions of the village, I also gained in-depth knowledge about Xunpu, where* ***tradition and modernity merge****," said Hu.*
> (20240327 *Floral ornaments crowning attraction of fishing village*)

The traditional elements of Chinese culture, such as *Xunpu Zanhua* (head-pinned flowers), long embedded in the country's historical legacy, are being re-envisioned and integrated into the contemporary cultural landscape, making them a vibrant part of China's modern cultural identity.

China's approach to cultural prosperity within the framework of its modernization model succeeds in challenging Western cultural hegemony. By fostering a deep connection between traditional culture and modernity, China not only revives its historical heritage but also asserts its cultural influence in a globalized world, making the cultural dimension of Chinese modernization a critical pillar in the broader vision of national development.

4.2.2 People-oriented Modernization

Western modernization typically involves a capitalist framework, driven by profit maximization and capital accumulation. According to Harvey (2005), capitalism is not simply a mode of production but a way of organizing the entire social world around the logic of profit. This profit-oriented nature of Western modernization contrasts sharply with China's people-oriented modernization that prioritizes social welfare over market-driven outcomes (Lu, 2021).

The CDCS Corpus demonstrates a sustained emphasis on people-centered development as a cornerstone of provincializing Western modernity. By foregrounding collective welfare over capitalist individualism, Chinese official media reframes modernization as a process rooted in socialist governance and communal agency. The keyword "people" (ranked 11th in **Table 1**, freq: 2,497) dominates the corpus, showcasing China's focus on the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of its population.

Supporting this ideological reorientation, specific concordances from Chinese modernization discourse state:

> *China's new demographic development model, which **prioritizes** improving the **overall quality of people's lives** and the workforce, will help propel **modernization**, officials and experts said.*
> (20230613 *Firm course charted for modernization*)

> *"The CPC adheres to a **people-centered** approach and always puts people's interests first," he (second deputy secretary-general of the Gabonese Democratic Party, author's note) said, adding that this guarantees that China makes **constant progress**.*
> (20221011 *Party forms new friendships worldwide*)

By prioritizing the overall quality of people's lives, China's modernization aims to create a more inclusive and prosperous society for the vast majority of people. In contrast to Western modernization, China's successful practice of insisting on the "people first" principle has broken the inherent cognition that modernization will inevitably lead to the polarization of the rich and the poor, and has reconstructed modernization path that is fairer and more in line with the expectations of the general public.

4.2.3 Reconciliation between Urban and Rural Development

The people-centered characteristic of Chinese modernization is specifically reflected on its attempt to boost agricultural growth; thus reconcile the urban-rural development and promote social equity. President Xi Jinping has consistently highlighted the need for agricultural modernization as a central part of the broader goal of national modernization, stating that "without an agricultural powerhouse, there is no modern powerhouse as a whole; without agricultural and rural modernization, socialist modernization is incomplete[1] (Xi, 2023)."

From the perspective of CDCS Corpus, **Table 3** and **Table 4** (Two-word and Three-word Cluster Surrounding "Modern" and Its Variants) reveal the high frequency of terms related to agricultural modernization; for instance, "modern agriculture" ranks 8th in **Table 3**, and "modern agricultural +" clusters abound in **Table 4**. These clusters indicate the strategic importance placed on agricultural development in China's policy discussions and modernization discourse, highlighting a hybrid model where agricultural modernization is framed not as a peripheral concern but as a cornerstone of socialist modernity, thereby provincializing the capitalist logic of urbanization that dominates Western narratives.

[1] The original text is "没有农业强国就没有整个现代化强国；没有农业农村现代化，社会主义现代化就是不全面的".

The strategic positioning of agriculture as a dynamic sector within China's modernization trajectory can be illustrated by the concordance below:

> *"By making **agriculture** -- a sector which gives the majority of people their livelihoods -- the starting point of **market-oriented reforms**, China could ensure widespread distribution of grain and build consensus and political support for the continuation of reforms."*
> (20220208 *Agricultural progress puts nation on solid footing*)

This statement aligns with Chakrabarty's (2000) emphasis on hybridity, where global processes -- here, market reforms -- are embedded within localized socio-historical contexts. Unlike Western modernization models, which often marginalize rural economies as relics of pre-modernity, China's discourse reframes agricultural development as a modernizing force. The emphasis on "market-oriented reforms" and "widespread distribution of grain" underscores a socialist logic that prioritizes equitable resource allocation over profit-driven extraction, thereby provincializing capitalist teleologies of urbanization.

4.3 Systemic Transcendence: Alternative Pathways for the Global South

Building on the cognitive deconstruction of Orientalist hierarchies (Section 4.1) and the provincializing practices of localized modernity (Section 4.2), this section advances Mignolo's decolonial framework (2011) to position Chinese modernization as a pluriversal alternative that delinks from Western-centric hegemony while institutionalizing emancipatory pathways for the Global South. The CDCS Corpus demonstrates how China's official media discourse transcends Eurocentric paradigms by advocating pathways that prioritize anti-hegemonic cooperation (4.3.1) and ecological sustainability (4.3.2). These dimensions collectively reframe modernization as a decolonial project that empowers Global South nations to reconcile development with postcolonial sovereignty, challenging the universality of capitalist exploitation and environmental degradation embedded in Western models.

4.3.1 Peaceful Modernization Benefiting the World

The CDCS Corpus emphasizes China's discursive commitment to peaceful development as an underlying notion of its modernization philosophy, aligning with Mignolo's (2011) call to delink from colonial logics of domination. This development pattern emphasizes two significant aspects: rejecting Western power dynamics and meanwhile helping other countries, especially developing countries, to achieve advancement.

In stark contrast to the hegemonic Western modernization trajectory, Chinese modernization offers an alternative that prioritizes peace, stability, and mutual respect, as can be seen in specific concordances in the CDCS Corpus, for example:

> *More important, the CPC pledged that **Chinese modernization** will lay a path for **peaceful development**, and that China will not achieve modernization through colonization or invasion. Neither will it seek hegemony or expansion.*
> (20230510 *Shanghai forum participants salute new model for human advancement*)

This passage directly engages with Mignolo's decolonial critique by contrasting China's peaceful trajectory with the colonial violence underpinning Western modernity. The explicit rejection of "colonization" and

"hegemony" dismantles the Eurocentric assumption that modernization necessitates subjugation, instead positioning China's rise as a systemic alternative rooted in mutual respect. The phrase "path for peaceful development" further reframes progress as a collective endeavor rather than a zero-sum competition.

Alongside this focus on peaceful development, Chinese modernization seeks to create a global environment in which all nations, particularly those in the developing world, have the opportunity to modernize and prosper on a foundation of shared growth, where China contributes to the development of other nations. A specific example concordance is as follows:

> *"... fundamental to **Western modernization** was the division of the world. Fundamental to **Chinese modernization** are only the opportunities to the world, particularly to the **developing world**, to develop and to modernize," ...*
> (20230510 *Shanghai forum participants salute new model for human advancement*)

Here the emphasis on "opportunities" and "developing world" aligns with the concept of pluriversality, where multiple modernities coexist without hierarchical subordination. By framing China's modernization as a catalyst for Global South agency, the discourse challenges the colonial division of the world into "developed" and "underdeveloped" categories.

Through its commitment to peaceful development, China not only envisions its own rise but also works to ensure that global development is achieved in a manner that benefits all nations. This vision is the hallmark of Chinese modernization and stands as a counterpoint to the historically Western hegemonic practices that have shaped the global landscape for centuries.

4.3.2 Sustainable Modernization for Long-term Progress

While Western epistemologies have been prioritizing extractive capitalism over ecological interdependence on their modernization path of colonial expansion (Arora & Stirling, 2023), Chinese modernization discourse provincializes this Eurocentric assumption that modernity necessitates ecological degradation through institutionalizing green development as a systemic alternative to the colonial logic of environmental exploitation. This is evidenced through lexical patterns and concordances that position sustainability not merely as a policy objective but as an ontological reorientation toward pluriversal coexistence -- a framework where human progress harmonizes with planetary boundaries.

In the CDCS Corpus, the keyword "development" ranks sixth, with a frequency of 1,346 times (see **Table 1**), underscoring its centrality in the media discourse, and further cluster results (see **Table 6** below) reveals that terms like "sustainable development (ranked 3rd)" and "green development (ranked 10th)" are key topics under discussion, indicating that discussions around development in China consistently stress ecological sustainability as an integral part of the national modernization agenda.

Table 6. Two-word Cluster Surrounding "Development"

Rank	Cluster	Freq	Range
1	quality development	90	53
2	economic development	72	55

Rank	Cluster	Freq	Range
3	sustainable development	45	38
4	rapid development	32	30
5	national development	28	25
6	rural development	24	17
7	healthy development	23	13
8	social development	20	19
9	development research	19	17
10	green development	17	16

A specific example concordance further illustrates this emphasis, reflecting the Chinese leadership's focus on green development as a crucial element in the path towards Chinese modernization:

> *China, as the world's largest developing nation, must make arduous efforts to attain* ***green and low-carbon growth*** *while ensuing its people live better lives during the course of building a* ***modern socialist country*** *until the middle of this century, the premier said.*
> (20210904 *Premier highlights prioritizing energy conservation, need for multilateralism*)

By prioritizing ecological civilization alongside material civilization, China is forging a development path that is both forward-thinking and deeply rooted in long-term ecological sustainability, reinforcing the idea that modernization in China is not a one-dimensional, Western-centric model but one that harmonizes growth with environmental stewardship. Through such narratives, Chinese media articulates a decolonial modernity where sustainability is not an afterthought but the very condition of progress -- a systemic alternative that empowers the Global South to reclaim sovereignty over their developmental futures.

5 Conclusion

This study critically examines the discursive construction of Chinese modernization in the China Daily Cover Story Corpus (2020-2025) through a postcolonial lens, challenging the Eurocentric equivalence of modernization with Westernization. The findings reveal that China's official media articulates a distinct modernization paradigm through three interconnected dimensions: cognitive deconstruction, path reconstruction, and systemic transcendence.

First, cognitive deconstruction dismantles the Orientalist narrative by asserting "modernization with Chinese characteristics" and "socialist modernization" as counter-hegemonic frameworks. By foregrounding China's institutional uniqueness in redefining progress, the discourse disrupts Western-centric teleologies of development. Second, path reconstruction provincializes Western modernity through localized practices, integrating cultural heritage, people-centered development, and urban-rural synergy into a hybrid model that rejects homogenizing Western templates. Third, systemic transcendence positions Chinese modernization as a

pluriversal alternative for the Global South, advocating peaceful cooperation, sustainable development, and anti-colonial solidarity.

These findings directly address the research questions: 1) Chinese media constructs modernization as a culturally grounded, socialist-aligned process through lexical repetition (e.g., "socialist," "people-oriented") and thematic clusters (e.g., "traditional culture," "sustainable development"); and 2) this discourse deconstructs the "modernization = Westernization" myth by emphasizing historical specificity, rejecting capitalist exploitation, and offering decolonial alternatives.

Despite the insights provided, this study has certain limitations. The reliance on the China Daily Cover Story Corpus, while rich in official discourse, represents a specific, government-oriented perspective that may not fully capture the diversity of views within Chinese society or among external commentators. Additionally, the focus on textual analysis limits the ability to assess the real-world implementation of the modernization principles discussed in the media. Future research could integrate grassroots narratives, comparative analyses of Global South media, and empirical evaluations of modernization outcomes.

In conclusion, this study affirms that Chinese modernization is a unique, non-Western path of development that reflects the country's distinct values and aspirations, offering an alternative to the Western-centric narrative of modernizing development. By bridging postcolonial theory and corpus linguistics, this study advances methodological innovation in media analysis while contributing to decolonial epistemology. It demonstrates how rising powers like China reconfigure global narratives, offering a blueprint for non-Western societies to reclaim agency in defining modernity. Ultimately, Chinese modernization emerges not as a rejection of global progress but as a pluriversal remodeling -- one that harmonizes socialist governance, cultural sovereignty, and ecological interdependence.

Appendix I: Raw Keyword List (R1-R100)

Rank	Type	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref
1	said	8870	4370	525	838
2	china	4384	389	476	98
3	chinese	2171	193	415	65
4	beijing	1369	45	289	27
5	province	1087	38	405	27
6	yuan	886	9	263	4
7	shanghai	849	22	200	11
8	added	1165	301	406	224
9	wang	673	6	171	4
10	year	2703	2208	464	830
11	li	658	9	169	6
12	covid	617	0	197	0
13	zhang	626	3	159	2
14	kong	661	30	84	12
15	hong	654	32	91	12
16	development	1346	640	338	245
17	liu	536	6	133	4
18	ai	521	2	42	1
19	percent	1353	734	318	189
20	pandemic	530	36	178	8
21	chen	419	3	107	2
22	xi	415	2	109	2
23	has	4008	5221	521	1191
24	also	2694	2918	507	1019
25	tourism	490	55	102	17
26	city	1166	736	264	321
27	industry	861	384	221	164
28	people	2497	2806	443	860
29	in	19804	40058	534	1443
30	cultural	634	204	162	109
31	rural	427	71	109	53
32	during	1264	1063	402	550
33	taiwan	309	8	31	8
34	games	522	151	68	77
35	such	2047	2320	463	856
36	market	908	590	216	243

Rank	Type	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref
37	nation	628	263	242	165
38	adding	447	97	269	87
39	guangdong	282	3	158	3
40	products	610	254	166	110
41	residents	421	84	157	54
42	cities	441	101	185	70
43	international	823	508	257	230
44	according	794	493	297	331
45	enterprises	305	24	107	20
46	industrial	409	103	121	70
47	online	524	213	193	108
48	village	412	109	87	74
49	university	789	538	284	240
50	million	849	620	294	273
51	sports	420	123	74	70
52	visitors	352	70	100	47
53	platform	351	78	156	51
54	festival	333	66	95	32
55	zhao	212	1	62	1
56	local	905	751	305	335
57	yang	223	5	90	3
58	capital	506	240	250	136
59	overseas	299	50	129	37
60	national	910	783	331	366
61	platforms	237	15	127	10
62	shenzhen	195	0	71	0
63	technology	657	434	206	190
64	travel	456	196	119	103
65	autonomous	222	9	110	8
66	traditional	519	266	194	165
67	dynasty	224	10	58	6
68	company	833	692	229	280
69	railway	261	34	35	19
70	cooperation	260	35	114	27
71	heritage	263	37	81	33
72	efforts	503	264	238	156
73	wu	212	10	73	6

Rank	Type	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref
74	zhejiang	181	0	101	0
75	more	3246	5178	509	1258
76	huang	178	0	46	0
77	culture	504	279	160	162
78	center	507	291	221	182
79	cpc	172	0	34	0
80	zhou	190	6	64	3
81	launched	324	99	179	81
82	digital	367	149	100	54
83	innovation	307	94	112	50
84	museum	299	88	51	43
85	promote	278	71	157	57
86	countries	654	517	194	184
87	elderly	281	74	77	46
88	quality	505	318	195	196
89	mainland	194	15	58	13
90	county	338	130	109	71
91	region	378	173	154	97
92	yu	172	6	62	3
93	academy	245	50	128	42
94	commerce	254	59	86	38
95	area	598	458	219	279
96	areas	575	427	253	203
97	companies	613	481	168	184
98	month	547	390	261	265
99	measures	379	186	163	106
100	deputy	244	55	166	36

Appendix II: Stop List

a	about	above	across	after
afterwards	again	against	all	almost
alone	along	already	also	although
always	am	among	amongst	amoungst
amount	an	and	another	any
anyhow	anyone	anything	anyway	anywhere
are	around	as	at	back
be	became	because	become	becomes
becoming	been	before	beforehand	behind
being	below	beside	besides	between

beyond	bill	both	bottom	but
by	call	can	cannot	cant
co	con	could	couldnt	cry
de	describe	detail	do	done
down	due	during	each	eg
eight	either	eleven	else	elsewhere
empty	enough	etc	even	ever
every	everyone	everything	everywhere	except
few	fifteen	fify	fill	find
fire	first	five	for	former
formerly	forty	found	four	from
front	full	further	get	give
go	had	has	hasnt	have
he	hence	her	here	hereafter
hereby	herein	hereupon	hers	herself
him	himself	his	how	however
hundred	i	ie	if	in
inc	indeed	interest	into	is
it	its	itself	keep	last
latter	latterly	least	less	ltd
made	many	may	me	meanwhile
might	mill	mine	more	moreover
most	mostly	move	much	must
my	myself	name	namely	neither
never	nevertheless	next	nine	no
nobody	none	noone	nor	not
nothing	now	nowhere	of	off
often	on	once	one	only
onto	or	other	others	otherwise
our	ours	ourselves	out	over
own	part	per	perhaps	please
put	rather	re	s	same
see	seem	seemed	seeming	seems
serious	several	she	should	show
side	since	sincere	six	sixty
so	some	somehow	someone	something
sometime	sometimes	somewhere	still	such
system	take	ten	than	that
the	their	them	themselves	then
thence	there	thereafter	thereby	therefore
therein	thereupon	these	they	thick
thin	third	this	those	though
three	through	throughout	thru	thus

to	together	too	top	toward
towards	twelve	twenty	two	un
under	until	up	upon	us
very	via	was	we	well
were	what	whatever	when	whence
whenever	where	whereafter	whereas	whereby
wherein	whereupon	wherever	whether	which
while	whither	who	whoever	whole
whom	whose	why	will	with
within	without	would	yet	you
your	yours	yourself	yourselves	

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鼻化元音不对称缺失及音变的原因分析

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【摘要】鼻化元音-口腔元音对立的语言，鼻化元音的数目通常等于或少于口腔元音，前元音的缺失多于后元音，其中部分语言存在不对称音变的记录。对比鼻化元音与口腔元音的分布，可以排除口腔元音的不对称元音空间带来的影响。不对称与腭舌弓的走向有关，发音器官的解剖结构具有跨族群的普遍性。因此本文观察了 UPSID 102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立语言的音段清单中的单元音，25 种语言鼻化元音相对口腔元音不对称缺失，其中 20 种，前元音缺失多于后元音。同时有 28 种语言，高元音以下鼻化前元音相对后元音缺失或偏低；鼻化前、后半高元音出现频率比值与口腔元音相差 34%。鼻化元音与口腔元音以鼻化程度区分，舌体经由腭舌弓牵拉软腭，造成前、后舌位的口腔元音鼻化程度不同。相同高度，对于前元音，鼻化元音需要更高的鼻化程度与口腔元音保持充足对立，导致了不对称的缺失或音变。本文通过对现存语言的观察和基于解剖结构的分析，说明其中的普遍性，为解释过去的音变提供依据。

【关键词】鼻化元音；发音解剖学；腭舌弓；元音空间

1 引论

元音在语音空间中倾向于平衡且广泛的分散（Maddieson, 1984, p. 136），但是也存在不对称的元音空间。关于口腔元音，André Martinet（1952, 1955）对链式音变中的后元音前化做出解释，两种相对立的趋势共同作用所导致的结果，即声门上声道中发音空间的不对称性，以及语音系统所要求的对称性。前元音比后元音拥有更多的发音空间。尽管发音空间能轻松提供前元音的四级高度，但是对应系列的四个后元音就显得过于拥挤，其结果将影响到后元音的边缘安全。为了缓解这种拥挤的压力导致后元音的前移。但是鼻化元音与口腔元音的情况不同，甚至相反。现代巴黎法语（Azra, 1995）（Ruhlen, 1979）（Rochet, 1976）（Hansen, 2001）、吴语宁波方言（Von Möllendorff, 1901）（赵元任, 1928）（徐通锵, 1985）等语言都曾出现鼻化元音前元音后化或前元音先于后元音失去鼻化的特征等前后维度上不对称的音变。Maddieson（1984）对常见的 7 个鼻化元音（/ĩ(ː)/、/ũ(ː)/、/ẽ(ː)/、/õ(ː)/、/ɛ̃(ː)/、/ɔ̃(ː)/、/ã(ː)/)在 UPSID（UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database）当时所包括的 317 种语言中的 59 种具有鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言中出现频率的统计，亦发现前后元音之间的不对称，中高和中低高度上，只有 11 种语言

有元音有/ɐ̃(:)/，而 22 种语言有元音/ɛ̃(:)/，21 种语言有元音/ɒ̃(:)/，19 种语言有元音/ɔ̃(:)/，UPSID 根据世界现存语言的谱系，在各小语支中抽取若干种语言，结论相对可以反应普遍的特征或规律。但是单纯观察鼻化元音的元音空间，由于鼻化元音同口腔元音存在对应关系，结果可能受口腔元音可能存在的不对称的元音空间影响。

不对称现象具有跨语言的普遍性，因此从人类普遍差异较小的发音原理、解剖特征可以做出解释，鼻化元音元音空间中相对口腔元音的缺失和偏离或音变中前后不对称可能与连接舌体和软腭的腭舌弓前下-后上的走向（CALAIS-GERMAIN & GERMAIN, 2022）有关。同时观察 UPSID 现在 451 种语言中 102 种分属各语系、语族的鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言中的单元音，对比鼻化元音与口腔元音的分布，排除口腔元音的不对称元音空间带来的影响，也可以发现鼻化元音在元音空间中不对称或较口腔元音的元音空间有所偏离，具体表现为一个或数个前元音的缺失或降低、前元音高度上的合并大于后元音等情况，当中大多数语言缺少语音演变的记录。跨语言观察的结果符合解剖结构带来的鼻化元音不对称分布的预期。本文通过对现存语言语音空间的观察和基于解剖结构的分析，说明元音空间与音变中的普遍规律，为解释过去的音变、通过一般规律推导音变的过程、明确过去的语音系统中音类的音值提供依据。

