

摘要

本文关注汉语自主运动事件域的语言表征和不对称性现象。基于“Trajectoire”实验诱导工具和小说文本，本文分别获取了汉语自主运动事件的口语描述语料和文本语料，并从信息选择、词汇手段、事件结构、编码策略、语义区分、句法位置和信息分布等角度，系统考察了汉语在不同路径条件和语言层面下起点、经越点和终点的表征形式和不对称性表现。

本文对汉语自主运动事件的语言表征和不对称性考察进一步细化到自主运动的跨界事件域、非跨界事件域以及两者组合的复杂事件域。首先，本文考察了汉语母语者对这三类事件域的信息选择情况，即汉语母语者在描述不同自主运动事件时分别关注并编码了哪部分路径信息（起点、经越点和终点）；在表征形式上，本文描写并分析了汉语在跨界和非跨界事件中用以表征起点、经越点和终点的语法手段，既包括显性的词汇手段和语法结构手段，也包括依靠语境推断的“零标记”手段，并从语义区分和句法位置等角度进一步探究汉语在路径表征上的不对称性；在编码策略上，本文基于 Croft et al. (2010) 的事件结构类型学理论和事件结构蕴含层级，分别探究了汉语在[离开]、[经越]、[到达]三类跨界事件上的动词编码策略和运动事件语义要素的句法分布。

本文研究发现，汉语采用多种手段表征自主运动事件，表现在词汇、结构、句法、语用等各个语言层面，体现出一定的不对称性。在事件切分和信息选择上，汉语母语者在各类事件中的信息选择方式存在差异，但信息关注度的总体倾向为“经越点<起点<终点（层级从左至右逐渐增强）”，呈现“偏向终点”的不对称性。

在语言表征上，汉语运动事件起点、经越点、终点的语言形式在语法手段、语义区分、句法位置等维度也呈现一定的不对称性，具体表现为相较于起点和经过点，汉语用以表征路径终点的语法手段更丰富；语义区分更精细；在跨界事件域中，起点处所短语倾向占据介词宾语位置，终点处所短语倾向占据动词的宾语位置，凸显程度更高。

在事件结构的编码策略上，母语者的在线口语描述语料显示汉语表征[离开]、

[经越]和[到达]三类事件的编码策略存在一定差异，但并不显著。三类事件的结构编码策略总体上都以形态整合度更高的 S 型策略为主，但也兼有 V 型策略、连动策略和并列策略。本文的小说文本语料总体上也支持这一结论，但本文也发现不同小说文本内部的结构编码策略存在一定差异，小说文本的选择可能影响对汉语编码策略偏向的判断。

在句法分布和信息密度上，汉语是信息密度较高的语言，一般采用一个小句同时编码运动的[方式]和[路径]信息，这一句法分布倾向也比较符合 S 型语言特征。

关键词：自主运动事件；不对称性；事件结构类型学；终点偏好性

Abstract

This thesis probes into the linguistic representation and asymmetry of voluntary motion event in Chinese Mandarin, based on native speakers' description data elicited by the dynamic visual tool *Trajectoire* and corpus data from two Chinese novels. The thesis focuses on the linguistic representation of Source, Median and Goal in different voluntary motion event and further examines the asymmetry from the perspective of information selection, lexical and grammatical devices, encoding strategies, semantic granularity, syntactic position and distribution of semantic components.

In this thesis, the linguistic representation and asymmetry of voluntary motion event are studied in the domain of the boundary-crossing event, non-boundary-crossing event and complex event that implies two (or more) Grounds. In terms of the information selection, we firstly investigate in which part of Path, Source, Median or Goal, Chinese native speakers tend to allocate more attention to, when they describing the three different kinds of motion events. Secondly, we summarize the grammatical resources available in Mandarin to express the Source, Median or Goal in boundary-crossing event and non-boundary-crossing event, given both explicit lexical and grammatical marking as well as zero marking device, by which path information can be inferred from the context. We differentiate the semantic granularities of these resources and their syntactic positions so as to further explore the asymmetry among Source, Median and Goal. Finally, based on the Event Construction Typology and the implicational scalar proposed by Croft et al. (2010), we discuss the encoding strategies of boundary-crossing motion event that includes INTO, ACROSS and OUT event in Chinese Mandarin, and the syntactic distribution of semantic components in these events.

The findings of this thesis are as follows: there are a variety of devices applied to express motion events in Chinese Mandarin, including lexical, constructional, syntactic and pragmatic device, demonstrating certain asymmetry when describing different parts of Path. In terms of the information selection, Chinese native speakers

encode different parts of Path when identifying different kinds of motion event clips, but there exists a selection preference scale “Median <Source < Goal (the right part of scale is more likely to encode than the left part)”, showing a bias towards Goal.

The asymmetry among the Source, Median and Goal is also observed on grammatical devices, semantic granularity and syntactic positions, all showing a bias towards Goal. To be specific, there are more and fine-grained grammatical devices to express the end part of motion than the initial or the median part. Syntactically, in the domain of cross-boundary motion event, the Goal phrases often occupy the object position of verb, while the Source or Median phrases often occupy the object position of preposition, which means goal phase is more syntactically significant.

Our online description data show that there are some differences in terms of the encoding strategies of the three boundary-crossing events, i.e. INTO/ACROSS/OUT event, but the differences are not statistically significant. Chinese Mandarin tends to use highly integrated morphosyntactic structures, i.e. satellite-framed structure, to encode the three boundary-crossing events, but less integrated verb-framed construction, serial verb construction and coordination also exist. Our corpus data also support this conclusion, but we find out there are some differences of encoding strategies within different novels, which means narrative style of novel may affect our judgment of coding strategy.

In terms of the semantic density, Mandarin is a language with high information density, which generally packages the Manner and Path information into one integrated clause, this trend of syntactic distribution of semantic components aligns with the satellite-framed structure.

Keywords: voluntary motion event; asymmetry; event construction typology; goal-bias