2 鼻化元音不对称的缺失或偏离

《语音类型》（Maddieson，1984）统计当时 UPSID 的 317 种语言中 71 种具有鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言鼻化元音出现的数量的比较，同一高度前后鼻化元音出现频率不同，鼻化元音于元音空间中分布前后不对称， 11 种有/ɐ̃/，22 种有/ɛ̃/，21 种有/ɒ̃/，19 种有/ɔ̃/，当中前后元音非对称性的原因不明。上文发音器官前后的非对称可以对此做出解释。

下面分析 UPSID 的 451 种语言当中 102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言中的单元音，以验证上述解剖结构对鼻化元音的影响。所有鼻化元音单元音相对口腔元音不对称缺失、鼻化元音同口腔元音完全对应及鼻化元音元音空间不对称的语言的详细元音音段清单（保留了 UPSID 的音标）参见附录。

2.1 元音空间中鼻化元音与口腔元音的比较

对元音系统的跨语言研究（Ruhlen，1973、1975；Sedlak，1969）发现“…在音段清单中鼻元音数目总是不会多于口元音数目”。最通常的情况是它们的数目相等，几乎同样常见的情况是鼻元音数少于口元音数。（Wright，1986；冉启斌，段文君，译介）

UPSID 的 102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言的单元音当中，46 种鼻化元音和口腔元音一一对应，56 种鼻化元音相对口腔元音有缺失，缺失在前后维度对称的有 31 种。前后不对称缺失的有 25 种语言，其中 20 种，鼻化元音前元音缺失多于后元音或出现前元音低于后元音的情况，占前后不对称缺失的情况的 80%。

Table 1. 20 种语言的谱系分类

语系	语族	语言
Austro-Tai	Li-Kam-Tai	LAKKIA
Indo-European	Indic	HINDI-URDU
	Romance	FRENCH
Khoisan	North Khoisan	!XU
Na-Dene	Eyak	EYAK
Niger-Kordofanian	Adamawa	SANGO
	Kwa	ALLADIAN
	Ubangi (Eastern)	GBEYA
Nilo-Saharan	Songhai	SONGHAI
North American	Hokan	KAROK
	Keresiouan	YUCHI
	Penutian	ZOQUE
Papuan	East Papuan	NAMBAKAENGO
South American	Chibchan	BRIBRI
	Macro-Carib	OCAINA
		BAKAIRI
	Macro-Ge	APINAYE
		KAINGANG
	Macro-Tucanoan	HUARI
		TICUNA

当中鼻化元音与口腔元音前后不对称的差异部分（不包括高度上的减少）包括：!XU 语，非咽化元音：长元音/iː/、/eː/、/oː/对应的鼻化元音缺失，长元音需要保持软腭降低到维持口腔及鼻腔通道同时打开的时间更长，短元音/e̥/、/o̥/仅有对应的后元音/õ̥/；咽化元音没有前元音，鼻化元音和口腔元音一致。APINAYE 语、KAINGANG 语，口腔元音中间高度前后位置存在对称的/e/、/ɛ/、/o/、/ɔ/，前后位置都包含半高和半低两个高度，但是鼻化元音只存在/ɛ̃/、/õ/，前元音低于后元音。其中 APINAYE 语 3 个高度的后元音存在圆展对立，缺失中间高度的半高位置的展唇后元音。KAINGANG 语另外缺失后高元音/u/对应的鼻化元音，在下文 2.2 章节讨论。EYAK 语，前半低位置长短元音/ɛ/、/ɛː/对应的鼻化元音都缺失，后低位置长元音具备口腔元音和鼻化元音/ɑː/、/ɑ̃ː/，短元音没有口腔元音/ɑ/，但是有鼻化元音/ɑ̃/。GBEYA 语前半低位置的/ɛ/对应位置的鼻化元音缺失，鼻化元音出现相对半高更低的/æ̃/。HUARI 语，前元音/i/、/y/对应位置的鼻化元音缺失，出现高度更低的/ɪ̃/，后元音/u/对应的鼻化元音高度不变。KAROK

语，口腔元音具备长短元音两个系统，鼻化元音没有长元音，中间高度上短元音/ɛ/、/ʊ/对应的鼻化元音缺失，前元音缺失的高度低于后元音。YUCHI 语口腔元音前元音高度区分上数量多于后元音，口腔元音前元音具备 3 个高度，后元音具备 2 个高度，鼻化元音前后空间对称，只具备前后对称的两个鼻化中元音。ZOQUE 语口腔元音/i/、/ɛ/、/aɨ/、/o̞/、/u/具有前、央、后三种舌位，鼻化元音仅存在更前的后元音/ɤ̟̃/。法语（FRENCH）在数据库中记录包含/œ̃/、/æ̃/、/ɒ̃/、/ɔ̃/四个鼻化元音音位，有音变的详细记录，在 3.2 章节说明。

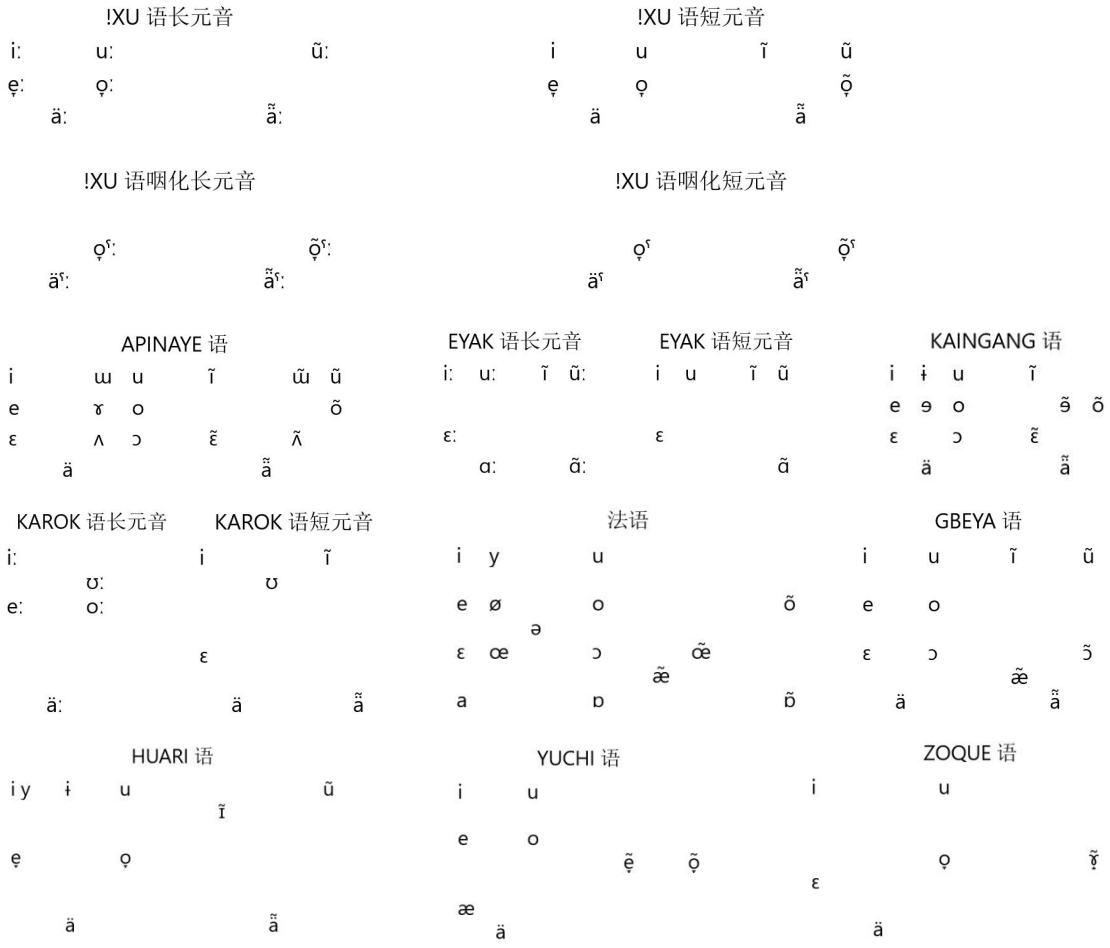


Fig. 1. 10 种鼻化元音相对口腔元音不对称缺失或偏离（除仅在高度上缺失）语言的元音音位图表

另外 10 种语言鼻化元音表现为，除去对称减少的高度，前元音在一或多个高度上多于后元音的缺失：BRIBRI、SONGHAI（缺/ĩ/）；SANGO（缺/ĩ/、/ẽ/、/õ/）；ALLADIAN（缺/ĩ/）；NAMBAKAENGO、TICUNA（缺/ẽ̟/）；BAKAIRI、OCAINA（缺/ɛ̃/）； HINDI-URDU（缺/æ̃ː/）；LAKKIA（缺/ĩ/、/ẽ/、/ã̟/）。

25 例鼻化元音相对口腔元音不对称缺失或偏离其中的 5 例反例包括：常州话（CHANGZHOU），鼻化元音来自鼻音韵尾的弱化，汉语阳声韵后元音多与-ŋ韵尾组合，在 VN→Ṽ的过程中不宜脱落，因缺少常州话在数据库中使用的赵元任的记录之后至今发生的语音演变的详细记录，常州话无法作为明确的

反例；布列塔尼语，数据库中的鼻化元音列表与《Grammaire bretonne》（Hemon，1992）不一致；MUMUYE 语口腔元前元音音中间高度只有/ɛ/，具有鼻化元音，后元音/o̞/、/ɔ/两个高度，缺失/ɔ/的鼻化元音；BURMESE 语、KASHMIRI 语为鼻化元音低元音的前移或低后元音的缺失（合并的方向待确认），舌位通过腭舌弓对软腭的影响因低元音前后距离而较小，所以对低元音的影响较弱。

2.2 鼻化元音元音空间的前后不对称

102 种语言当中，如果考虑鼻化后高元音/ũ/，存在 22 种语言单元音鼻化前元音相对后元音缺失或偏低，20 种相反，鼻化后元音相对前元音缺失或偏低，差距较小。除了上文提到的鼻化元音和口腔元音存在差异的语言，还包括了 AMAHUACA、BENGALI、HIGHLAND CHINANTEC、CAYUVAVA、IGBO、NEWARI、WARAO、IRISH、KIOWA，10 种鼻化元音同口腔元音属于同一种不对称情况的语言。

后高元音/u/舌位最高点靠近软腭，在 VN 结构中受 N 鼻音化形成鼻化元音的时间间隙较短。如果不考虑/ũ/的缺失，仅看高元音以下的元音空间，存在 28 种语言鼻化前元音相对后元音缺失或偏低，10 种相反。28 种语言当中上文未提及的有 5 种，CACUA、CHANGZHOU、MAZATEC、OJIBWA、YAGUA。

2.3 同高度前后鼻化元音出现频率与口腔元音的差别

单元音前后鼻化元音出现频率与口腔元音的差别主要体现在半高元音。数据库 451 种语言的口腔元音中，148 种语言具有前半高元音，占 32.82%，152 种具有后半高元音，占 33.70%，口腔元音半高高度前元音出现的概率是后元音的 0.97 倍；102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立语言中，20 种语言具有前半高元音，占 4.43%，31 种具有后半高元音，占 6.87%，鼻化元音半高高度前元音出现的概率是后元音的 0.64 倍，相较口腔元音出现明显差距。

Table 2. 451 种语言前后位置上口腔元音出现频率

口腔元音	前		央		后		前/后元音出现频率
总数	449	99.56%	424	94.01%	451	100.00%	1.00
高	412	91.35%	69	15.30%	393	87.14%	1.05
次高	75	16.63%	5	1.11%	70	15.52%	1.07
半高	148	32.82%	25	5.54%	152	33.70%	0.97
中	176	39.02%	86	19.07%	192	42.57%	0.92
半低	191	42.35%	17	3.77%	169	37.47%	1.13
次低	43	9.53%	15	3.33%	2	0.44%	21.66
低	29	6.43%	403	89.36%	51	11.31%	0.57

Table 3. 102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立语言前后位置上鼻化元音出现频率

鼻化元音	前		央		后		前/后元音出现频率
总数	100	22.17%	88	19.51%	98	21.73%	1.02
高	87	19.29%	12	2.66%	80	17.74%	1.09
次高	10	2.22%	1	0.22%	9	2.00%	1.11
半高	20	4.43%	4	0.89%	31	6.87%	0.64
中	33	7.32%	12	2.66%	37	8.20%	0.89
半低	38	8.43%	3	0.67%	36	7.98%	1.06
次低	10	2.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	
低	5	1.11%	85	18.85%	10	2.22%	0.50

3 不对称的音变

具有鼻化元音和口腔元音对立的语言当中，对已经发生的音变有记录的语言较少。下面列举现代巴黎法语、汉语吴语宁波方言鼻化元音不对称音变的例子，鼻化前半开元音口元音化（吴语宁波方言）或低化（现代巴黎法语），而同高度的鼻化后元音保留鼻化特征（吴语宁波方言）或高化（现代巴黎法语），前后元音不对称音变。此外汉语吴语上海方言也发生/ã/向/ɑ̃/的合并，但是不能排除是受社会因素共通语普通话影响的可能。现代巴黎法语和宁波方言音变的例子提供了在受发音器官前后不对称的影响下，鼻化元音音变的两种模式。

3.1 宁波方言

根据《宁波方言音节》（穆麟德，1901）、《现代吴语的研究》（赵元任，1928）、《百年来宁波音系的演变》（徐通锵，1985），宁波方言阳声韵字经历 VN→Ṽ→V，“到了“五·四”时期，-n 就完全消失，只留下鼻化元音（徐通锵，1985）”，产生鼻化元音/ĩ/、/ỹ/、/ũ/、/ẽ/、/ø̃/、/ɛ̃/，同时或稍后，-ŋ韵尾在低、半低元音后弱化，形成/ã/、/ɔ̃/，由于后元音/o/仅与-ŋ韵尾组合，后元音高度区别上少于前元音；至《现代吴语的研究》（赵元任，1928），高到半低高度的前元音全部失去鼻化元音和口腔元音的对立，只保留了/ã/、/ɔ̃/、/ũ/；在上世纪下半叶至今的宁波方言当中/ũ/进一步消失，仅保留/ã/、/ɔ̃/；根据《鄞州方言研究》（肖萍，2014）和近期对 2 位母语者的调查，鼻化元音/ã/、/ɔ̃/在非主城区的部分地区继续口元音化，/ã/→/a/、/ɔ̃/→/ɔ/。



Fig. 2. 吴语宁波方言鼻化元音口腔元音化

从/ɛ̃/→/ɛ/、/ɔ̃/保留鼻化来看，宁波方言鼻化半低元音出现不对称的音变，同高度的前元音去鼻音化；后元音腭咽口开口度小、口腔元音鼻化程度低，鼻化元音和口元音的对立较容易因而保留。如果音变进一步发生，后半低元音和低元音可能继续口元音化，这是现在部分地区宁波方言的情况，明显晚于鼻化前半低元音口元音化的时间。

3.2 法语

法语包含四个鼻化元音音位/ɛ̃/、/œ̃/、/ɑ̃/、/ɔ̃/，18 世纪发生前半低元音/ɛ̃/的下降：[ɛ̃]→[æ̃]（Azra，1995）（Ruhlen，1979）（rochet，1976），19 世纪发生/ɛ̃/：[æ̃] →[ɑ̃]，/ɑ̃/：[ɑ̃]→[ɔ̃]，/ɔ̃/：[ɔ̃]→[õ]的前后不对称的链式音变（Hansen，2001）（Azra，1995），前元音降低、后移，后元音受推链高化，现在实际表现为[ɑ̃]、[ɔ̃]、[õ]。

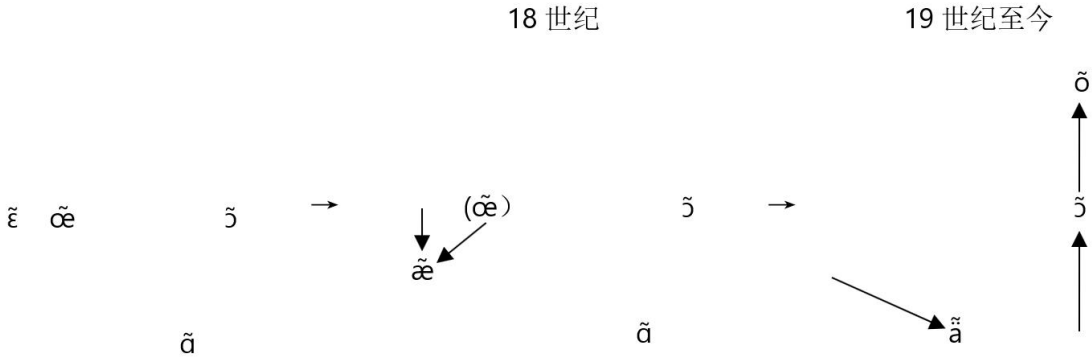


Fig. 3. 现代巴黎法语鼻化元音音变

3.3 小结

单元音鼻化元音相对口腔元音的缺失主要集中在中间高度元音高度上的合并，前后元音缺失或高度上偏离的不对称也主要发生在此，低元音前后距离较小，舌位通过腭舌弓对软腭的影响较弱。从 UPSID 的 102 种语言来看：①、比较鼻化元音和口腔元音，符合不对称的发音器官造成的影响的前元音少于或

低于后元音占不对称例子的 80%，占鼻化元音音位相对口腔元音减少的 56 种语言的 35.7%。5 例反例当中，3 例存在疑问，2 例为低元音的例子。②、单看鼻化元音格局，鼻化元音的元音空间如果与口腔元音一致，前后舌位高度上分布的原因不能排除和口腔元音元音空间形成的原因相同的可能。因此从①看，UPSID 的数据符合本文观点。

4　不对称现象的发音解剖学解释

发音时气流从咽腔通往口腔和鼻腔，咽腔往鼻腔的通道经由软腭和腭咽口括约肌控制的腭咽口，腭咽口阻力受软腭和腭咽口括约肌控制的腭咽口的开口度影响，软腭和舌之间有腭舌弓相连。口腔阻力 Ro 和腭咽口阻力 Rvp 的比值决定鼻腔通道气流量 Un 的大小，Un=Ro/Rvp（Baken 1987）。元音的鼻化程度与此正相关。口腔元音发音时，软腭上提接近抬高的状态，腭咽口接近关闭，腭咽口阻力较大，鼻化程度低，鼻腔共鸣对元音音色的影响较小。鼻化元音发音时，软腭降低，腭咽口开口度增大，腭咽口阻力减小，通过鼻腔通道的气流量增加，占总气流量的比例升高，鼻化程度更高，改变元音音色，和口腔元音形成对立。腭咽口阻力 Rvp 受软腭高度影响，上提软腭由腭帆提肌、腭帆张肌起作用，软腭降低由腭舌肌、腭咽肌起向下牵拉的作用，腭舌肌位于腭舌弓连接软腭和舌，腭舌弓从后上方软腭处向前下方连接软腭和舌，“向后上走行”，“腭舌肌从两侧将舌拉向后上”（CALAIS-GERMAIN, B., GERMAIN, F.,2022）。因此，舌位高低、前后会影响软腭的升降。

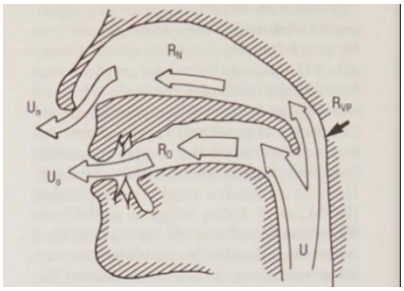


Fig. 4. 声门上声腔中的气流和阻力（Baken, 1987, p.408）

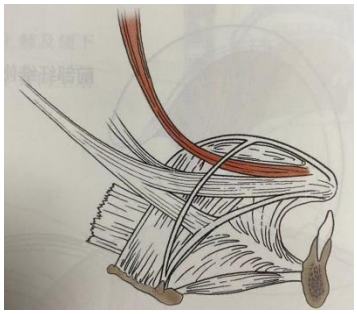


Fig. 5. 腭舌肌（CALAIS-GERMAIN & GERMAIN, 2022, p.250）

在具有鼻化元音和口腔元音对立的语音系统当中，鼻化元音需要在听感上和口腔元音形成区别，需要更高的鼻化程度。口腔元音鼻化程度的差异取决于人类发音器官普遍的生理结构，在不同语言人群当中差异较小。对于口腔元音，首先，舌位越低，腭舌肌带动软腭降低，腭咽口面积越大、腭咽口阻力越

小，因此，前后维度上相同时，口腔元音高元音的鼻化程度小于低元音。其次，由于腭舌肌的走向，舌位的前后也会影响软腭高度、腭咽口面积和腭咽口阻力，前元音与后元音比较，舌位更前，腭舌肌对软腭的牵拉更强，软腭更低，腭咽口阻力更小，鼻腔气流量增大，因此，高度相同时，由于腭舌肌的作用，口腔元音后元音的鼻化程度小于前元音。

因此，相比后元音，同高度的前元音，鼻化元音的鼻化程度区间更小，在口腔元音与鼻化元音构成的连续元音空间中，更易受口腔元音的威胁，更不稳定，鼻化元音需要更高的鼻化程度与口腔元音保持充足对立，鼻化前元音比后元音发音更紧张、更费力，导致出现鼻化前元音后移的情况，或者鼻化前元音相较后元音更容易口元音化、低化。前下-后上走向的腭舌弓带来的发音器官前后的非对称和舌-软腭解剖结构上的联系造成了鼻化元音前后维度上不对称的音变或在元音空间当中的缺失或偏离。

5 结语

部分具有鼻化元音和口腔元音对立的语音系统当中，鼻化元音单元音在元音空间或音变中前后不对称。UPSID 的 102 种鼻化-口腔元音对立的语言的单元音，25 种语言的鼻化元音相对口腔元音不对称缺失，其中 20 种语言的前元音缺失多于后元音，鼻化元音在元音空间中不对称或较口腔元音的元音空间有所偏离，具体表现为一个或数个前元音的缺失或降低、前元音高度上的合并大于后元音等情况。缺失或高度上偏离的不对称主要发生在中间高度，低元音前后距离较小，舌位通过腭舌弓对软腭的影响较弱。现代巴黎法语、吴语宁波方言等语言曾出现鼻化元音前后维度上不对称的音变。

鼻化元音与口腔元音的对立依赖更高的鼻化程度，鼻化程度与口腔阻力和腭咽口阻力的比值正相关。腭咽口阻力受软腭高度影响，舌体经由前下-后上走向的腭舌弓牵拉软腭，造成前后舌位的口腔元音腭咽口阻力、鼻化程度不同。舌位低、前，腭舌肌对软腭的牵拉强，软腭低，腭咽口面积大、阻力小。同高度的前元音，鼻化元音需要更低的软腭高度与口腔元音保持充足对立，软腭降低的距离的最小值更大。腭舌弓走向造成的发音器官前后的非对称造成了鼻化元音前后维度上音变或相对口腔元音的缺失或偏离的不对称。

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附录 1.

Table 4. UPSID 音标与国际音标对应关系

	前		央		后	
	展唇	圆唇	展唇	圆唇	展唇	圆唇
高	i	y	i_		uu	u
次高	I	Y	I_			U
半高	e	o/	@	@)	o(	o
中	"e	"o/	"@		"o(	"o
半低	E	E)	3		^	O
次低	aa		4	4)		
低	a+		a		a_	a_)

附加符号：咽化：9＝ˁ　鼻化：～＝　　软腭化：-＝ˠ　喉化（laryngealized)：*　更前：＋＝

附录 2.

Table 5. UPSID 中鼻化元音相对口腔元音前元音减少高度或降低幅度大于后元音的 20 种语言元音清单

语言	元音清单	备注：鼻化元音元音空间与口腔元音差异
!XU	i, i:, "e, "e:, a9, a, a9:, a:, "o9, "o9:, "o, "o:, u, u:, i~, a9~, a~, a9~:, a~:, "o9~"o9~:, "o~, , u~u~:	缺 i:, "e, "e:; "o, "o:对应鼻化元音仅短元音 "o~
ALLADIAN	i, I, e, E, a, O, o, u, E~, a~, O~	缺 I
APINAYE	i, i~, e, E, E~, a, a~, u, u~, uu, uu~, o, o~, o(, O, ^, ^~	缺 e, O, o(
BAKAIRI	i, e, E, a, @, o, u, i~, e~, a~, o~, u~	缺 E
BRIBRI	i, "e, "e~, a, a~, "o, "o~, u, u~	缺 i
EYAK	i, i:, E, E:, a_:, u, u:, i~, i~:, a_~, a_~:, u~:, u~	缺 E, E:, ; 增加 a_~
FRENCH	i, y, e, o/, E, E:, E), E)~, aa~, a+, a_), a_)~, O, o:, o~, u,	有音变记录
GBEYA	, i, i~, e, E, aa~, a, a~, O, O~, o, u, u~	缺 e, o, E, 增加 aa~
HINDI-URDU	i:, i~:, I, I~, e:, e~:, E, E~, aa:, 3, 3~, a:, a~:, O, O~, o:, o~:, U, U~, u~:, u:	缺 aa:
HUARI	i, y, I~"e, i_, a, a~, "o, u, u~,	缺 i, y, "e, i_, "o; 增加 I~
KAINGANG	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i_, @, i~, E~, a~, o~, @~	除去 u，缺 e, O, ; 缺央高元音
KAROK	i, i:, i~, e:, E, a, a:, a~, o:, U, U:, , ,	缺 e:, E, o:, U, U:,
LAKKIA	i, e, E, a, u, i:, E:, a:, O:, u:, i~:, E~:, O~:, a~:, u~:, E~, a~, o~, u~,	缺 i、a、e
NAMBAKAENGO	i, "e, aa, "@, a, a_, "o, u, u+, i~, aa~, "@~, a~, a_~, "o~, u~	缺"e
OCAINA	i, i~, E, a, a~, uu, uu~, o, o~	缺 E

SANGO	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, u~, E~, O~, a~	缺 ieo
SONGHAI	i, "e, "e~, a, a~, u, u~, o, o~	缺 i
TICUNA	i, i~, "e, i_, i_~, a, a~, u, u~, "o, "o~	缺"e
YUCHI	i, e, "e~, aa, a, "o~, o, u	口腔元音前元音多于后元音，鼻化元音对称
ZOQUE	i, E, a, u, "o, "o(+~	鼻化元音仅"o(+~

附录 3.

Table 6. UPSID 中鼻化元音相对口腔元音对称缺失的 31 种语言元音清单

语言	元音清单	备注：鼻化元音元音空间与口腔元音差异
AKAN	i, i~, I, I~, e, a, a~, u, u~, U, U~, o, O	中间高度缺失或合并
AMUZGO	i, "e, aa, a, a_), "o, u, "e~, aa~, a~, a_)~, "o~	缺高元音
ANDOKE	i, i_, u, "e, "@, "o, 3, a+, a_), i~, "e~, "@~, "o~, a+~, a_~	央元音高度减少
BARIBA	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, E~, a~, O~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
BATS	i, E, a_, o, u, i~, e~, a_~, o~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
BOBO-FING	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, E~, a~, O~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
CHEROKEE	i, "e, a, "o, u, "@~	仅鼻化央中元音
CHIPEWYAN	i, i:, i~:, i~, e, a, a~, a~:, a:, o, u, u~:, u~, u:	中间高度缺失或合并
DAKOTA	i, i~, E, a, a~, u, u~, o	中间高度缺失或合并
DAN	i, e, E, a+, a, O, o, u, i_, @, 3, i~, "e~, a+~, a~, a_)~, "o~, u~, "@~, a_)	缺 i_，中间高度合并
CACUA	i, E, a, o, i_, i~, E~, a~, o~, @~	央元音高度存在区别
CHATINO	i, "e, a, "o, u, u~, "o~, "e~, i~	缺低元音
DOAYO	i, i~, e, E, E~, a, a~, O, O~, o, u, u~	缺鼻化 e, o
DOGON	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, e~, a~, o~, u~	缺鼻化 E, O
GA	i, i~, e, E, E~, a, a~, O, O~, o, u, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
GWARI	i, "e, a, "o, u, i~	高度
HIGHLAND	i, y, E, a, "o, u, uu, i~, y~, aa~, a~, O~, u~, uu~, E)	缺失鼻化 E, E),

CHINANTEC		"o
IATE	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, e~, a~, o~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
KLAO	i, e, "e, E, a, O, "o, o, u, i~, "e~, E~, a~, O~, "o~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
KPELLE	i, i~, I, E, E~, a, a~, O~, u, u~, U, O	中间高度缺失或合并
KURUKH	i, "e, a, "o, u, i~, "e~, a~, "o~, u~, "@	缺央中元音
LELEMI	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, E~, a~, u~, O~,	缺央中元音
LUA	i, "e, a, "o, u, i_, "@, i~, "e~, a~, "o~, u~, "@~	缺央高元音
MAZAHUA	i, i~, e~, e, E, O, "@~, "@, a, u, o, a~, u~, o~, 4	中间高度缺失或合并
MBUM	i, "e, a, "o, u, i~, a~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
NAMA	i, i~, e, a, a~, "@, o, u, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
OJIBWA	I, i:, i~:, E:, E~:, a, a:, a~:, U, o:, o~:,	中间高度缺失或合并
PANARE	i, u, uu, "e, "o, "o(, a, i~, u~, "e~, "@~, "o~, a~	失去圆展对立
SENADI	i, i~, e, E, E~, a, a~, O, O~, o, u, u~	中间高度缺失或合并
SENECA	i, e, E~, aa, a, u, "o, O~	合并于低中元音
YORUBA	i, e, E, a, O, o, u, i~, E~, O~, u~	中间高度缺失或合并

附录 4.

Table 7. UPSID 中鼻化元音相对口腔元音前元音缺失少于后元音的 5 种语言元音清单

语言	元音清单	备注：鼻化元音元音空间与口腔元音差异
BURMESE	i, e, E, "@, a, O, o, u, I~, aa~, U~	低元音前移
MUMUYE	i, E, a, O, "o, u, i~, E~, a~, "o~, u~	缺失 O
KASHMIRI	i, e, i_, u, o, i~, e~, a~, u~, o~, @, 3, a_), 3~, i:, E:, a:, O:, u:, i_:, @:, i~:, E~:, a~:, O~:, u~:, i_~:, @~:	@~:合并长度；缺失 a_)
BRETON	"e, E, a_, "o/, o, "o, u, "e~, E~, a_~, O~	与 Grammaire, bretonn 中的音系不符
CHANGZHOU	i, i~, y, aa~, "@, a, u, "o, "o~	缺少在赵元任调查后至今详细音变情况的记录

附录 5.

Table 8. UPSID 中鼻化元音音位与口腔元音完全对应的 46 种语言元音清单

语言	元音清单
ACHE	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
AMAHUACA	"o~, I~, a~, uu~, "o, I, a, uu
AUCA	"e~, "o~, aa~, a~, i~, "e, "o, aa, a, i
AZANDE	3~, E~, I~, O~, U~, a~, i~, u~, 3, E, I, O, U, a, i, u
BAMBARA	E~, O~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, E, O, a, e, i, o, u
BARASANO	"e~, a~, i_~, i~, o~, u~, "e, a, i_, i, o, u
BEEMBE	E~, O~, a~, i~, u~, E, O, a, i, u
BENGALI	"e~, I~, O~, U~, aa~, a~, o~, "e, I, O, U, aa, a, o
CAYUVAVA	"o~, E~, O~, aa~, a~, i_~, i~, u~, "o, E, O, aa, a, i_, i, u
CUBEO	"e~, "o~, a~, i_~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i_, i, u
DADIBI	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
EPENA PEDEE	I_~, a~, e~, i_~, i~, o~, u~, I_, a, e, i_, i, o, u
EWE	E~, O~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, E, O, a, e, i, o, u
FASU	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
GUAHIBO	"@~, "e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "@, "e, "o, a, i, u
GUAJIRO	E~, O~, a~, e~, i~, u~, E, O, a, e, i, u
GUARANI	a~, e~, i_~, i~, o~, u~, a, e, i_, i, o, u
IGBO	E~, O~, U~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, E, O, U, a, e, i, o, u
IRANXE	E~, Oi~, O~, ai~, a~, i_i~, i_~, i~, u~, E, Oi, O, ai, a, i_i, i_, i, u
IRISH	"e~, "o~, I~, U~, a_~:, a~, e~:, i~:, o~:, u~:, "e, "o, I, U, a_:, a, e:, i:, o:, u:
ISLAND CARIB	"e~, "o(~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o(, a, i, u
JAPRERIA	"e~, "o~, a~, i_~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i_, i, u
JIVARO	a~, i~, uu~, u~, a, i, uu, u
KIOWA	"e~, "o~, Oi~, O~, a+i~, a+~, i~, oi~, ui~, u~, "e, "o, Oi, O, a+i, a+, i, oi, ui, u
KOLOKUMA IJO	E~, I~, O~, U~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, E, I, O, U, a, e, i, o, u
KONKANI	"@~, E~, O~, a+~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, "@, E, O, a+, a, e, i, o, u
KPAN	E~, O~, a~, i~, u~, E, O, a, i, u
MAXAKALI	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, uu~, "e, "o, a, i, uu
MAZATEC	E~, a~, i~, o~, E, a, i, o

MIXTEC	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
NAVAJO	E~, E~:, I~, O~, a~, a~:, i~:, o~:, E, E:, I, O, a, a:, i:, o:
NEPALI	"@~, "e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "@, "e, "o, a, i, u
NEWARI	"o(~, a+~, i~, u~, "o(, a+, i, u
PAEZ	E~, a~, i~, u~, E, a, i, u
PAYA	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
PICURIS	"@~, a_~, e~, i~, o~, u~, "@, a_, e, i, o, u
SALIBA	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
SHIRIANA	"@~, "e~, "o~, a~, i~, uu~, "@, "e, "o, a, i, uu
SIONA	"e~, "o~, a~, i_~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i_, i, u
SIRIONO	a~, e~, i~, i~-, o~, u~, a, e, i, i-, o, u
SOUTHERN NAMBIQUARA	"e~, "e~*, "o~, "o~*, a~, a~*, i~, i~*, "e, "e*, "o, "o*, a, a*, i, i*
TLAPANEC	"e~, "o~, a~, i~, u~, "e, "o, a, i, u
VANIMO	@)~, E~, O~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~, @), E, O, a, e, i, o, u
WAPISHANA	a~, i_~, i~, u~, a, i_, i, u
WARAO	E~, a~, i~, o~, u~, E, a, i, o, u
YAGUA	O~, U~, a~, e~, i_~, i~, O, U, a, e, i_, i

附录 6. UPSID 中鼻化元音元音空间前元音缺失或低于后元音的语言的鼻化元音元音清单

Table 9. 高元音不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
BRIBRI	"e~, "o~, a~, u~	缺 i
SANGO	E~, O~, a~, u~	缺 ieo
SONGHAI	"e~, a~, o~, u~	缺 i

Table 10. 多个位置不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
ZOQUE	"o(+~	鼻化元音仅 o(+~
FRENCH	E)~, a_)~, aa~, o~	
KAINGANG	@~, E~, a~, i~, o~	高元音以下缺 e，O，另缺央高元音

Table 11. 中间高度不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
GBEYA	O~, aa~, a~, i~, u~	缺 E 增加 aa~
MUMUYE	"o~, E~, a~, i~, u~	缺 O
NAMBAKAENGO	"@~, "o~, a_~, aa~, a~, i~, u~	缺"e
LAKKIA	E~, E~:, O~:, a~, a~:, i~:, o~, u~, u~:	缺短 i、短 a、e，ie ie~ uo ，多 o 来自二合元音
OCAINA	a~, i~, o~, uu~	缺 E
TICUNA	"o~, a~, i_~, i~, u~	缺"e
!XU	"o9~, "o~, O9~:, a9~, a9~:, a~, a~:, i~, u~, u~:	缺 i:, "e, "e:, "o "o: 仅保留短元音
APINAYE	E~, ^~, a~, i~, o~, uu~, u~	e,E→E,o,O→o；缺 o(

Table 12. 高元音不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
AMAHUACA	"o~, I~, a~, uu~	同口腔元音

Table 13. 中间不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
BENGALI	"e~, I~, O~, U~, aa~, a~, o~	同口腔元音
HIGHLAND CHINANTEC	O~, aa~, a~, i~, uu~, u~, y~	不对称处同口腔元音
CAYUVAVA	"o~, E~, O~, aa~, a~, i_~, i~, u~	同口腔元音
IGBO	E~, O~, U~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~	同口腔元音
NEWARI	"o(~, a+~, i~, u~	同口腔元音
WARAO	E~, a~, i~, o~, u~	同口腔元音

Table 14. 低元音不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
IRISH	"e~, "o~, I~, U~, a_~:, a~, e~:, i~:, o~:, u~:	同口腔元音
KIOWA	"e~, "o~, O~, a+~, i~, u~	同口腔元音

Table 15. 后高元音存在圆展对立

语言	元音清单	备注
JIVARO	a~, i~, uu~, u~	同口腔元音

Table 16. 高元音以下中间高度前元音低于后元音

语言	元音清单	备注
CACUA	@~, E~, a~, i~, o~	不对称同口腔元音
CHANGZHOU	"o~, aa~, i~	缺少在赵元任调查后至今详细音变情况的记录

MAZATEC	E~, a~, i~, o~	不对称同口腔元音
OJIBWA	E~:, a~:, i~:, o~:	不对称同口腔元音
YAGUA	O~, U~, a~, e~, i_~, i~	同口腔元音

附录 7. UPSID 中鼻化元音元音空间后元音缺失或低于前元音语言的鼻化元音元音清单

Table 17. 高元音以下对称

语言	元音清单	备注
ANDOKE	"@~, "e~, "o~, a+~, a_~, i~	
GWARI	i~	
KAROK	a~, i~	
SOUTHERN NAMBIQUARA	"e~, "e~*, "o~, "o~*, a~, a~*, i~, i~*	同口腔元音

Table 18. 中间高度不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
PAEZ	E~, a~, i~, u~	同口腔元音
EPENA PEDEE	I_~, a~, e~, i_~, i~, o~, u~	
GUAJIRO	E~, O~, a~, e~, i~, u~	
缺 U	高元音以下中间高度不对称	
NAVAJO	E~, E~:, I~, O~, a~, a~:, i~:, o~:	

Table 19. 低元音不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
AMUZGO	"e~, "o~, a_)~, aa~, a~	
KONKANI	"@~, E~, O~, a+~, a~, e~, i~, o~, u~	
BURMESE	I~, U~, aa~	

Table 20. 高元音以下低元音不对称

语言	元音清单	备注
AUCA	"e~, "o~, aa~, a~, i~	同口腔元音

Table 21. 区别仅软腭化前高元音

语言	元音清单	备注
SIRIONO	a~, e~, i~, i~-, o~, u~	同口腔元音

Table 22. 音段清单与其他文献存在出入

语言	元音清单	备注
BRETON	"e~, E~, O~, a_~	

调适情绪劳动：
新时代沿海乡村初中英语教师的多重个案研究[1]

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摘要：语言教师是典型的情绪劳动者（Benesch，2017），在应用语言学领域的“情绪转向”中受到高度关注，关注情感如何通过话语实践影响其人际互动、社会关系及文化建构。本研究拟探讨乡村振兴战略、“双减”政策、《义务教育英语课程标准（2022 年版）》以及城乡教育公平重塑沿海乡村英语教师情绪劳动的模式。新时代的沿海乡村地区面临着政策变化、技术迭代与社会结构转型，故本研究采用多重个案研究，聚焦于“被边缘化的”沿海地区（江苏、浙江和广东）三位乡村初中英语教师，基于改编后的五维生态框架（Zhang et al.，2025），对经课堂观察、访谈获取的数据与机构文献进行主题分析，揭示微观层面的情绪实践。研究发现这些教师遵循着独特“情绪规则”：（1）直面沿海乡村尊师传统解构与身份转变，保持乐观心态；（2）适应新政策与农村英语教育现状之间的矛盾，发挥调节作用；（3）弥合因外来务工家长与学校关系相对疏离导致的学生管理空缺，承担多重角色。本研究证实机构支持能通过重塑教师情绪话语的语用规范，降低情绪劳动负荷、促进职业认同，对中西部农村地区的语言教育政策实施具有参考价值。

关键词：沿海乡村；初中英语教师；情绪劳动；情绪规则；生态系统理论

1 引言

乡村相较于都市往往资源匮乏、高水平师资不足且流失率较高、教师专业发展机会较少；乡村地区的英语教育尤甚，包括但不限于英语课程设置不合理、学生学习兴趣不足、家长支持缺乏（Cuong, 2021; Gao & Xu, 2014; Iilda, Mikulec, & Agnello, 2023）。我国目前仍是以乡村教育为主体的基础教育大国，乡村初中占全国初中总数的 77.1%，其在校生数占全国总数的 65.6%。尊师传统随着社会变迁不断解构与重构，乡村教师在城乡二元化体制中地位下降、被不断污名化，同时乡村初中学生英语基础较差、教师教学和管理存在客观困境（黄晓茜、程良宏，2019；张霞英、车丽娜，2016；张晓军、梁玉霞，2016）。2021 年“双减政策”的持续推进、2022 年义务教育英语课程标准的颁布、2023 年中国特色“教育家精神”的提出[2]，后疫情时代英语教学遭遇的新变革等经济社会因素对新时代乡村初中英语教师提出了更大的

[1] 本文系 2020 年国家社会科学基金项目教育学专项“新时代乡村教师专业能力发展困境及内生机制研究”（项目编号：BHA200130）、2020 年浙江省哲学社会科学规划年度课题“后疫情时代高等教育国际化视角下高校机构身份的话语建构”（项目编号： 21NDQN226YB）的阶段性研究成果。

[2] 双减政策要求减轻义务教育学生作业负担、减轻义务教育学生校外培训负担，具体出台了”五项管理“政策（详见https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2021-07/24/content_5627132.htm）；义务教育英语课程标准（2022年版）理念强调，义务教育英语课程体现工具性和人文性的统一（详见http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A26/s8001/202204/t20220420_619921.html）；中国特色教育家精神包括：心有大我、至诚报国的理想信念，言为士则、行为世范的道德情操，启智润心、因材施教的育人智慧，勤学笃行、求是创新的躬耕态度，乐教爱生、甘于奉献的仁爱之心，胸怀天下、以文化人的弘道追求。（详见

挑战，可能需要更为复杂的情绪协商，容易过载产生职业倦怠。但国内学界较多关注大学和城市中学英语教师的情绪劳动（古海波，2016；高原、崔雅琼，2021；Ding et al.，2022），更多研究有必要关注更具情境属性与特定领域的研究方法，更广文化属地(cultural backgrounds)和复杂师生关系的研究对象（White, 2019, pp. 29-30）。

2 理论综述与研究意义

应用语言学自 20 多年前出现“情绪转向”（affective turn 或 emotional turn）。“情绪劳动”（Emotional labor）由美国社会学家 Hochschild 于 1983 年首次提出，建构主义者普遍认为情绪劳动即情绪劳动策略，可分为表层扮演、深层扮演和自然情感表达三种策略（Diefendorff et al.，2005）；尹弘飚据此（2017）进一步归纳了中国教师在课堂教学中使用的七种具体策略。不过应用语言学界 Benesch（2017）和 Miller & Gkonou (2018) 等后结构主义领军专家建议使用 emotion labor，更强调价值中立性和情绪劳动的社会互动性及积极作用。

后结构主义强调情绪劳动涉及教师管理和操纵自己的情绪以遵守机构要求的方式，这可能反映他们的内在感受或与之矛盾（Benesch，2020；Loh & Liew，2016；Song，2021; cf., Nazari & Karimpour, 2022, p. 2）。语言教师被认为是典型的情绪劳动者（Benesch, 2017），他们经常与学生互动（Norton & De Costa, 2018）继而可能引发各种情绪反应，教学过程中人们往往认为外语教师应该具有关怀和共情能力，去激励学生有效地学习新语言、减少学生的焦虑和恐惧（Kang, 2022），这可能导致语言教师压抑自己的真实情感，以满足学习者的需求（cf., Hulda & Zhao, 2024, pp. 1-2）。后结构主义视角下的情绪劳动分析模型迄今较少以图表形式明晰呈现，现仅可见活动理论（Activity Theory）视域的三角叠套模型（图 1a；Nazari & Karimpour, 2022, p. 2）、投入理论视域的双圈交叠模型（图 1b；Afreen & Norton, 2024, p. 78）和改编的五维生态框架（图 1c；Zhang et al., 2025, p. 3）。

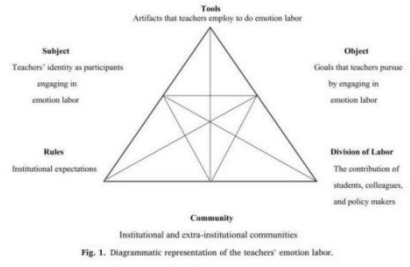


Fig. 1. Diagrammatic representation of the teachers' emotion labor.

图1a 活动理论视域下的教师情绪劳动

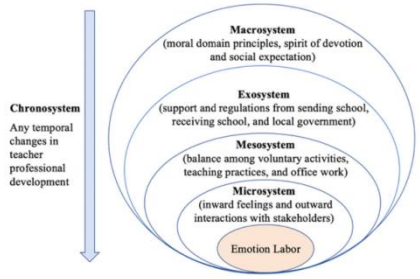


图1c 生态系统理论视域下的教师情绪劳动

https://www.gov.cn/yaowen/liebiao/202309/content_6903083.htm）。

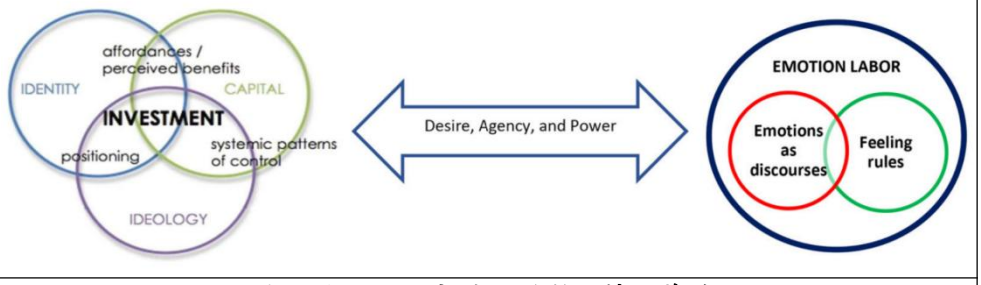


图1b 投入理论视域下的教师情绪劳动

英美发达国家语言教师情绪劳动与以下四种情绪规则紧密关联：（1）要慷慨大方、富有爱心；（2）要全心全意、尽职尽责；（3）要成为一名优秀、高效的教师；（4）要降低对社区支持的期望（King et al., 2024）。

国内关于英语教师在专业场景中接触的情绪规则为：总结了四项国内中学英语教师在专业场景中感受与表达情绪（Yin & Lee，2012）。古海波、许娅楠（2021）梳理除影响中学英语教师情绪劳动的五项情绪规则：1）服从权威；2）利用情绪实现教学目标；3）维持和谐关系；4）具备关爱伦理；5）树立教师威信；但是他们的研究在初高中、农村/城镇等颗粒度层面欠缺更深的细腻度。

本研究拟聚焦新时代共同富裕语境下我国沿海发达地区乡村初中英语教师如何基于情绪规则在构建并实施教学理念、教学实践和职业发展过程中表现出的情绪劳动；具体关涉如下问题：（1）沿海乡村初中英语教师在中国新时代语境下的构建(structure)了何种情绪劳动？（2）时代共同富裕语境（含：新课标、“双减政策”、后疫情教学等新情况）在微观、中观、宏观层次对此类英语教师情绪劳动有哪些影响与情绪规则（feeling rules）？

3 研究方法与语境简述

本多重个案研究对象来自江苏、浙江、广东的三所初中（A/B/C；每校约二千学生）均坐落沿海乡村且外部环境与内部设施相近故而纳入。A、B 两所中学为公办完全初中，教师大多是本县户籍；C 为乡镇初中，教师大多是外县甚至外省户籍。三所学校前期均获政府拨款帮扶，硬件设施相对较新；但现有英语师资多为 80 后，缺乏更年轻的优秀师资，男女比例失衡。沿海乡村初中也较难吸引教师（Swanson & Huff, 2010），却因其沿海区位优势比内陆地区情况要稍好。

值得注意的是，三所学校的相当一部分生源为外来务工子弟（A 和 B 学校近十年约占一半，C 学校高达 80%）。A 学校生源来自于附近五个村管理区的小学，外来务工人员主要以来自广西省，湖南省和福建省；努力构建“先学后教、当堂训练”的教学模式，发挥学生主观能动性，培养独立思考、自主学习、合作学习的能力。B 学校生源来自 94 个自然村和外来务工人员；重视劳动教育和体育教育：开辟了后山的大片农田作为该校特有的劳动实践基地、创建全国首批校园足球特色学校。而 C 中学外来务工子弟多来自江苏的周边省份。

考虑到教师情绪劳动存在性别差异（Acheson et al., 2016），本研究的三位焦点教师分别为两男一女（表 2；均已匿名处理），但因滚雪球抽样（snowballing）的或然性，这些教师均为 20 世纪 80 年代前后出生，故此本研究拟聚焦 80 后这批教师的情绪劳动构建，关注其参与沿海乡村振兴与社会教育公平的

价值。同时，他们均系经验丰富的中年熟手教师，均承担除却本职工作的校内角色（比如班主任、教研组长等）。

表2 研究对象基本信息表

学校	焦点教师	性别	是否为当地人	教育背景	教龄（初中）	性格	其他校内职位
A中学 广东省	李老师	男	是	某师范学院专科 （英语教育专业）	13*	沉稳内敛	**班主任** 教研组长
B中学 浙江省	梁老师	男	否	某师范学院专科 （英语教育专业）	20	脾气温和	**班主任**
C中学 江苏省	王老师	女	是	某师范学院本科 （小学教育专业）； 专升本 （英语教育专业）	16	平易近人	**班主任** 教研组长

我们采取独立的半结构式访谈，访谈提纲经过前测后调整修改，根据焦点教师的日程安排灵活运用线上腾讯视频会议、微信电话与线下访谈相结合的方式，每次访谈约 1 小时（共 2 轮）。

本研究依托 Douglas Fir Group (2016)生态系统理论视域下的语言学习与教学三维框架，整合 Afreen & Norton（2024）和 Zhang et al. (2025)（该模型对于中小学未加区分明显，地域颗粒细度不够，未体现英语学科属性和中小学中观属性）的分析模型，提出沿海乡村英语教师情绪劳动的分析模型（图 2），并据此考察作为三位焦点教师在微观、中观、宏观和历时发展维度上作为话语的情绪及情绪规则如何构建自身的情绪劳动。

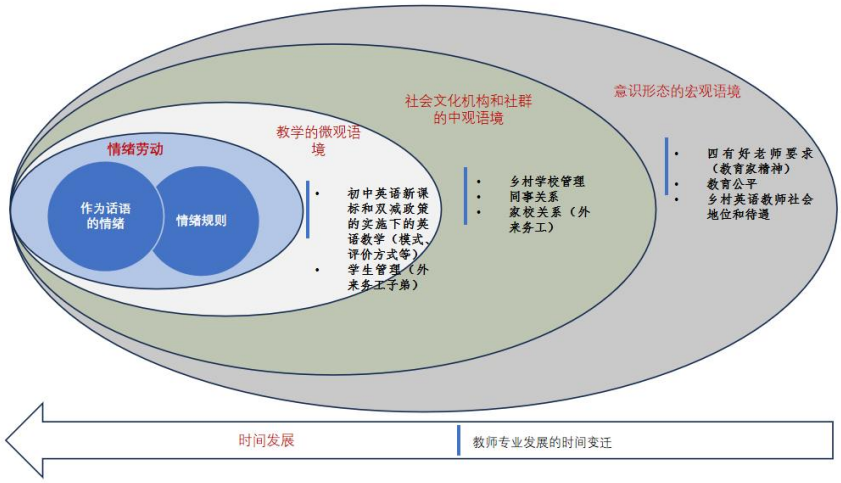


图2 本研究使用的教师情绪劳动研究框架

数据由三位研究人员进行递归编码，并通过持续比较法（constant comparison; Glaser & Strauss, 1967）进行分析，同时结合教师在访谈中与我们分享的课程材料、教学资料和政策文件。我们将官方和非官方

* 李老师此前另有10年左右的小学教学经验。

的交叉故事（Sikes, 2001）进行比较，以加深对个人和集体故事的理解。本研究聚焦的是全面了解沿海乡村初中英语教师工作中的情感劳动，并聚焦于故事中反复出现的主题。

4 结果与讨论

本研究通过对收集的语料进行编码和主题分析，整理出以下沿海乡村初中英语教师常历的冲突导致的 4 类主要情绪语境：（1）80 后初中英语教师的传统认知与当下中国新社会惯习之间的张力，（2）初中英语“新”课标、“新”教材和沿海乡村英语“旧”模式的矛盾，（3）双减政策的落地和沿海乡村英语教学现实的冲突，（4）沿海乡村相对宽松的家庭管理对于教师的多重角色之间的挑战。

4.1 80 后初中英语教师的传统认知与当下中国新社会惯习之间的张力

受访教师均生于 20 世纪 80 年代的中国乡村，求学阶段之时国内尊师重道传统仍然流行（李森，2015），他们敬佩老师、希望日后亦成为广受爱戴的人民老师。在他们入职之初，沿海乡村积极建立工厂、以较高工资招收员工，相继实施了统筹城乡发展、新农村建设、新型城镇化、乡村振兴等重大国家战略（刘彦随，2018），但商业经济快速发展伴随中国社会惯习的演变，特别是社会人情的日益淡漠、尊师重道传统的逐步解构（樊应选，2010）。

江苏 C 初中的王老师对此也深有感触。因为该中学处在沿海乡村的商圈，经济较为发达，所以自然而然对于教师的“尊重”会出现“变质”，从而感到失落：

> 然后这个商圈，都是做生意的，他（们）的眼里只有钱，只有买卖，对不对？就是对你老师有利用的尊重……（王：2023-1-16）

广东 A 初中的李老师每每谈及此都会叹息，也感慨于学生的“现实”眼光：

> …… 如今的学生啊都不太把你当成一回事（李：2022-10-6）

中国语境下的情绪规则要求教师们隐藏消极情绪（Yin & Lee, 2012），具体到二位老师的故事，即要求他们做到”淡薄名利”，即不能将对于金钱的渴望情绪带入课堂教学。这一点与 Banegas（2024）提到的情绪规则相似。二位老师也从一开始的忧郁失落、犹豫不决而想要逃离逐渐转变为接受适应、坚守岗位。其中，他们的情绪劳动策略发生了明显的转变：从原先的抑制情绪到最后的关注转移；这种从表层扮演到深层扮演（Yin，2016）的过渡源于同事的支持、经验的增长以及工作福利的改善（乡村中学、职位补贴等）。

浙江 B 初中的梁老师与其他两位老师在刚开始就对尊师重教传统消失这一点持有淡然的态度。他虽然经常提及教师的服务行业性质，调侃自己的“教书匠”身份，但是由于他更喜欢安定的生活，因此更容易接受当下的职业地位，虽感不适但能主动自我消化实现与外界的和解，通过自我的认知重构实现深层扮演：这个职业带来的带给他的利远大于弊，因此他能更好地“说服”自己，以更乐观地方式面对这一现实。

> 一直之所以在坚持教师，相对来说还是比较符合我这个人的个性的，因为我喜欢跟孩子交流，也有是祈求一种安逸。（梁：2023-1-13）

随着“尊师重教”这一传统逐渐淡出历史舞台，新的教育政策也随时代发展应运而生——双减政策、初中英语新课程标准等——他们的出现也必然对沿海乡村初中的一线英语教师带来新的情绪劳动。

4.2 初中英语“新”课标、“新”教材和沿海乡村英语“旧”模式的矛盾

自从 2021 年“双减”政策实施与 2022 年初中英语新课程标准颁布以及随之而来的新教材的试行，这三位英语教师最大感受是“难”，特别是对于学生英语基础之现实和全面发展英语听说读写能力之社会预期差距引发的情绪劳动。

沿海乡村初中一般都面临学生英语基础薄弱、教育资源相对欠缺等挑战；不过值得注意的是，相较于城市初中绩效文化更为突出、教师评价机制更为复杂、更易触发教师的焦虑和沮丧情绪，乡村初中反而似乎相对宽松，由此形成的中观环境更为友好和谐。

与之相反，新教材新课标对于城市学生来说可能是丰富了他们的课堂，但在乡村初中，无疑是加大了学生学习和教师教学的负担。（梁老师：2025-3-10）

本研究的三位 80 后教师处于中师生和新生代教师的过渡阶段（王成龙，2023），兼具两个群体的若干特性。他们接受了较为先进的专业知识和当代教育理念，但分数至上仍较盛行、沿海乡村的英语教育理念相对落后，这与新课标的要求相违。初中英语新课标的具体落实情况与乡村英语教师所处学校的机构文化及人际关系有较大的关联，各位访谈对象在其影响下，产生了不同程度的情绪劳动。

三位教师分别对新课标与现实情况进行反思，形成自己的策略消解情绪劳动。李老师深入反思“焦虑”这一情绪，在英语教学实践中既重视巩固学生的基础知识、又致力提升学生的批判思维，协商自己的情绪劳动策略。王老师面对“困难”选择与同事分享教学中的困惑，通过集体反思和协作逐步摆脱了教学中的无奈和挫败感。梁老师也谈到了对于新课标的学习（听新课、集体培训等）的确带给了他一些压力，并且他的学习能力远不如新的教师，但是因为他的教学经验较为丰富，所以能够较快地对自己的课进行微调以选择性地实施新政策。

除却初中英语新课标、新教材之外，双减政策也是沿海乡村教学中不可避免的话题。

4.3 双减政策的落地和沿海乡村英语教学现实的冲突

“双减政策”让三位老师都感觉压力大大加重，他们企盼将其稍加调整再施以落实：一是工作时间延长导致教师缺乏充足的休息时间；二是备课负担增加需要调整教师教学/作业批改任务。焦点初中均添加了晚托（4：30 至 5：30 左右）与晚修（八点左右结束），且值班教师需要全程陪同。王老师发现“双减政策”的受益利益相关方不包括教师，亦以绩效考核的形式生成了新的情绪规则，对其教学产生了较大的挑战。但王老师只能隐忍接受情绪规则带来的压力继续在岗位上“挣扎”，情绪劳动较为显著：

> 而且最无奈的是，双减政策的还落实到我们的绩效考核中去，很多教育局要求领导都搞不清楚具体怎么弄，就直接安排教师来做。（王老师：2022-8-18）

虽然“双减政策”带来的情绪规则不可打破，但是仍然有协调的余地。李老师在合理的范围内尽可能地为自己乃至其他同事争取更多的利益：对于每天必须提交的“双减”作业设计思路和参加“双减政策”解读的学习活动感到苦闷的同时，他能主动向领导提出建议协商，从一定程度上降低了本机构教师的平均情绪劳动水平。

写了一个星期后，大家都很苦闷，于是我就跟领导提了建议，说能不能一个星期交一篇这样子，后来领导同意了。（李老师：2022-10-6）

既然“双减政策”的施行已成定局，教师们的适应势在必行。对于“双减政策”底层逻辑的理解能够帮助一线教师纾解情绪劳动。梁老师此方面的情绪劳动相对烈度降低，认为“双减”政策在减轻家长压力和孩子课外培训负担方面有一定正面意义。

双减的是学生的，不敢给压力，所以课外培训被砍掉了。双减的是家长的负担是不是。（梁：2022-8-18）

与城市初中略微不同，“双减”政策并没有怎么引起家长的焦虑。家长们似乎变得非常“佛系（梁：2025-3-10）”。但这对于教师们来说并非是好事：“双减”政策的落地与现行教育模式的融合需要家校合作才能高效实现，家长对于学生学业的轻视无疑加重了教师教学与管理的负担。

4.4 沿海乡村相对宽松的家庭管理对于教师的多重角色之间的挑战

沿海乡村初中学生生源较差、家庭管理宽松，面对政策和学校的要求，教师不得不承担多重角色，给教师带来沉重的情绪劳动压力。

外来务工子弟构成当代沿海乡村初中的主要生源，大多是来自附近的内陆或较为偏远的地区。其父母文化普遍较低、英语水平和全球视野相对较弱，对孩子的教育关注度不够，甚至连日常生活都很难给予完整的支持。于是教师变成了学习和生活两方面的导师。李老师对于本地和外来务工子弟进行总体比较：

肯定是有区别的，如果全部是本地的话，家长相对素质会高一点，对孩子学习会上心一点，但是外来务工人员的话，对孩子学习没有那么重视的话，孩子的自控力啊，学习习惯啊自然会差一些。（李：2022-10-6）

三位受访教师都提到班上学生普遍缺乏来自于父母或其他监护人的关怀，因此他们需要承担起更多“家长”的责任，尤其是班主任（梁：2022-8-4）投入相当多的情感，这是作为沿海乡村初中教师需要遵从的情绪规则。三位老师在此方面更多的是内化各种情绪规则为自己的教学指南或者为人处世方式。

教师也挺悲剧的，挺惨的，……哪个学生打架了，放学不回家啊……八小时之外还要工作。（王：2022-8-18）

三位老师都选择遵循“避免展现负面情绪”和不能与家长产生冲突的情绪规则，隐藏自己真实情绪，仅浅层适应。

如此形成的家校关系对于三位老师来说似乎也有好处（梁：2025-3-10）。相比于城市，沿海乡村的家长们在与学校和任课教师的权力关系拼图中较为尊重和听从，在某种程度上减轻了初中英语教师的身心压力，继而减少情绪劳动。

本研究发现沿海乡村英语教师秉持着极具个性特色的“情绪规则”，有序且有力地指引着他们的教育实践进程。其一，直面沿海乡村尊师传统解构与身份转变，保持乐观心态；其二，适应新政策与农村英语教育现状之间的矛盾，发挥调节作用；其三，因外来务工家长与学校关系相对疏离导致的学生管理空缺，承担多重角色。在这些情绪规则的限制之下，沿海乡村初中英语教师形成了他们特有的情绪劳动，焦点教师以其真实而又借鉴意义的经历给予建议：教师要充分利用与机构的沟通机会、提升身份认同感等以适应新的政策。

然而，初中英语教学师资存在明显的性别失衡[3]，且笔者认为男性和女性的情感敏锐度和性格等方面都有较大的差异，可能会影响英语教师与学生的日常交际模式。这一点将在未来进行补充研究。

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[3] 据2019年全国教育事业统计报告显示，初中阶段的女性教师占比57.8%，而根据统计，英语专业全国普通高校毕业生中，女性占比达到89%，而男性仅占11%。

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Study on the International Image of Tianyige Museum Based on Multimodal Discourse Analysis

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Abstract: The rapid evolution of Internet technologies has fostered a novel media environment for cross-cultural communication and dissemination. As monolingual modes prove insufficient for diverse needs, elements such as text, images, and layout are increasingly integrated and play a dominant role in information dissemination. Therefore, the interpretation of various modalities and their relations to different media, known as multimodal discourse analysis, has attracted growing scholarly attention. Its practical value in cross-cultural communication is also undeniable. As the oldest extant library in China, the Tianyige Museum is a pivotal part of Ningbo's historical and cultural heritage. Focusing on this museum, the study conducts a multimodal discourse analysis of TripAdvisor reviews, the Tianyi Talking program, and the English official website of Tianyige Museum in terms of textual content, visual elements, and the interplay between text and image. It adopts an integrated approach combining Appraisal Theory, Visual Grammar, and Image-Text Relation Theory, which respectively focus on linguistic evaluation, visual semiotics, and multimodal cohesion. Drawing on this analytical framework, the study employs qualitative research to delineate the multimodal characteristics of the data collected manually from these three cultural communication channels, aiming to elucidate how each mode conveys meaning and propose strategies for optimizing coordination and collaboration. The results revealed the following: 1) Tianyige Museum generally receives positive evaluations as a tourist destination, while negative assessments such as the lack of professional tour guides moderately affect visitor satisfaction; 2) The Tianyi Talking program effectively facilitates cross-cultural exchange by conveying representational and interactive meanings through visual modalities; 3) The relation between image and text on the Museum's English official website requires optimization in terms of compositional meaning and the effective distribution of information. The findings provide linguistic theoretical insights into understanding and improving the international image of the Tianyige Museum, thereby contributing to discourse analysis approaches in the context of cultural heritage communication.

Key words: multimodal discourse analysis; Tianyige Museum; international communication

1 Introduction

1.1 Research Background

As China's standing in the international community continues to ascend, there is a burgeoning interest among scholars in exploring and promoting traditional cultural values. Museums, as custodians of cultural heritage, play a crucial role in preserving the collective memory of past civilizations and bridging cultural divides. Among these, the Tianyige Museum, renowned as the oldest private book-collecting building in China and a typical symbol of Ningbo's cultural heritage, holds immense practical significance in the city's international promotion efforts. While numerous studies have delved into the cultural heritage and research significance of the Tianyige Museum, there has been limited analysis of its international influence and dissemination.

The rapid advancement of science and technology, particularly in multimedia and Internet technologies, has diversified the methods of information dissemination. Traditional language modes are no longer sufficient to meet the evolving demands of society. This transition from monomodal to multimodal communication, as

argued by scholars like Kress and van Leeuwen, underscores the increasing complexity of communication modes in contemporary society. Based on this, multimodality has emerged as an interdisciplinary approach that includes a wide range of resources utilized for communication and representation, such as speech, sound, gesture, gaze, body posture and movement, writing, images, and more[1]. Consequently, the analysis of multimodal discourse should center on the various semiotic modes that separately and interactively construct different dimensions of meaning.

In recent years, scholars have increasingly adopted multimodal discourse analysis theory to explore diverse cultural communication pathways. These ways cover a broad spectrum of topics, such as the construction of government websites, the communicative impact of international social media platforms, Chinese branding strategies, urban imagery, and political documentaries, among others. This approach offers a novel and emerging perspective for investigating cross-cultural dynamics and understanding the complexities of communication in diverse contexts.

Therefore, it is worthwhile to explore how various modalities interact with distinct promotional channels in the process of culture dissemination and communication. In the case of texts depicting the cultural and tourism activities of the Tianyige Museum, the incorporation of images, sounds, and colors within the multimodal discourse serves to convey the thematic significance and conceptual essence of the museum's overseas promotion and dissemination. Through the interplay of language and visual symbols, discourse achieves a more comprehensive promotion of the Tianyige Museum's image and facilitates the dissemination, exchange, and mutual appreciation of Ningbo culture.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The study endeavors to conduct a multimodal discourse analysis of the international image projected by the Tianyige Museum, exploring its potential implications for the global perception of Ningbo. Specifically, two modalities—text and image—are scrutinized to address the following questions:

(1) How is meaning conveyed through different modalities on media of TripAdvisor, Tianyi Talking, and the English official website of Tianyige Museum?

(2) What insights can be gleaned regarding the construction of the Tianyige Museum's image through these three communication channels?

(3) How can coordination and collaboration be optimized to strengthen the overseas communication image of the Tianyige Museum by enhancing the construction of meaning?

1.3 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study can be assessed from both theoretical and practical perspectives.

Theoretically, this study rigorously analyzes the texts and modalities utilized across various channels integral to the international communication efforts of the Tianyige Museum. By applying the theory of multimodal discourse analysis to museum communication strategies, the study deepens the understanding of this theoretical framework. Through the application of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, this study not only scrutinizes textual and visual elements but also explores the intricate relationship between image and text. Consequently, this holistic approach provides valuable theoretical insights that enhance individuals' comprehension of museum communication strategies from a linguistics standpoint.

Practically, this research delves into the exploration of image construction and multichannel overseas communication strategies employed by the Tianyige Museum. The innovation of this study lies in its examination of three distinct channels utilized for promoting the image of the museum, which is rarely seen in this field. Specifically, this study investigates visitor feedback on TripAdvisor to enhance the museum's external image. Through visual analysis, valuable insights can be gleaned from the content of Tianyi Talking.

Additionally, by scrutinizing the relationship between image and text, this study can improve an individual's ability to decipher multimodal discourse on the Tianyige Museum's English official website. Ultimately, the findings hold implications for promoting the international image of the Tianyige Museum, thereby contributing to the cultural and economic advancement of Ningbo City.

1.4 Organization of the Study

In this paper, six parts are organized to probe into the research questions. The outline is stated as follows:

The first part provides a brief introduction to the study, including the research background, purpose, and significance. Meanwhile, the organizational structure of the study is laid out.

The second part mainly introduces the literature review on the Tianyige Museum and multimodal discourse analysis both domestically and internationally. This section identifies research gaps in the field and provides some suggestions for further exploration.

The third part presents an overview of the theories and frameworks applied in this study, including Martin and White's Appraisal Theory, Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar, and Image-Text Relation Theory.

The fourth part expounds on the research methodology, clarifying the data selection and description, as well as the research methods. Additionally, based on the aforementioned theories, an analytical framework for the multimodal analysis of the Tianyige Museum is also proposed.

The fifth part, constituting the body of the study, analyzes three distinct channels of the international transformation of the Tianyige Museum. The analysis is conducted from three perspectives accordingly: textual analysis, visual analysis, and the analysis of the relationship between image and text.

The sixth part presents the major findings of the study and discusses their implications for the international image construction of the Tianyige Museum. In addition, limitations of the study are addressed, and suggestions for further research are also provided.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Previous Studies on Tianyige Museum

With a history spanning over 400 years, the Tianyige Museum has witnessed significant historical transformations and maintains a rich historiographical tradition. Its architectural design and extensive collection of books hold immense historical research value, providing valuable insights into calligraphy, antiquities, gardens, stone carvings, and more. In recent years, scholars have diligently examined the Tianyige Museum from various perspectives, resulting in noteworthy results. This section presents an overview of pertinent studies on the Tianyige Museum, both domestically and internationally.

2.1.1 Research on Tianyige Museum Abroad

After conducting a thorough search, it became apparent that while there is some foreign research on the Tianyige Museum, there remains a lack of comprehensive perspectives and content from international sources. Broadly, the existing literature centers on the following areas.

Jia, et al. investigated the relationship between spatial attributes and visitor stay distribution within the Tianyige Museum[2]. Situ regarded the Tianyige Library as a symbol of the continuity of Chinese culture, highlighting Chinese book-collecting traditions and its rigorous management system[3]. Ke explored the role of the Tianyige Museum's ancient building in providing perceived physical and mental stimulation and memory therapy for individuals with dementia[4]. Additionally, Wright discussed the inclusion of *Yunnan Zhi* in the Tianyige Museum's private library collection, which offered practical information to enhance governmental administration and promote the transformation of Yunnan into a more civilized region[5]. Sela focused on the eighteenth-century polymath Qian Daxin, revealing his connection to the Tianyige Library in 1787 and its influence on his work, although Qian did not solely concentrate his efforts there[6].

In conclusion, the literature search highlighted a general paucity of overseas research on the Tianyige Museum, particularly in addressing its historical significance and contemporary relevance. It can be inferred that there is an urgent requirement to bolster the influence of the Tianyige Museum in the international arena.

2.1.2 Research on Tianyige Museum at Home

Figure 1 depicts a clear upward trend in studies on the Tianyige Museum since 2005. Consequently, it can be inferred that Tianyige has emerged as a prominent topic of interest, leading to a surge in related research endeavors. With "Tianyige Museum" as the subject and keyword, 1,550 related pieces of literature were searched on CNKI, including 150 dissertations.

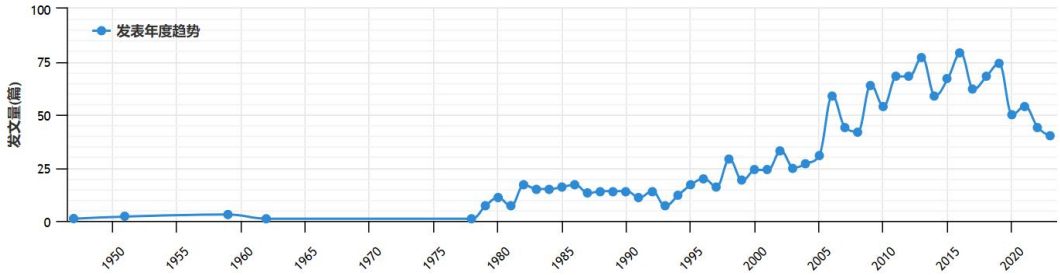


Figure 1 Research Trend of Tianyige Museum

To begin with, Chinese scholars have conducted extensive research on the history of book-collecting at the Tianyige Museum and the cultural significance inherent in its book collection. For instance, Li emphasized the specimen value of the Tianyige Museum and the cosmological spirit from the perspective of "harmony of universe and human", aiming to foster a social and humanistic ambiance for various public libraries[7]. Regarding the process of book circulation, Dong reevaluated the circumstances surrounding the dissemination of the Tianyige Museum's book collection and analyzed its contributions to China's brilliant traditional culture[8]. Yao identified five definite characteristics of book collecting in Ningbo, essentially grasping the Chinese traditional book collection culture as a whole, thus advancing the study of Chinese collecting culture[9].

Additionally, Chinese scholars have long recognized the critical role of the Tianyige Museum, particularly in the preservation of cultural relics. Both Qian and Pi highlighted the efforts to rescue antiquated books at the Tianyige Museum after the founding of the People's Republic of China[10-11]. Against this backdrop, Ren advocated for the digitization of ancient Chinese books housed in the Tianyige Museum, delving into the intricate process of scanning ancient texts, transforming them into digital format, and presenting digital resources[12]. Meanwhile, Chinese scholars have also summarized the specific conservation principles and measures implemented at the Tianyige Museum during the Ming and Qing dynasties. For instance, Huo and Wan[13] succinctly outlined the distinctive literature collected by Fan Qin, the founder of the Tianyige Museum, and the proactive measures he implemented to safeguard these private books and archives, thereby creating favorable conditions for their enduring preservation.

Furthermore, some Chinese scholars have examined the historical significance and contemporary value of the Tianyige Museum from the perspective of garden design and architectural style. Serving as a quintessential example of classical gardens, Jin and Jiang delineated the multidimensional garden art of Tianyige and emphasized the paramount importance of preserving its original appearance to enhance its protection[14]. At the same time, they also scrutinize the influence of contemporary context on the architectural style of the Tianyige Garden.

However, Figure 2 illustrates that there are only 18 relevant articles with "communication" as the secondary subject, comprising only 1.16% of the overall literature. Therefore, it is evident that there is a scarcity of studies focusing on the intersection of communication and the Tianyige Museum, despite the latter

having garnered attention in China since the early 21st century.

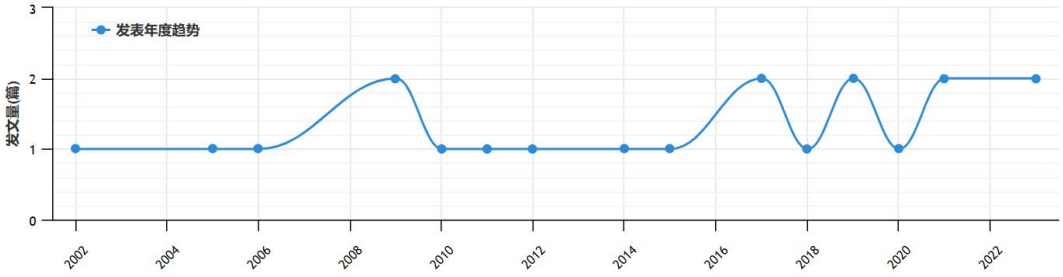


Figure 2 Research Trend of Tianyige Museum and Communication

To conclude, scholars in relevant fields have increasingly shown interest in the Tianyige Museum from a humanistic perspective, including its book-collecting culture, cultural relics' protection, and garden art. Particularly, both domestic and international scholars have conducted aesthetic observations and research on Tianyige from the perspective of garden style and design. However, there remains a notable lack of research explicitly dedicated to investigating the communication of outstanding Chinese antiquities and culture. That is to say, the exploration of the Tianyige Museum's overseas dissemination and its international influence remains in its nascent stages.

2.2 Previous Studies on Multimodal Discourse Analysis

With the deconstruction of the traditional discourse system, a new discourse model based on digital communication technology is emerging[15]126. The concept of multimodal discourse analysis was first introduced by R. Barthes in 1977 in his article *The Rhetoric of the Image*[16]32-51. With the inaugural international symposium on multimodal discourse communication, multimodal discourse analysis officially established itself as an autonomous branch of discourse research[15]127. In the ensuing decades, scholars at home and abroad have delved deeply into multimodal discourse analysis, leading to the formulation of various theoretical models. They have come to realize that while language constitutes a paramount resource and plays a pivotal role in discourse, it necessitates collaboration and coordination with other modalities in the meaning-making process. Consequently, discourse analysis should also take into account other modalities[16]17. The following section will introduce relevant studies on multimodal discourse analysis both domestically and internationally.

2.2.1 Research on Multimodal Discourse Analysis Abroad

Research on multimodal discourse analysis emerged earlier abroad and has reached a more advanced stage compared to domestic research. Pioneers like R. Barthes laid the groundwork for this field, exploring the interplay between meaning expression through images and language. Halliday regarded language as a unique semiotic system that also functioned as a coding system for many other semiotic systems[18]2. Consequently, language could encapsulate meanings expressed in other semiotic systems. O'Toole's *The Language of Displayed Art* and Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996) marked significant milestones in establishing this field[19-20]. The former sought to apply functional linguistic theory to art analysis; while the latter provided a comprehensive and systematic elucidation of the grammar of visual design, profoundly influencing multimodal discourse analysis. They posited that images serve as social symbols through which meaning can be constructed. Therefore, the theory of Visual Grammar was proposed based on the three meta-functions of linguistic symbols.

Subsequently, the research scope expanded further, branching into several subcategories beyond text and image as previously discussed. Shifting the focus to news media, Forceville delineated research methodologies

and interdisciplinary applications in multimodality[21]. Bednarek and Caple developed an analytical framework tailored for news discourse and demonstrated its effectiveness[22]. Anyfandi, et al. explored museum exhibits to enhance science communication and non-formal learning[23]. Caple and Knox devised a framework for multimodal discourse analysis focusing on news galleries to investigate meaning choices for effective news presentation[24].

Currently, prominent international discourse analysts can be roughly categorized into the following schools: the social semiotics school, represented by scholars such as Kress, Leeuwen, and O'Toole; the interactive sociology school, led by researchers like Norris, Scollon, and Jewitt; and the cognitive school, including scholars such as Holsanova and Forceville[25].

At first, the systemic functional linguistics perspective represents one of the most extensively developed approaches in multimodal discourse analysis. Scholars have explored how meaning is constructed by semiotic resources beyond language, as seen in various forms of visual art such as sculptures, paintings, and buildings. For instance, O'Holloran investigated mathematical texts to uncover the integration of language, images, and mathematical symbolism[26]. Besides, numerous studies have been conducted from a cognitive perspective, focusing on how communicators are influenced by conceptualization to select appropriate modes for effective and coherent communication. Forceville, a prominent figure in this field, introduced an analytical framework for analyzing pictorial metaphors, illustrating that metaphors also manifest in visual images[27]. Additionally, from the perspective of interactive sociology, there is a growing emphasis on multimodal interactional analysis, aiming to explore how identity is emphasized in the interaction process by integrating interactional sociolinguistics and socio-semiotic approaches. For example, Jucker, et al. proposed that the spatial setting of everyday interactions is a product of social construction[28].

In conclusion, the aforementioned studies have significantly contributed to the rapid advancement of multimodal discourse analysis. It is evident that the foundational theoretical research conducted by Western scholars in this field is relatively advanced, with a plethora of related theoretical works and articles. Nonetheless, there remains a scarcity of applied research in multimodal discourse analysis, particularly in interdisciplinary contexts. With the ongoing evolution of multimedia technology, multimodal discourse analysis will inevitably garner increasing attention among linguists, emerging as a prominent trend in discourse analysis.

2.2.2 Research on Multimodal Discourse Analysis at Home

Domestic study on multimodal discourse analysis has just begun in recent years. Li introduced multimodal discourse analysis theory from a social semiotic perspective, contributing to the emerging body of domestic literature on this subject at home[7]1. In regard to research perspectives, the majority of studies on multimodal discourse analysis have been conducted from the systemic functional and cognitive perspectives. However, other research perspectives, such as corpus linguistics and pragmatics, are also present.

Since then, numerous Chinese scholars have demonstrated a keen interest in this emerging field. Hu provided an overview of modality[29]. Wei endeavored to apply visual communication theory within the social semiotic framework established by Kress and van Leeuwen to multimodal discourse studies[30]vii. Zhang and Wang elaborated on how images and language, as social semiotics, collaborate to form a cohesive force and construct holistic meaning[31]. Zhang and Zhan delved into the dynamic construction process and the relationship between image and text in multimodal metaphor and metonymy in advertisements[32]. However, in comparison to academic advancements abroad, multimodal research in China has "fallen behind"[33]86, thus it still needs further development.

Since 2020, there has been a noticeable increase in studies conducted by Chinese scholars focusing on external communication from a multimodal perspective. Figure 3 below presents a visual representation of this upward trend. In fact, this surge in research aligns with the broader international trend toward the study of

multimodal discourse analysis, reflecting a growing interest in understanding communication across cultural boundaries.

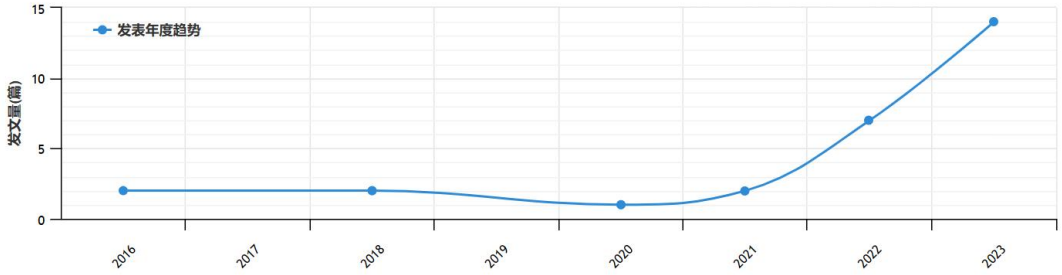


Figure 3 Research Trend of Multimodal Discourse Analysis in Communication

For instance, Li and Liu underscored the importance of a multimodal approach, incorporating written texts, imagery, and videos, in elevating the global visibility and prestige of Chinese culture[34]. By applying narrative theory and multimodal discourse analysis, Lv and Ma examined thirty highly viewed videos by ten Chinese bloggers on YouTube to analyze how individual narratives in these videos shape the country's image[35]. From the perspectives of the cultural, context, content, and expression levels respectively, Yuan and Nai investigated the multimodal representation strategy of the "Cultural China" image in documentaries, facilitating the global outreach of Chinese culture[36].

In conclusion, Chinese scholars, leveraging multimodal discourse analysis and international communication, are spearheading efforts to enhance the global cultural influence of Chinese culture and produce narrative works of greater significance. While studies on multimodal discourse analysis span various fields, research on the international transformation paths of museums remains relatively limited. Therefore, an appropriate analytical framework for analyzing the Tianyige Museum needs to be explored.

2.3 Suggestions for Further Research

Based on the concise review of domestic and international studies presented above, it is evident that researchers have extensively investigated the Tianyige Museum both theoretically and practically. More comprehensive studies have been undertaken in China, while specific studies in foreign countries commenced relatively later.

Given the imperatives of globalization and digitalization, there arises a pressing need to amplify the focus on shaping the Tianyige Museum's international image and advancing the dissemination of Chinese cultural heritage. Indeed, previous studies have predominantly centered on the cultural significance and intrinsic value of the Museum itself, as well as its historical legacy. However, there remains a discernible gap in both domestic and foreign research concerning the international communication strategies of the Tianyige Museum.

As a result, this study utilizes multimodal analysis to explore the construction of the Tianyige Museum's overseas communication image through textual analysis, visual analysis, and analysis of the relation between image and text. Suggestions are offered for its intercultural communication path planning, and a partial reference basis is designed to enhance the soft power and image of "Tianyi culture". Through these efforts, the dissemination of Ningbo's international image can also be catalyzed, thereby enhancing the city's attractiveness as a global tourism destination.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Appraisal Theory

During the early 1990s, James R. Martin and his coworkers initiated a project named *Write It Right* at the University of Sydney. Subsequently, Martin, along with Peter White, Joan Rothery, and Rick Iedema, expanded upon this endeavor, developing it into the appraisal system[37]14. In 2005, Martin and White extensively examined Appraisal Theory in their book *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*, marking a significant milestone in its maturation.

Drawing from Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), the Appraisal Theory constitutes a lexico-grammatical framework for evaluating discourse. It scrutinizes the types of attitudes negotiated, the intensity of emotions conveyed, and how values are expressed to align readers[38]. This theoretical framework delves into how language users convey their perspectives, opinions, and attitudes toward various subjects through discourse analysis, encompassing a range of negotiable attitudes within discourse.

Appraisal Theory integrates three key subsystems: the attitude system, the engagement system, and the graduation system. The attitude system focuses on the speaker's emotional responses, including reactions to individuals, judgments of behavior, and evaluations of aesthetic quality. Besides, the engagement system attributes attitudes to the utterance's source. It is further categorized into monogloss, representing a single perspective, and heteroglossia, reflecting multiple viewpoints within the discourse. As for the graduation system, it addresses the gradability of phenomena, subdividing into force and focus for finer analysis[39]. The appraisal system is illustrated in Figure 4.

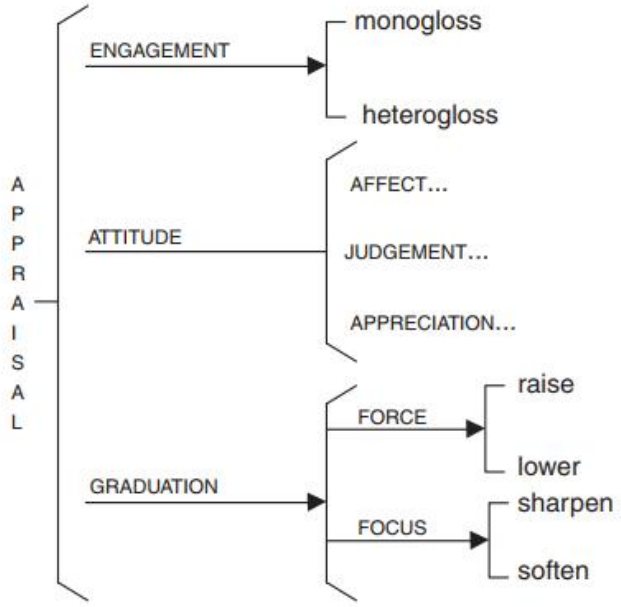


Figure 4 Overview of Appraisal Resources (Martin & White, 2005: 38)

As the core of Appraisal Theory, the attitude system deals with feelings in diverse contexts. Traditionally, this system encompasses three semantic domains categorized as emotion, ethics, and aesthetics[39]42. In addition, it can be further subdivided into three primary categories of feelings: affect, judgment, and appreciation. Subsequently, the attitude subsystem within the evaluation theory will be delineated in detail.

3.1.1 Affect

The affect system stands at the core of the entire attitude framework, as it represents the innate expressive resource present from almost the moment of birth, and embodied physiologically[40]. Affect refers to the

emotional response elicited by specific behaviors, texts, processes, or phenomena[41]. It encompasses four subcategories: inclination, happiness, security, and satisfaction. Among these, dis/inclination represents an irrealis emotion, while un/happiness, dis/satisfaction, and in/security denote realis emotions. The distinction between irrealis and realis emotion lies in their nature: realis emotion is a simple reactive response to real triggers, whereas irrealis emotion stems from subjective desires to non-real triggers. Several examples of these four subcategories in the affect system are demonstrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Categories of Affect[39]49-51

Affect	Positive	Negative
Dis/inclination	suggest, recommend, demand, wish, miss, yearn for, long for...	fearful, warning, wary, terrorized...
Un/happiness	like, love, glad, quite enjoy, fun, laugh, adore, joy, cheerful, happy...	dislike, sad, down, joyless, unhappy...
In/security	together, confident, comfortable, assured, peaceful, helpful...	incredible, anxious, surprised, astonished, uneasy...
Dis/satisfaction	great, stunned, entranced, nice, unforgettable, wonderful, interesting, impressed, pleased...	sick of, too dull, disappointed, fed up, tired, unfortunate, furious, angry...

Dis/inclination can be divided into two categories: fear and desire. Fear entails the aversion to something imminent, while desire represents a longing for something impending or strongly desired.

Un/happiness, a pivotal aspect of the affect system, encompasses two dimensions. Happiness involves a cheerful mood and positive feelings toward others. Conversely, unhappiness includes distress and negative feelings toward others.

In/security pertains to emotions related to surroundings, including calmness or anxiety towards the natural and social environment. Security involves confidence in oneself as well as trust in others. Insecurity entails feelings of unease and surprise, with “worry” reflecting behavioral unease, “frightened” indicating mental unease, “astonished” denoting mental surprise, and “exclaimed” showing behavioral surprise.

Dis/satisfaction reflects emotions expressed about achievements or setbacks. Satisfaction comprises interest and pleasure, while dissatisfaction encompasses boredom and displeasure, reflected respectively in mental states like “bored” and behaviors like “warning”[42].

3.1.2 Judgment

The judgment system involves the evaluation of behaviors against ethical standards, encompassing actions human beings admire or criticize, praise or condemn[39]42. It can be further categorized into aspects dealing with social esteem and those oriented towards social sanction.

Social esteem is often regulated within oral culture through various means such as casual conversations, gossip, jokes, and narratives, where humor frequently plays a pivotal role[43]. It encompasses notions of normality, capacity, and tenacity. Normality pertains to whether someone is perceived as exceptional or not; capacity evaluates someone’s capability; tenacity assesses someone’s dependability. These evaluations can carry both positive and negative connotations. The positive interpretation elicits admiration from people, whereas the negative connotation warrants criticism. However, it’s important to note that this criticism is not necessarily of a legal nature, and the criticized behavior may not necessarily be malevolent. Some typical words related to social esteem are demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2 Categories of Judgment—Social Esteem[39]53

Social Esteem	**Positive** (admire)	**Negative** (criticize)

Normality	lucky, fortunate, charmed...;	unlucky, hapless, star-crossed...;
"how special?"	normal, natural, familiar...;	odd, peculiar, eccentric...;
	cool, stable, predictable...;	erratic, unpredictable...;
	famous, eminent, unsung...	dated, daggy, retrograde...
Capacity	powerful, vigorous, robust...;	mild, weak, wimpy...;
"how capable?"	sound, healthy, fit...;	unsound, sick, crippled...;
	adult, mature, experienced...;	immature, childish, helpless...;
	witty, humorous, droll...;	dull, dreary, grave...;
	insightful, clever, gifted...;	slow, stupid, thick...;
	balanced, together, sane...;	flaky, neurotic, insane...;
	sensible, expert, shrewd...	naive, inexpert, foolish...
Tenacity	plucky, brave, heroic...	timid, cowardly, gutless...;
"how dependable?"	cautious, wary, patient...;	rash, impatient, impetuous...;
	reliable, dependable...;	unreliable, undependable...;
	faithful, loyal...	unfaithful, disloyal...

On the contrary, social sanction is often codified in written form, such as edicts, decrees, regulations, and laws, dictating behavioral norms as monitored by religious institutions and governmental authorities. Penalties and punishments serve as mechanisms to ensure compliance with these codes. Shared values in this domain underpin civic duty and religious observance. Judgment regarding sanction pertains to veracity and propriety. Veracity involves assessing whether someone is honest or not, while propriety evaluates whether behavior is good or bad. Both positive and negative interpretations exist. Positive interpretations commend desirable behavior, while negative interpretations condemn it. Condemned behavior is legal and carries serious implications. Some typical words associated with social sanction are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Categories of Judgment—Social Sanction[39]53

Social Sanction	**Positive** (praise)	**Negative** (condemn)
Veracity	truthful, honest, credible...;	dishonest, deceitful, lying...;
(truth)	frank, candid, direct...;	deceptive, devious...;
	discrete, tactful...	blunt, blabbermouth...
Propriety	good, moral, ethical...;	bad, immoral, evil...;
(ethics)	law abiding, fair, just...;	corrupt, unfair, unjust...;
	sensitive, kind, caring...;	insensitive, mean, cruel...;
	unassuming, modest, humble...;	vain, snobby, arrogant...;
	polite, respectful, reverent...;	rude, discourteous, irreverent...;
	altruistic, generous, charitable...	selfish, greedy, avaricious...

3.1.3 Appreciation

The appreciation system encompasses evaluations of both semiotic and natural phenomena based on their perceived value within a particular context. Instead of judgment, which typically involves assessments of human behavior, appreciation primarily focuses on inanimate objects, particularly products and processes. It is defined by Martin and White as the affirmative or negative assessment of artwork, materials, and circumstances. This system is typically categorized into three components: reaction, composition, and valuation. In addition, appreciation can be conveyed through various linguistic forms, such as adjectives, nouns, adverbs, and verbs. Alternatively, the appreciation framework may be examined from a metafunctional perspective, in which reaction pertains to interpersonal significance, composition relates to textual organization, and valuation

concerns ideational worth. Table 4 below provides illustrations of some typical words within this system.

Table 4 Categories of Appreciation[39]56

Appreciation	Positive	Negative
Reaction		
Impact (did it grab me?)	arresting, captivating engaging, fascinating, exciting, mobbing, lively, dramatic, remarkable…	dull, boring, tedious, dry, ascetic, uninviting, flat, predictable, monotonous…
Quality (did I like it?)	okay, fine, good, lovely, beautiful, splendid... appealing, enchanting, attractive, welcome…	bad, yuk, terrible, nasty… plain, ugly, grotesque… repulsive, revolting, off-putting…
Composition		
Balance (did it hang together?)	balanced, harmonious, unified, symmetrical, proportioned… logical, consistent, considered, sharply…	unbalanced, discordant, irregular, uneven, flawed… contradictory, disorganized… shapeless, distorted…
Complexity (was it hard to follow?)	simple, pure, elegant… lucid, clear, precise… intricate, rich, detailed, precise…	ornate, extravagant, byzantine… arcane, unclear, woolly… plain, monolithic...
Valuation (was it worthwhile?)	penetrating, profound… original,creative… timely, long awaited, landmark… exceptional, unique, inimitable… authentic, real, genuine… valuable, priceless, worthwhile…	shallow, reductive, insignificant… derivative conventional, bogus, prosaic dated, overdue, untimely… worthless, shoddy, pricey…

Reaction focuses on a thing or process, encompassing both impact and quality. Impact pertains to how objects captivate individuals, such as “interesting” and “boring”. Quality denotes one’s personal preference for the evaluation object, as reflected in terms like “beautiful” and “ugly”.

Composition involves assessing the structure of the object, considering elements of balance and complexity. Balance refers to whether the composition of things is balanced or proportional, exemplified by terms like “harmonious” and “disharmony”. Complexity is considered from the perspective of whether the structure is concise and easy to understand, such as “simple” and “complex”.

Valuation focuses on elements deemed significant or worthwhile. It involves judging whether the text or process is crucial or valuable according to societal standards, as reflected in terms like “long-awaited” and “worthless”.

3.2 Visual Grammar

The Visual Grammar builds upon Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, as outlined in the seminal

book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* in 1996. Halliday's SFG serves as the primary theoretical foundation for the analysis of multimodal discourse. He posited that meaning is not solely conveyed through language, but also through other semiotic resources. "Although the three meta-functions of SFG were originally proposed on the basis of language studies, it does not mean that they are limited to language"[7]1. For this reason, Kress and van Leeuwen expanded the three meta-functions of SFG to include visual communication. They developed a Visual Grammar grounded in Halliday's social semiotics and concept of meaning potential.

This theoretical framework for visual analysis comprises representational meaning, interactive meaning, and compositional meaning, aligning with ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions respectively. Representational meaning elucidates the connection between meaning participants and processes. Interactive meaning involves actions guiding the language user's interaction with the recipient and reflecting the social relationship between them. Compositional meaning encompasses actions that delineate the entire discourse space or a portion thereof. These three dimensions of Visual Grammar will be further elaborated upon in the following sections.

3.2.1 Representational Meaning

Kress and van Leeuwen asserted that any semiotic mode can depict objects and internal relationships within a discourse beyond the representational system[20]. According to their standpoint, certain ideational choices contribute to visual sign-making in visual communication. Consequently, Kress and van Leeuwen classify images into two categories based on their characteristics, namely, narrative representation and conceptual representation.

Narrative representation can be further subdivided into action process, reaction process, speech and mental process. In the action process, the participant constituting the vector is the actor, and the participant towards which the vector points is the goal. When the vector comprises vision or sight instead of actions, the reaction process is established. Moreover, the reaction process encompasses two types of participants, namely, the reactor and the phenomena. In the speech and mental processes, phenomena are not directly represented; rather, they are mediated through a mediator, namely a sensor or a speaker. As Kress and van Leeuwen elucidated, "The vector in speech and mental process is mainly formed by the connection between the participant and the thought bubble or the dialogue bubble"[20]67. In fact, these three processes are grounded in the six processes delineated in the ideational function posited by Halliday.

However, in conceptual representation, the focus is on generality, stasis, and stability, with less influence from temporal and spatial factors. This type of representation can be categorized into analytical process, classificational process, and symbolic process. In the classification process, participants are connected through classificational relations, with at least one set of participants playing the role of subordinates. Regarding the analytical process, it pertains to the relationship between wholes and parts. Among them, the carrier represents the whole, while possessive attributes represent the parts. The symbolic process delineates what a participant is or signifies, with either two participants or just one participant involved in this process. The first two processes emphasize the relationship between participants, akin to the relational process in SFG. Compared to narrative representation, Kress and van Leeuwen's examination of conceptual representation is more logically lucid and convincingly classified.

3.2.2 Interactive Meaning

Comparable to the interpersonal function in SFG, the interactive meaning in Visual Grammar underscores the relationship among the image producer, the depicted world, and the viewer. This relationship serves a crucial role in providing psychological cues to the viewer and achieving interactive meaning. In analyzing interactive meaning, images can be examined across three dimensions, namely, contact, social distance, and perspective.

Contact pertains to an imagined connection between the participants depicted in the image and the viewers. Two orientations for contact exist: demand and offer. Demand signifies the establishment of eye contact between the image participants and the viewers, thus forging a connection between them. Conversely, offer indicates that the image participants do not establish eye contact with the viewer but convey relevant information to them through other elements[20].

Social distance denotes the level of closeness between the image participants and the viewers, reflecting a type of social connection. Generally, a close-up shot signifies a close relationship between the image and the viewer, whereas a long shot indicates a sense of distance in the relationship[20]. As Li[7]5 mentioned, "When we take a picture of a stranger, we rarely take a close-up shot of her/his head, but more likely to give her/him a 'long social distance' ". As a result, the definition of social distance in interactive meaning is definitely appropriate and practical.

Perspective refers to the way the image viewers towards the image participants, primarily manifested through horizontal and vertical perspectives. Regarding horizontal perspective, a frontal angle provides viewers with an immersive experience, whereas an oblique angle may evoke a sense of detachment from the depicted world. Concerning vertical perspective, a high angle suggests that viewers hold a position of power, whereas a low angle indicates that the image participants hold the dominant position. And an eye-level angle implies an equal relationship between the participants and the viewers, conveying a sense of neutrality. In summary, the horizontal perspective reflects the level of viewer engagement with the image world, while the vertical perspective signifies status disparities between them.

3.2.3 Compositional Meaning

The concept of compositional meaning in Visual Grammar, analogous to the textual function in systemic-functional grammar, involves how an image combines representational and interactive meanings to create a coherent whole[30]43. Kress and van Leeuwen proposed three principles for achieving compositional meaning in images: information value, salience, and framing.

Information value is realized through the arrangement of elements within the image. Salience refers to the varying degrees of attention elements attract. Typically, elements with a larger proportion tend to be more attractive to viewers. As for framing, it pertains to how elements are organized, either connected or separated[30]43. However, a detailed discussion on this aspect will be provided in the subsequent section on image-text relations.

In conclusion, considerable emphasis is placed on discussing both representational and interactive meaning in this study, as they better capture the interaction between the represented image and the viewer. Therefore, further elaboration on these two aspects will be provided in the subsequent sections.

3.3 Image-Text Relation Theory

Kress and van Leeuwen initially introduced the concept of multimodal text, defining it as the utilization of diverse symbols to convey the message of the discourse[20]183. In the realm of multimodal discourse, images and text serve as the primary symbolic representations, both separated and integrated.

Barthes initially examined the relationship between texts and images through the lens of semiotics[16]. He characterizes the connection between them as anchorage and relay, which bear a striking resemblance to Halliday's notions of elaboration and extension. During the late 1990s, numerous functional semiologists embarked on research exploring the relationship between text and images within multimodal discourse, emerging as a vibrant force in this field. For example, Lemke and O'Halloran delved into the relationship between images and text within specific domains[26][44]. Lemke's focus lies in scientific articles incorporating both diagrams and text, whereas O'Halloran's work delves into the translation process from language to mathematics. Subsequently, in the book *Introducing Social Semiotics*, van Leeuwen outlined image-text

relations as elaboration and extension[39]. Elaboration can be further subdivided into explanation and specification, while extension can be further subdivided into similarity, complement, and contrast.

In general, Zeng provided an overview of three prominent image-text theories: the Theory of Image-Text Status (Barthes, 1977), the Theory of Image-Text Zone (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), and the Theory of Image-Text System (Martinec & Salway, 2005)[45]. This study primarily focuses on the Theory of Image-Text Zone and the Theory of Image-Text System.

3.3.1 The Theory of Image-Text Zone

Kress and van Leeuwen initiated their exploration from the perspective of image semiotics, considering it as a common social semiotics akin to language semiotics[39]183. Through functional analysis of images, they developed the concept of Visual Grammar. They did not confine their focus solely to images; rather, they considered multimodal discourse as a cohesive entity, transcending the separation of language and image.

In the three types of functions in the image, the factors that realize representational and interactive functions are interconnected through composition. Composition serves as the mechanism by which various factors contribute to the overall meaning of the discourse. Compositional function is attained through constraints imposed on the entirety or specific elements of multimodal discourse. These constraints encompass both the internal relationships among the image's components and the relationship between the image and text[39]182. Within the realm of image-text interactions, such constraints primarily manifest through the layout and positioning of image-text information. Within the visual space, the precise placement on the page confers particular significance upon the image or text. As advocated by Kress and van Leeuwen, adherence to the following three principles governing the distribution and spatial relationship of image and text is essential.

(1) The Principle of Information Value

Information value varies depending on the positioning of textual elements. Generally, the left side tends to present established information, while new information is often placed on the right. Similarly, information positioned at the top is considered ideal, conveying idealized or generalized concepts that are deemed significant. In contrast, information placed at the bottom tends to be more specific and concrete. What's more, the central and marginal positioning of information indicates its hierarchical division into primary and secondary components (see in Figure 5).

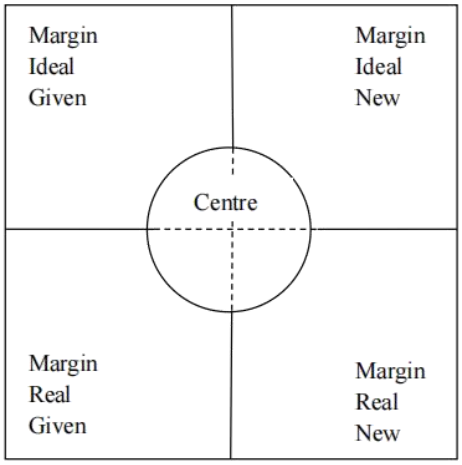


Figure 5 Dimensions of Visual Space[39]197

(2) The Principle of Salience

The compositional function determines the positioning of components, assigning varying degrees of informational value to different positions. However, the composition of images or text also relates to the

salience of different components. While the same element may have different informational values depending on its position, changes in salience occur regardless of position, affecting its importance and level of attention. Factors influencing salience include size, color, focus, tone, perspective, repetition, overlap, and specific cultural factors. In general, the elements with larger proportions tend to be more attractive to the viewers. Therefore, the order of importance among the elements can be judged based on salience.

(3) The Principle of Framing

Within multimodal texts, elements may either be separated or adjacent, a concept facilitated through framing. It indicates whether there is a subordinate relationship between image elements and pertains to how elements are organized, either connected or separated[30]43. Framing holds significance in that disconnected components can be interpreted as independent entities or as units with contrasting meanings, while connected components can be perceived as closely related, continuous, or complementary[46]2. The spatial proximity of components reinforces their belongingness to the same informational block. Various framing techniques, such as dividing lines and color interruptions, serve to achieve this effect.

Indeed, the correlation between layout positioning and the meanings of modalities can be elucidated by the notion that the image-text zone possesses the capability to bestow value or significance, hence its classification as the Theory of Image-Text Zone[47]188.

3.3.2 The Theory of Image-Text System

Halliday posited that the unit above the clause, referred to as the interrelationship type and logical-semantic relation, constitutes the functional framework of the clause complex[48]216. The interrelationship type discerns whether clauses are paratactic or hypotactic, with paratactic clauses maintaining equal status and independence, while hypotactic clauses exhibit unequal status, with dependent clauses relying on dominant clauses. Consequently, interrelationship types are categorized as equality and inequality. In addition, logical-semantic relations encompass expansion and projection. Expansion comprises elaboration, extension, and enhancement, with elaboration entailing a detailed explanation of existing information without introducing new elements, extension involving the addition of new information to augment the meaning of another clause, and enhancement enhancing a clause by specifying aspects such as time, condition, method, cause, and effect. Besides, projection encompasses locution and idea, with locution projection reflecting the locution process and idea projection denoting the cognitive process. Since paratactic and hypotactic structures alone cannot unveil the internal mechanism of this relation, expansion and projection elucidate its formation. As a result, the description of the clause complex must consider these distinct angles[49]104.

Martinec and Salway adopted the approach proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen, utilizing functional grammar theory to investigate the image mode and multimodal discourse, and primarily elucidate the relationship between image and text in multimodal discourse based on the clausal relation theory of functional grammar[50]. They argued that when examining the status relationship between image and text, the realization of the image-text relationship differs from that observed from the perspective of logical-semantics. Therefore, the exploration of the image-text relationship should be studied from two perspectives, namely, the status relationship and the logical-semantic relationship.

There are both similarities and differences in the status relationship between image and text, which can be categorized into equality or inequality. Equality among clauses resembles the relationship among coordinate sentences, where image and text are either independent of or dependent on each other. Inequality among clauses pertains to the relationship between the dominant clause and the dependent clause, with the dominant clause being independent while the dependent clause relies on it. However, inequality between image and text signifies two scenarios: firstly, where the image is subordinate to text, implying that the entire image is only associated with a portion of the text; and secondly, where the text is subordinate to the image, indicating that the entire text corresponds to only a certain portion of the image.

To delve deeper into the connection between image and text, it is imperative to examine the logical semantic patterns that exist between them. Martinec and Salway established a framework for the image-text relationship, comprising two subsystems, namely, status relation and logical semantic relation[50]. The status relationship can be categorized into equality and inequality. However, the logical semantics can be delineated into expansion and projection, with expansion further subdivided into elaboration, extension, and enhancement, while projection encompasses locution and idea. This study primarily focuses on the status relation aspect.

The structure of the Image-Text System framework is demonstrated in Figure 6 below:

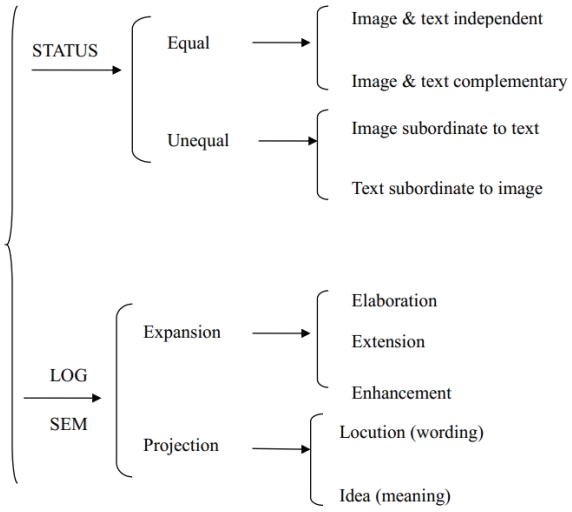


Figure 6 Image and Text Relations[50]351

4 Methodology

4.1 Data Collection and Description

4.1.1 Reviews from TripAdvisor

The rapid advancement of digital platforms and online review websites has significantly impacted the way individuals perceive and evaluate tourist destinations. Scholars have emphasized the pivotal role of destination image in attracting tourists and influencing their decision-making processes. In fact, destination image encompasses the perceptions, beliefs, and impressions individuals hold about a specific destination. It is shaped by various factors, including cultural heritage, natural landscapes, infrastructures, attractions, and the overall visitor experience[51].

As a well-known travel website and mobile app around the world, TripAdvisor is widely followed by international travelers and tourists who share their travel experiences and evaluations there. Therefore, reviews about the Tianyige Museum on TripAdvisor can indeed influence its overseas image construction. Positive experiences recounted by visitors to the Tianyige Museum, coupled with their favorable reviews on TripAdvisor, are likely to bolster the museum's image and visibility among international tourists. Conversely, negative reviews posted on this platform have the potential to detrimentally impact the museum's overseas image. Hence, it is crucial to vigilantly monitor reviews on TripAdvisor, promptly responding to and addressing any issues that arise, thus maintaining and enhancing the museum's overseas image.

In this study, a total of 325 participants contribute their experiences and comments on the Tianyige Museum. As seen in Table 5, these comments are classified into five categories based on their ratings in TripAdvisor. It can be seen that more than half of the comments are excellent (54.85%), while negative comments are relatively few, accounting for only 0.31%.

Table 5 The Number and Percentage of Different Ratings

Ratings	Number	Percentage
Excellent	175	54.85%
Very Good	120	36.92%
Average	29	8.92%
Poor	1	0.31%
Terrible	0	0%

Meanwhile, Table 6 presents the distribution of languages used in comments, representing the countries from which participants come. It is noteworthy that the reviews on TripAdvisor are available in 12 different languages, of which English and Chinese are the most prevalent, accounting for 44.31% and 37.54% respectively.

Table 6 The Number and Percentage of Different Languages

Languages	Number	Percentage
English	144	44.31%
Chinese	122	37.54%
Japanese	18	5.54%
Spanish	7	2.15%
Italian	6	1.85%
Korean	6	1.85%
Russian	6	1.85%
French	5	1.54%
German	4	1.23%
Dutch	3	0.92%
Danish	2	0.62%
Portuguese	2	0.62%

In conclusion, based on TripAdvisor reviews about Tianyige Museum and reviewers' basic profiles, quantitative data including language types and ratings of comments are collected in this study. Thereafter, utilizing Selenium in Python, 325 reviews in 12 different languages are collected for further analysis. And all the non-English comments are translated into English by the built-in Google Translate on the TripAdvisor website. As for the analysis of the text, it will be conducted under the guidance of the attitude system of the Appraisal Theory proposed by Martin and White (2005) in the following section.

4.1.2 Images from Tianyi Talking

To meet the public's reading needs and facilitate cultural exchange, libraries worldwide have embraced the opportunities offered by the global information infrastructure. For example, the emergence of new media platforms like WeChat and Weibo has made it possible for individuals to access high-quality library resources and services, facilitating the transition from traditional to digital libraries.

Among these advancements, Tianyige Museum, China's oldest private library, has emerged as a pioneer in this field. In addition to its roles in cultural relic preservation and ancient book collection, the museum launched the Tianyi Talking program on its WeChat official account in 2020. This online international dialogue program aims to broaden its audience among overseas visitors through virtual discussions and exhibitions, acting as a conduit for international cultural exchange. To provide a comprehensive overview of this program, Table 7 offers a brief introduction to its eight episodes.

Table 7 A Brief Summary of Tianyi Talking

Episode	Date	Participant(s)	Theme	Main Content
1	May 20, 2020	Dr. Christian Müller	A dialogue between the Bodleian Library and the Tianyige Library	The connections of libraries and knowledge across continents
2	August 26, 2020	Shen Jin	A dialogue between the Harvard-Yenching Library and the Tianyige Library	The intricate histories of two museums
3	July 21, 2021	Pro. Don Adleta	A dialogue between Ohio University and the Tianyige Library	Thoughts on the future of museums from three points
4	November 10, 2021	Pro. IIYAMA Tomoyasu	Overview of Waseda University Library	Chinese books' collection and stories of international students
5	May 26, 2022	Dr. Cornel Dora.	A dialogue between Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen and Tianyige	Exchange between the two museums
6	November 17, 2022	Silvia Scipioni, Elisabetta Bovero, Cristiano Maggipinto	A dialogue among the three oldest surviving family libraries in the world	Similarities and differences between Eastern and Western cultures
7	May 22, 2023	Silvia Scipioni	A dialogue between Medici Laurentian Library and Tianyige	The history and current status of the rare book restoration room
8	December 5, 2023	Paulo Zanfini	A dialogue between the Malatestiana Library and the Tianyige Library	Library collections, digitalization technologies and projects

These dialogues have explored the similarities and differences between Eastern and Western library cultures. However, a comprehensive analysis of the program's efficacy and reach has yet to be undertaken. Therefore, it becomes imperative to scrutinize its impact on cross-cultural understanding and dissemination. This can be accomplished by assessing the communication effectiveness of the program and analyzing its reception among diverse audiences.

Consequently, this section carries out an image analysis to dissect the visual elements present in the official posters and video screenshots from all eight episodes of the program. By scrutinizing these components, the Tianyi Talking program can further refine its representational and interactive meaning within the framework of Visual Grammar, thus ensuring its effectiveness in promoting cultural exchange and fostering global understanding.

4.1.3 Images and Text from the Official Website of Tianyige Museum

As the most effective and convenient communication media, the Internet is a crucial way to collect information, especially the official website, which is an authoritative information publisher. It is one of the most effective media to build and promote the image of a destination through pictures, texts, videos, and other forms[42].

Serving as a global platform, the English official website of the Tianyige Museum

(https://www.tianyige.com.cn/en?lang=en) offers direct insights into the museum's history, culture, and collections to international audiences. At the same time, the visual turn of mass media has made images a crucial carrier of information. Analyzing the visual and textual content on the English official website of Tianyige Museum serves several positive purposes for its international communication. The availability of an English website makes Tianyige Museum's information more accessible and understandable to international audiences, providing convenience for users worldwide. What's more, English content attracts a broader international audience, facilitating cross-cultural communication and understanding with foreign individuals.

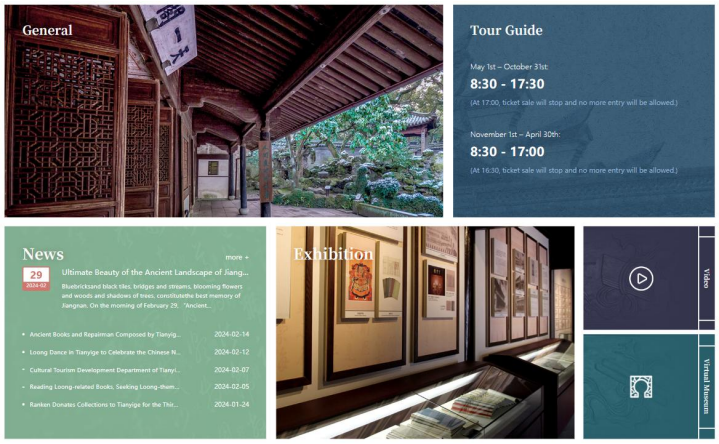


Image 1 Screenshot of the English Official Website of Tianyige Museum

Therefore, in this research, the initial step involves visiting the English official website of Tianyige Museum to systematically collect 386 images using screenshot tools (as demonstrated in Image 1). Subsequently, a comprehensive database of these collected images, alongside their corresponding textual content, is compiled. Each image is then meticulously analyzed in conjunction with the accompanying textual content, facilitating an overall evaluation of the coherence between images and text.

4.2 Research Methods

To address the previously mentioned research questions, this study utilizes both qualitative and quantitative research methods, together with textual analysis, visual analysis and image-text relation analysis.

In this study quantitative analysis is employed to delineate the multimodal characteristics of the selected data. The analysis is data-based with all the texts and images carefully selected from the cross-cultural communication channels of Tianyige Museum. At the same time, it is also a qualitative study as it involves a through and insightful multimodal examination of textual and visual symbols within the chosen data.

Therefore, although the qualitative approach takes precedence in this study, quantitative elements are also present, particularly in quantifying specific modalities across the data as a whole.

4.3 The Proposed Research Framework and Approach

Based on the aforementioned theoretical framework, a proposed model for the multimodal discourse analysis of the study has been devised. Drawing upon the attitudinal subsystem of Appraisal Theory, textual elements are scrutinized through the lenses of affect, judgment, and appreciation. Subsequently, the representational and interactive meaning of the image is examined with the application of Visual Grammar. These parallel analyses elucidate the nuanced expressions of meaning within both textual and visual modalities.

Furthermore, it's imperative to recognize that text and image can not only convey meaning separately but can also integrate to form a cohesive whole. Therefore, the relationship between text and image is explored to

comprehend how meaning is collectively constructed. This involves considering the theories of image-text zone and image-text system. On one hand, the principle of information value from the Theory of Image-Text Zone is applied, examining the placement of text and image in terms of left/right, central/margin, and top/bottom positions. On the other hand, the concept of status relation from the image-text relation framework proposed by Martinec and Salway is utilized. This allows for the exploration of the status of the image and text, whether they have an equal relationship (independent or complementary) or an unequal relationship (wherein one is subordinate to the other).

By integrating these analytical approaches, a comprehensive model for the multimodal discourse analysis of the Tianyige Museum is formulated. The proposed framework for this study is illustrated in Figure 7.

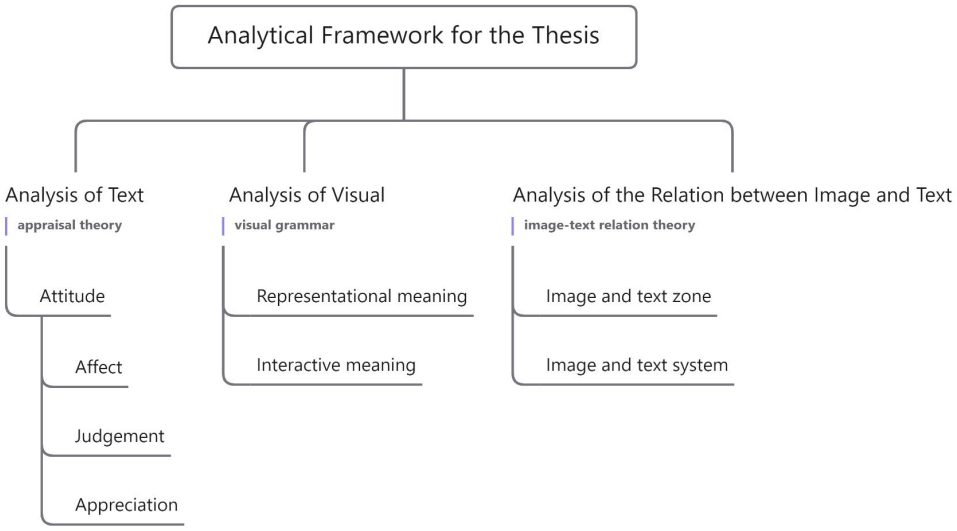


Figure 7 Analytical Framework for the study

5 Data Analysis

5.1 Textual Analysis

Textual analysis will be conducted following the guidance of the attitude system within the appraisal framework. In discourse, writers or speakers express positive or negative evaluations of the entities, events, and situations discussed in their texts[39]2. Therefore, an overview of the distribution of attitudinal resources as well as comprehensive and detailed analysis will be carried out, considering both positive and negative connotations. Additionally, the classification criteria primarily align with the figure presented by Martin.

From the perspective of the attitude system, the frequencies and distributions of attitude resources on TripAdvisor among the three categories are demonstrated in Table 8. It can be concluded that appreciation stands out as the most prominent attitude resource, comprising 56% of the total distribution. This dominance suggests a prevalent tendency among users to express objective valuations regarding their experiences on the platform. Thereafter, affect accounts for 39.38% of the distribution, indicating a substantial presence of emotional responses within user-generated content. These emotional nuances may encompass a spectrum of feelings, ranging from excitement and enthusiasm to disappointment and frustration, reflecting the subjective nature of user experiences shared on TripAdvisor. As for judgment, it represents the smallest portion at 4.62%, underscoring a relatively limited emphasis on the ethical evaluation of local personnel.

Table 8 Overall Distribution of Attitude Resources on TripAdvisor

Attitude System	Instances	Percentage

Affect	128	39.38%
Judgment	15	4.62%
Appreciation	182	56%
Total	325	100%

Furthermore, from the perspective of the polarity of the attitude system, the overall distribution and frequency of positive and negative attitudinal resources on TripAdvisor are presented in Table 9 below. The data indicate a significant preference for positive expressions, accounting for 84.31% compared to 15.69% for negative expressions. This skew towards positivity indicates a prevailing inclination among users to highlight favorable aspects and endorse positive experiences, potentially influencing the perceptions and decisions of other users.

Table 9 Distribution of Positive Ones and Negative Ones

Attitude System	Positive	Negative
Affect	110	18
Judgment	11	4
Appreciation	153	29
Total	274	51
Percentage	84.31%	15.69%

In conclusion, the analysis of attitude subsystems and polarity distribution underscores the predominance of positive valuations and emotional responses within user-generated content on TripAdvisor. This emphasis on appreciation and positivity may contribute to shaping the Tianyige Museum's reputation around the world.

5.1.1 Analysis of Affect

Affect addresses the emotional perspective of the evaluator concerning objects, individuals, or circumstances. More precisely, it signifies the degree of preference or aversion towards something, along with relevant emotional responses to it. Results of the affect analysis in reviews of Tianyige Museum on TripAdvisor are as follows:

Table 10 Affect of Reviews on TripAdvisor

Affect	Dis/inclination	Un/happiness	In/security	Dis/satisfaction
Instance	7	33	31	57
Percentage	5.47%	25.78%	24.22%	44.53%

Given the diverse opinions and emotions expressed on TripAdvisor, Table 10 reveals that dis/satisfaction is the most prevalent sentiment (44.53%), followed by un/happiness (25.78%), in/security (24.22%) and dis/inclination (5.47%). The category of dis/satisfaction pertains to individuals' feelings of accomplishment and frustration about their involvement in various activities (Martin and White, 2005). While happiness also plays a role, overall satisfaction with the visit is deemed the most crucial factor when evaluating a landmark. What's more, the category of in/security reflects visitors' perceptions of the tour environment, underscoring the importance of serene surroundings in tourism experiences.

The examples are as follows:

Example 1

"This is a gem! I was **stunned** by the beauty and the cultural environment involved here. A must see. The volunteer guides are knowledgeable and helpful." (btf009, written on May 6, 2018)

"Stunned" is the positive dis/satisfaction in the affect. It expresses the visitor's astonishment and

admiration for the beauty and cultural richness of the Tianyige Museum. Besides, the visitor praised the museum as a "gem" and emphasized its must-see status. He also commended the knowledgeable and helpful volunteer guides. Overall, it conveys the visitor's profound satisfaction and high praise for the Tianyige Museum.

Example 2

"You will be **disappointed** to see an empty library. However as the books are so old, they are housed in a climate-controlled building on the grounds itself." (HongSO, written on June 16, 2016)

"Disappointed" is the negative dis/satisfaction in the affect. "Disappointed" indicates feeling let down, disheartened, or unsatisfied with a particular situation or outcome. This unsatisfactory emotion may stem from a disparity between expectations and reality, as one might anticipate the Tianyige Museum filled with books and various activities, but instead find it empty. Therefore, it also reflects the strong desire of tourists to appreciate the ancient books in this Museum.

5.1.2 Analysis of Judgment

Judgment deals with resources for evaluating behaviors consisting of a variety of principles. It pertains to the assessment of feelings regarding proposed behaviors, determining how one should or should not act. Results of judgment analysis in reviews of Tianyige Museum on TripAdvisor are as follows:

Table 11 Judgment of Reviews on TripAdvisor

Judgment	Social Esteem	Social Sanction
Instance	15	0
Percentage	100%	0%

In Table 11 above, a notable contrast emerges between the utilization of social esteem and social sanction. The former primarily encompasses evaluations within a community context, whereas the latter typically manifests in political discourse with legal implications. Reviews of the Tianyige Museum on TripAdvisor tend to focus more on the quality and behavior of pertinent individuals, such as staff members, tour guides, or other visitors, rather than broader societal or political considerations.

The examples are as follows:

Example 3

"Tianyi Pavilion is a library with a very long history and a rich collection of books. I was amazed at the **perseverance** of Fan Qin's descendants in keeping the books." (An anonymous TripAdvisor user, written on October 23, 2016)

"Perseverance" represents a positive tenacity of social esteem in judgment, reflecting admiration for the descendants of Fan Qin in their dedication to preserving the books. It demonstrates a reverence for historical heritage and a commitment to cultural preservation. The statement underscores the value and significance of Tianyige Museum as a place with a rich historical legacy and cultural heritage.

Example 4

"This is really a huge museum and garden complex rather than a "library". The staff in the complex and the supposed tourist information booth outside were incredibly unfriendly and **unhelpful**." (wr11, written on September 27, 2016)

"Unhelpful" represents a negative capacity of social esteem in judgment. It conveys a negative sentiment, expressing dissatisfaction and disappointment with the poor service quality in the Tianyige Museum. This negative emotion may influence the visitors' overall impression and evaluation of Tianyige, making their recommendation or endorsement of the attraction less favorable.

5.1.3 Analysis of Appreciation

Appreciation involves the assessment of the value of things with reference to aesthetic principles or other social values. It can be considered a form of aesthetics. Results of appreciation analysis in reviews of Tianyige Museum on TripAdvisor are as follows:

Table 12 Appreciation of Reviews on TripAdvisor

Appreciation	Reaction	Composition	Valuation
Instance	66	18	98
Percentage	36.26%	9.89%	53.85%

Table 12 above illustrates that valuation is the predominant aspect of appreciation in the reviews of Tianyige Museum, accounting for 53.85% of the total, followed by reaction at 36.26% and composition at 9.89%. This indicates that most tourists on TripAdvisor assess the museum based on its perceived value, considering factors such as its aesthetic appeal, cultural significance, and whether it is worth visiting. Additionally, the attractiveness of the scenic spots, categorized under reaction, is also a major feedback content in the evaluation. This indicates that tourists appreciate the scenic beauty and cultural ambiance in Tianyige Museum, which enhances their overall experience and satisfaction.

The examples are as follows:

Example 5

"Impressing Library, Pavillions and Grounds. The Tian Yi Library and Pavillions are beautifully situated in a large park and really **worthwhile** a visit." (Anthony G, written on August 19, 2016)

"Worthwhile" as the positive valuation belongs to appreciation. It emphasizes the impressive appearance and scenic location within a large park, which may include aesthetic, historical, or cultural significance. Overall, this discourse reflects a favorable evaluation of the Tianyige Museum, highlighting its value as a destination worth visiting.

Example 6

"This is another ancient building and site in China, unless you are really into history/architecture, there **isn't much to offer** as compared to other attractions available." (sime_as, written October 7, 2014)

"Isn't much to offer" is the negative impact reaction that belongs to appreciation. It suggests that the Tianyige Museum may not offer much unless one has a genuine interest in history and architecture, implying it may not be as appealing as other attractions. Therefore, this review expresses a somewhat indifferent or even slightly negative sentiment.

5.2 Visual Analysis

5.2.1 Analysis of the Representational Meaning

The representational meaning delves into the internal relationships among depicted elements in Visual Grammar. In the narrative process, a vector serves as a signifier within Visual Grammar. It may manifest as an action or eyesight transmitted from one participant to another, thereby indicating unfolding events and processes of change. Depending on the nature of the vector, the narrative process is further subdivided into three distinct categories: action process, reaction process, and speech and mental process. The ensuing section will systematically analyze images from Tianyi Talking within the framework of narrative processes.

First of all, both participants—the actor and the goal—are actively involved in the context of the transactional action process. Conversely, in non-transactional structures, where only one participant is involved, there is no goal. For example, Image 2 is extracted from the third episode at 5 seconds. The image depicts Don Adleta, an art professor at Ohio University, engaged in graphic design. It belongs to the transcational process in

action process where the professor is designing the fonts. The hand serves as the actor, while the font represents the goal, with the moving direction of the pen delineating a strong virtual vector. Moreover, the professor himself can be perceived as the actor too. This simplistic and intuitive action process effectively conveys the primary theme of the dialogue, inviting viewers to immerse themselves in font design and visual culture, thereby stimulating contemplation on museum development.



Image 2　Screenshot from the Third Episode of Tianyi Talking

In addition, as outlined by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 67), when a vector is established through the orientation of the gaze of depicted participants, it signifies a reaction process—a departure from the action process in terms of vector characteristics. In a reaction process, the participant directing the gaze is termed the reactor, while the entity at which the gaze is directed is labeled the phenomenon. Whether a reaction process is transactional or non-transactional depends on the presence of the phenomenon. For instance, Image 3 is extracted from the first episode at 21 minutes and 50 seconds. It illustrates two interviewers engaging in non-verbal communication through body movements and eye contact. This interaction epitomizes a reaction process, with the lady on the right serving as the reactor. Her gesture constitutes the vector, while the lady on the left represents the phenomenon. Their shared smiles convey the enjoyment of this meaningful dialogue, particularly evident during the discussion of similar rules between the Tianyige Museum and the Bodleian Library.



Image 3　Screenshot from the First Episode of Tianyi Talking

In terms of verbal and mental process, it employs dialogue bubbles and thought balloons to represent the interaction between interlocutors. As a result, there is no verbal and mental process in the Tianyi Talking program so that analysis of this perspective cannot be conducted.

Furthermore, the conceptual process in visual communication corresponds to the relational and existential processes in systemic grammar. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), the conceptual process delineates

participants based on their class, structure, or meaning, rendering it relatively stable compared to the narrative process. It can be further categorized into classificational process, analytical process, and symbolic process. Typically, the conceptual process does not entail vectors; rather, it pertains to the represented participant or symbol in the image. Given the constraints on resources within this dialogue program, no image fits into the conceptual process, resulting in the absence of any selection for this process.

5.2.2 Analysis of the Interactive Meaning

Images can establish specific relationships between viewers and the depicted world. Within the realm of interactive meaning, three crucial elements come into play: visual contact, social distance, and perspective. Consequently, this section aims to delve into how images convey interactive meaning through these three distinct dimensions.

To begin with, visual contact serves to establish a social bond between the represented participant and the engaging viewer. Kress and Van Leeuwen delineate between demand and offer contact concerning visual interaction. In instances of demand contact, represented participants directly gaze at the viewer, forming vectors through their eye lines. However, in offer contact, depicted subjects are presented as objects or sources of information, without direct interaction with the viewer. Such depictions typically lack human or quasi-human subjects making direct eye contact with the audience. As depicted in Image 4, a foreign scholar in a suit gazes directly at the viewers, establishing eye contact through the vector of his gaze. Adjacent to him on the left side of the image stands a stone statue of an ancient Chinese man, also oriented towards the foreground. Therefore, this image exemplifies demand contact, which means the represented participant expects the viewers to discuss with them. Indeed, this poster vividly demonstrates the theme of the first episode of Tianyi Talking, paying tribute to Fan Qin and Bodleian, the visionary founders of these two eminent libraries in China and the West.

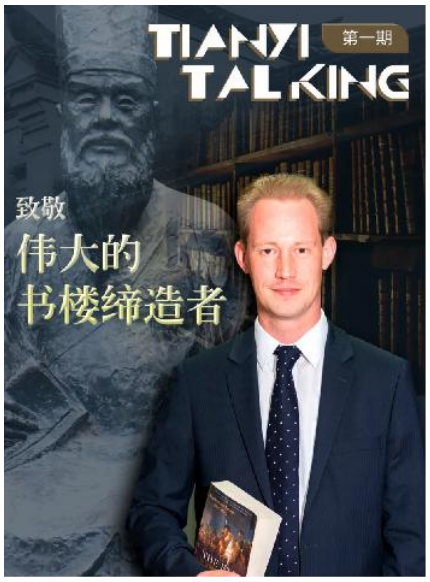


Image 4　Poster of the First Episode of Tianyi Talking

Moreover, images can bring viewers closer to the depicted participants, locations, and events, or maintain a distance from them. Specifically, the degree of distance portrayed in an image determines the relationship between the participants and the audience. The distance is related to the frame size of the camera view, which can range from a close-up shot to a medium shot or a long shot. For instance, Image 5 is taken from the eighth episode at 5 seconds. This image presents the natural scenery of the Tianyige Museum from a distant perspective. In terms of social distance, it falls under the category of a very long shot, offering a public and

objective view. In the demonstration of the Tianyige Museum, the long shot typically imparts an objective and comprehensive impression on the audience owing to its impersonal characteristics.



Image 5　Screenshot from the Eighth Episode of Tianyi Talking

Additionally, according to Kress & van Leeuwen (1996), attitude is closely linked to the choice of perspective or angle. Like contact and social distance, it also plays a pivotal role in reflecting the relationship between the represented participants and the viewers. Attitude is primarily conveyed through the utilization of horizontal perspective and vertical perspectives. Varied applications of perspectives signify either involvement or detachment of the represented participants and viewers. For example, Image 6 is taken from episode seven at 40 minutes 22 seconds. This image employs the frontal angle regarding the horizontal perspective, and eye level regarding the vertical perspective. In this image, a lady on the left holds up a sample of restored ancient book with both hands, while another lady on the right maintains eye contact with the camera and provides a corresponding introduction. The interview between the two sides engages in an interactive question-and-answer session regarding the restoration and collection of ancient books, indicating a form of involvement. What's more, the image is captured at eye level, which can convey a sense of equality between the represented object and the viewer.



Image 6　Screenshot from the Seventh Episode of Tianyi Talking

5.3 Image and Text Relation Analysis

5.3.1 Analysis of the Zone between Image and Text

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), the concept of information value pertains to the emphasis achieved through the placement of components within the composition[20]. They argue that the positioning of elements from left to right establishes a structure of given information versus new information. Specifically,

information on the left is considered "given", representing what is already known or accepted, while information on the right is regarded as "new", suggesting what is potentially contested or unknown. This distinction parallels the notion of given and new information in systemic functional linguistics, where given information is predictable and known, but new information is unpredictable and novel. This framework offers a nuanced understanding of meaning potential within the context of specific images, manifesting in distinct visual contours[7]7.

The top and bottom positions within a composition carry distinct information values. The element positioned at the top is considered the "ideal", while the one at the bottom is regarded as the "real". The ideal component represents the most salient aspect, often embodying the generalized or idealized essence of the information. In contrast, the bottom position conveys more specific, practical, or "down-to-earth" information compared to the ideal counterpart. And if the layout is organized based on the central and marginal dimensions, it is termed as a central and marginal composition. In this arrangement, the central element, referred to as the "centre", imbues meaning to the surrounding elements, which are considered the "margin"[30]69.

Table 13 Distribution of Image-Text Relationship (Zone)

Information value		Instance	Percentage
Left-Right	Image-text	6	1.55%
	Text-image	316	81.87%
Top-Bottom	Image-text	29	7.51%
	Text-image	20	5.18%
Centre-Margin	Image-text	10	2.59%
	Text-image	5	1.30%

The data from Table 13 indicates a prevalent use of the left-right relationship between images and text on the English official website of Tianyige Museum, accounting for 83.42%. In addition, the top-bottom relationship represents a smaller proportion at 12.69%, while the center-margin relationship is the least utilized, comprising only 3.89%. This suggests that images and accompanying text are predominantly arranged horizontally in the website's design, facilitating a clear and intuitive presentation of visual and textual content. The relative examples of image-text relationship (zone) on this website are given as follows:

Image 7 adheres to the left-right (text-image) structure. The text positioned on the left introduces new information about the Tianyige Museum, which may not be familiar to most readers. Meanwhile, the image on the right showcases a partial aerial view of the museum, featuring cognizable trees and structures. However, this arrangement deviates from the "given-new" structure outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen. In this case, the text contains more new information compared to the image. Therefore, it would be more effective to capture viewers' attention initially with attractive photos or illustrations on the left, followed by the relatively detailed information conveyed through text on the right.



Image 7 Example of Left-Right (Text-Image) Structure

In Image 8, a top-bottom (image-text) structure is employed. Various activities are vividly presented in the images, with concise introductions provided below each picture. The image positioned at the top serves as the ideal, which is the most salient and prominent part, while the text at the bottom works as the real, which can provide more practical or specific information. As a result, this arrangement strategically captivates viewers with compelling visuals initially, followed by engagement with accompanying text, fostering deeper interest and comprehension.



Image 8 Example of Top-Bottom (Image-Text) Structure

5.3.2 Analysis of the Status between Image and Text

From what has been discussed, the relationship between image and text can be categorized as either equal or unequal. In the case of equal relation, it can manifest as either independent or complementary. When an image and text hold an equal status without one modifying the other, they are deemed independent. Conversely, when an image and text share an equal status with one influencing or modifying the other, their relationship is considered complementary. This equal relation encompasses the entirety of both the text and image. However, in terms of the unequal relation, it can manifest as either image-subordinate or text-subordinate. If an image is subordinate to a text, it is related to only a part of the text. When a text is subordinate to an image, the text is related to a part of the image[50].

Table 14 Distribution of Image-Text Relationship (Status)

Status		Instance	Percentage
Equal	Independent	8	2.07%
	Complementary	321	83.16%
Unequal	Image subordinate to text	53	13.73%
	Text subordinate to image	4	1.04%

Based on the data presented in Table 14 above, it is evident that the complementary relation predominates in the relationship between image and text, with 321 instances recorded, constituting 83.16% of the total. In contrast, the independent relation is observed in only 8 instances, accounting for a mere 2.07%.

The prevalence of complementary relations suggests a synergy between image and text, wherein they complement each other to convey interactive meaning effectively. By leveraging the strengths of both visual and textual elements, this collaborative approach enhances the communication of new information, particularly to unfamiliar audiences. For illustrative purposes, the example of a complementary relation between image and text is exemplified as follows:

In Image 9, a middle-aged man and a young girl are depicted watching a video showcasing ancient book restoration techniques on the left side, while on the right side, a news feed highlights book preservation and architectural conservation efforts undertaken by Tianyige Museum. The combination of image and text complement each other, providing readers with a more comprehensive and vivid understanding of the subject

matter.



Image 9 Example of Complementary Relation

Regarding the unequal relation, it comprises only a small portion of the overall status between image-text relations. Among these, 53 instances involve the image subordinate to the text, while 4 instances feature text subordinate to image. The existence of unequal relations between image and text on the English official website of Tianyige Museum may stem from the tendency for images to subordinate to text, providing more concrete information to viewers. This occurs when the displayed images are either too vague or complex, necessitating reference to the accompanying text for clarification of their purpose.

To conclude, the equal relation between image and text is far more prevalent than the unequal one on the English official website of Tianyige Museum. Indeed, the primary function of the web page is to provide a succinct introduction to the presented content using both images and text. This introduction should aim to be both impressive and informative, rather than providing extensive elaboration solely for the images and photographs.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Major Findings and Implications of the Study

Guided by theoretical frameworks including the appraisal system, visual grammar, and the theory of image-text zone and system, this study investigates the overseas communication strategies employed by Tianyige Museum across TripAdvisor, Tianyi Talking, and its English official website. By delving into the textual and visual elements, as well as their interaction, the study seeks to determine how each mode conveys meaning independently and identify strategies to optimize coordination and collaboration. Through comprehensive analysis, the study presents key findings and implications regarding the Tianyige Museum's international image, as outlined below.

Firstly, utilizing the Appraisal Theory, particularly the attitude system, the text part is scrutinized to optimize its communicative efficacy. The study finds that the majority of textual communication on TripAdvisor highlights positive aspects of Tianyige Museum, contributing to a generally favorable impression. However, shortcomings such as the lack of interactive activities and professional guided tours may impact visitor satisfaction. Therefore, to enhance external communication and promote Ningbo City's image, the museum should focus on providing enriching cultural experiences and convenient services to meet the expectations of international tourists.

Secondly, the visual mode is examined through the lens of Visual Grammar, which posits that constructing meaning in Tianyi Talking primarily involves two aspects: representation meaning and interaction meaning. The narrative process is the main way to construct meanings in representation, which shows unfolding and dynamic events or actions. Within the dimension of contact, nearly all images exhibit demand acts, as

participants seek to evoke a shared sentiment with viewers through direct eye contact. Concerning social distance, certain long-distance shots offer panoramic views of the Tianyige Museum. From an attitudinal perspective, frontal angles engender audiences' immersion, while power relations between audiences and participants are often depicted through eye-to-eye and high-angle perspectives.

Finally, the relation between the image and text on the English official website of Tianyige Museum is discussed from the perspective of zone and status guided by the theory of image-text zone and system. The research identifies a dominance of equal relations, particularly the complementary relation, between image and text. However, the frequent placement of text on the left and image on the right on the official website may fail to capture viewers' attention effectively. Consequently, alternative layouts featuring more visually striking images or a different arrangement could enhance engagement and comprehension.

In conclusion, by addressing the implications derived from the study's major findings, Tianyige Museum can refine its overseas communication strategies and enhance its international image. This includes providing enriching cultural experiences, optimizing visual communication efforts, and redesigning the website layout to prioritize engaging content. Continued evaluation and adaptation are essential to ensure effective communication with a diverse global audience.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

While this study presents a comprehensive conclusion, it is necessary to acknowledge several inherent limitations.

Firstly, temporal variability may impact the relevance of the selected textual corpus. Spanning from March 2011 to March 2024, the 325 TripAdvisor reviews encompass a period during which Tianyige Museum likely underwent significant renovations, potentially compromising the timeliness of some comments. However, considering that these retained comments continue to offer insights into visitor preferences and expectations, thereby providing valuable reference points for future planning and management, all reviews are still retained for analysis.

Secondly, the analysis process is subject to the limitations of the author's discipline expertise and knowledge structure, resulting in a degree of subjectivity. For instance, the quantitative analysis relies solely on manual labor. Moreover, the classification of different modes in textual analysis, visual analysis, and image-text analysis requires refinement. As a result, data collection in this research focuses on a broad range rather than detailed specifics, aiming to mitigate potential deviations that could impact the final analysis results.

Lastly, due to constraints such as the length of the study, the research may not be as thorough as desired. Despite efforts to provide illustrative examples, the limited number results in an incomplete and insufficiently comprehensive analysis. Furthermore, although the study examines three distinct communication media, each of which is inherently multimodal, this may also lead to gaps in the analysis.

6.3 Suggestions for Future Studies

Given the continuous advancements in science and technology, alongside the diversification and innovation of means for conveying meaning, multimodal discourse analysis is poised to emerge as a pivotal branch of discourse analysis. Concurrently, as Tianyige Museum continues to evolve, its promotional strategies warrant further refinement and optimization. Therefore, the aforementioned limitations offer valuable insights for future research endeavors.

Firstly, future analyses should strive to incorporate rich and up-to-date materials, as these factors are integral to ensuring the credibility of the final analysis results. This may involve sourcing data from a variety of sources, including recent publications, social media platforms, and user-generated content, to capture the latest trends and developments in communication strategies.

Secondly, there is a need for further refinement and objectivity in multimodal analysis theory, particularly in the development of clearer and more objective classification standards. Therefore, future research should explore alternative methods for collecting accurate and objective data to facilitate more profound analyses.

Lastly, multimodal analysis should evolve from static to dynamic, transitioning from two-dimensional to three-dimensional analyses. This includes exploring the incorporation of sound, video, form, color, animated images, and flash animation. While this study represents a step forward in this field of research, ample room for further exploration and advancement remains in the future.

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Appendix

Table A.1 Partial Sample Reviews on TripAdvisor

Date	Review	Rating	Language
October 7, 2014	This is another ancient buildings and site in China, unless you are really into history/architecture, there isn't much to offer as compared to other attractions available.	Average	English
October 15, 2016	This library will take you away for one hour into what looks like 19th century china. The gardens are pleasant. A nice place to have a stroll if you have an hour's time.	Very good	English
March 27, 2019	Enjoyed the authentic nature of this beautiful library. Wonderful amongst trees and water. One of the oldest libraries in the world and has the oldest books in China Please go—its worth it.	Excellent	English
January 3, 2020	I went to Tianyi Pavilion because it's near Ningbo railway station and underground station, the most popular attraction in Ningbo. But it didn't impress me. Although Tianyi Pavilion is one of the oldest libraries in the world, this seems to be just an ancient building. If you are a foreigner and have visited many ancient buildings in China or you don't have a lot of time in Ningbo, I wouldn't recommend Tianyi Pavilion.	Poor	Chinese
May 18, 2011	Tianyi Pavilion has a good reputation, but in fact, it doesn't seem to have anything outstanding. In the small building in Jiangnan, the books are hidden, and the ones placed outside are unfamiliar to me.	Average	Chinese
January 24, 2017	The environment is elegant and fresh, but unfortunately you can't go upstairs to see the original collection in person, you can only see the copies of the collection, but of course this is all the better to preserve the books without being destroyed.	Very good	Chinese
June 30, 2021	Ancient literati were graceful and elegant, and regarded book collection and knowledge and culture as the most valuable wealth in their life. Painted buildings and platforms, fine carvings, Tianyi Pavilion Museum inside the world of a different world. The general style of Jiangnan garden gives the museum a fresh and chic natural atmosphere, and it is not an exaggeration to say that Tianyige is the first humanistic attraction in Ningbo.	Excellent	Chinese
May 9, 2015	I went there because Chinese people recommended it as the best place to visit in Ningbo. It is indeed a good place to learn about the history of Chinese libraries, with a beautifully maintained garden. However, for those who are not interested in such historical backgrounds and garden culture, it may lack interest. Whether it is worth paying the entrance fee of 30 yuan to enter is a matter of judgement.	Average	Japanese
July 20, 2019	It is located in the centre of Ningbo, about 3-4 km walk from Tianyi Square. The Moon Lake is in the vicinity and you can enjoy a walk from the Moon Lake Park to the Tianyi Pavilion. As with	Very good	Japanese

	other tourist facilities, foreigners must show their passport to enter the Tianyi Pavilion, so do not forget it. Inside the Tianyi Pavilion there are a number of old storeroom buildings, where you can see buildings and culture from the Ming dynasty of China. It is a famous tourist attraction among Chinese people, so on Saturdays and Sundays it is very crowded and noisy with Chinese tourists, but it is interesting to look around while thinking of it as being Chinese. If you ever come to Ningbo, it is one of the places you should definitely see.		
January 13, 2016	Within walking distance of the station. There is a lot to see anyway, including an old garden and a library. Retains the atmosphere of a good old town. The area is currently undergoing redevelopment, but the park is very quiet. There is a lot of greenery and the ponds and gardens are magnificent.	Excellent	Japanese
May 6, 2016	Nice place to walk, very well kept, peaceful gardens in the middle of the madness of a city, ideal for mild days.	Excellent	Spanish
May 17, 2017	I went to pass the time but I was surprised by both the exhibits and the surroundings. If you want to learn about Chinese writing, this is the place to go.	Excellent	Spanish
December 27, 2019	The first day I went there was wonderful, water, antiquity, stones, ancient constructions, learning curiosities about China, plenitude, grandeur.	Excellent	Spanish
April 20, 2015	I visited this historic residence on Saturday, 18 April 2015. Unfortunately, the large public turnout somewhat limited the serenity and spirituality of the setting, which has miraculously escaped the relentless growth of the city of Ningbo. I advise visitors to take a good couple of hours to fully enjoy the visit. It is worth seeing and reviewing both the rooms of the architectural complex, which are largely furnished and in which some exhibition cases have been placed (with appreciable English translations), and the gardens adorned with beautiful stone statues. Entrance ticket cost 30 yuan. Attraction closes at 5 pm.	Very good	Italian
April 20, 2019	Interesting because it is a symbol (among the few remaining after the destruction) of China's rich history and culture. Also beautiful for the greenery and the natural part it contains in the city centre.	Very good	Italian
August 21, 2019	Truly a place that makes you realize the true culture of this beautiful country, unique gardens, ancient manuscripts small dwellings where China's greatest writers used to lie. Absolutely worth a visit.	Excellent	Italian
April 30, 2017	Ningbo, a city famous for its books. A former private library with a complete collection of books is now a tourist attraction. A thousand days sounds like a good thing.	Very good	Korean
June 30,	The Old Library. Although it is called a library, it is not full of	Very good	Korean

2018	books, but just a description of how it was, and the garden is well maintained, so it is suitable for just visiting.		
January 5, 2017	The Tianyige is a famous tourist attraction that houses a collection of books that have been handed down from generation to generation. The Chinese Gangnam-style gardens are very pretty and definitely worth a visit.	Excellent	Korean
November 7, 2015	Secluded place in the centre of Ningbo—suitable for outdoor activities in good weather. Good location of the park—close to Tian Yi Square.	Very good	Russian
August 28, 2014	Very picturesque, beautiful place! Especially valuable because it is located in the centre of the city, next to skyscrapers. On the territory of the library there is a pond with carp, you can feed them. All the buildings are old, in Chinese style.	Excellent	Russian
November 24, 2019	It's nice to come here in the heat. It's a nice place, but don't expect anything super interesting. The collection of books was collected by one family and donated to the state. By the standards of the Middle Ages, the value of the collection is fabulous.	Excellent	Russian
October 4, 2012	Well-preserved library. The house has retained all the charm of the old mansions and the garden is interesting. However, there are too few books or examples of parchments. Admission fee 30 yuan. Visit takes around 2 hours.	Average	French
May 17, 2016	Lost in a very quiet area, just 5 minutes' walk from Ningbo's central station. The oldest library in the world opens its doors for a visit into the traditional past of Chinese culture.	Excellent	French
August 2, 2017	An incredible place, full of emotion and history. In this big industrial Chinese city full of buildings and pollution, this is the place to go to learn Chinese culture. I went there in 2016 and my memories are indelible!	Excellent	French
June 29, 2015	There's not much to complain about. It's a private library where there are no more books. Just a nice place for a walk and to learn a bit about Chinese history.	Average	German
May 20, 2019	The museum not only provides an insight into the library. You can also see a small exhibition on playing mahjong and gain an insight into a typical house of the time.	Very good	German
December 3, 2015	You can feel the tranquil atmosphere from the gate. It was a library belonging to Fan Qing, a well-known official 500 years ago, which is considered one of the three largest private libraries in the world. It was also a delightful experience to be close to the numerous books stored in old houses. Despite the destruction of fires and wars, there are still many books, thanks to book lovers and organizations that have donated books. It is worth it.	Excellent	German
May 13, 2018	China's oldest private library is in Ningbo. You can still find ancient parchment scrolls and books. There is also a pavilion entirely dedicated to the game of mahjong. Several ancient games	Very good	Dutch

	are on display and the history of the game is covered.		
May 25, 2015	Nice quiet place in the middle of Ningbo. Close to the city centre (walking distance) and really beautiful museum.	Excellent	Dutch
November 13, 2017	Not just a collection of old books, but beautiful Chinese architecture set in ditto park. Visiting Ningbo? Then definitely the library.	Excellent	Dutch
October 29, 2017	A great experience walking around this library/museum. Imagine that one man has owned all this. A colossal wealth and good that it is being preserved. Good information in many places, but would have liked a little more info in general in English.	Very good	Danish
June 5, 2018	It's one of the few tourist attractions in Ningbo that's really worth seeing. So many buildings filled with books and games. It's a shame there isn't more English information, but there's still enough to get a reasonable understanding of what you're seeing.	Very good	Danish
September 30, 2015	It's a beautiful place, but I'm left wanting more, it's not worth the price. A mixture of woods and old books.	Average	Portuguese
January 27, 2018	A great place to learn about Chinese culture. The place is fantastic and you can spend the whole afternoon there. I highly recommend it.	Excellent	Portuguese