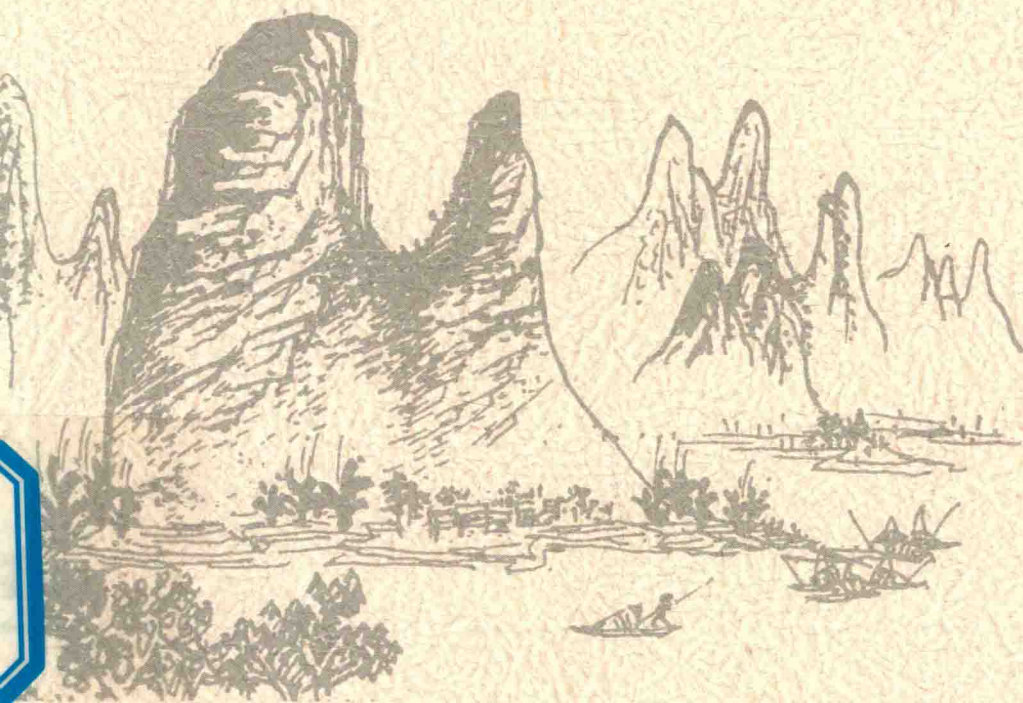


SPATIAL LANGUAGE AND
EVENT SEMANTICS IN MANDARIN

汉语空间表达与 事件语义学

邓湘君 著

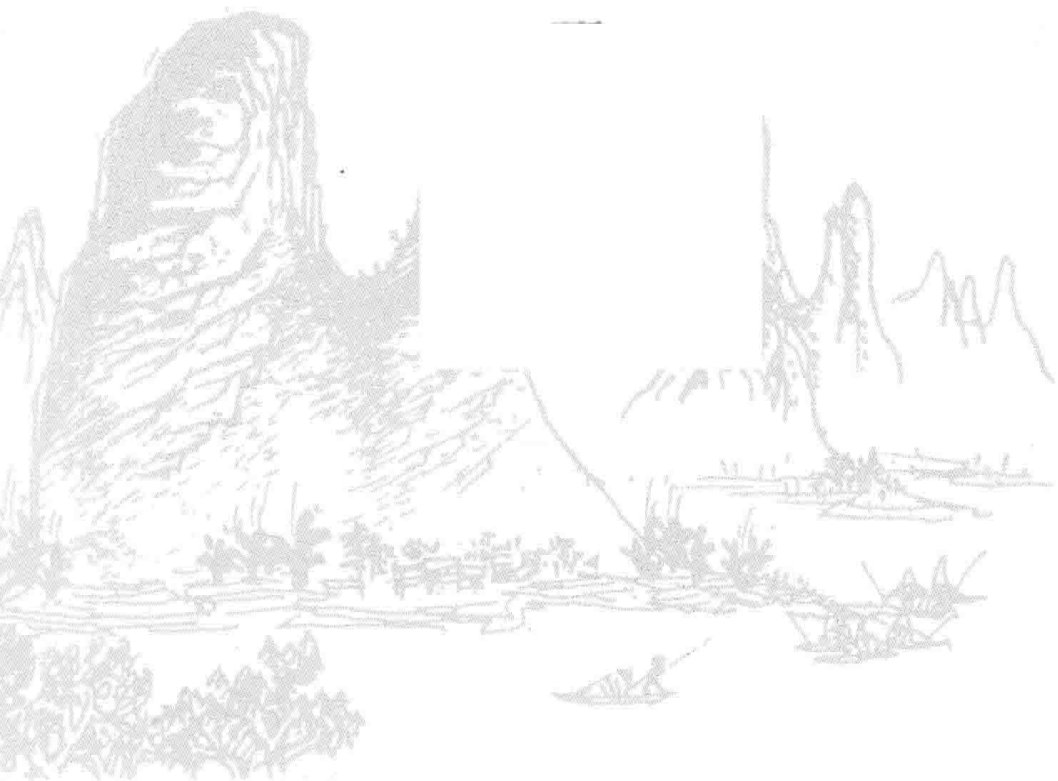


中国社会科学出版社

SPATIAL LANGUAGE AND
EVENT SEMANTICS IN MANDARIN

汉语空间表达与 事件语义学

邓湘君 著



中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

汉语空间表达与事件语义学 / 邓湘君著. —北京: 中国
社会科学出版社, 2018. 6

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5203 - 2668 - 1

I. ①汉… II. ①邓… III. ①汉语—语义学—
研究 IV. ①H13

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2018) 第 123558 号

出版人 赵剑英
责任编辑 刘 艳
责任校对 陈 晨
责任印制 戴 宽

出 版 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号
邮 编 100720
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
发 行 部 010 - 84083685
门 市 部 010 - 84029450
经 销 新华书店及其他书店

印 刷 北京明恒达印务有限公司
装 订 廊坊市广阳区广增装订厂
版 次 2018 年 6 月第 1 版
印 次 2018 年 6 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 710 × 1000 1/16
印 张 14.75
插 页 2
字 数 231 千字
定 价 66.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书, 如有质量问题请与本社营销中心联系调换
电话: 010 - 84083683

版权所有 侵权必究

本书的出版得到了深圳大学语言与认知研究中心科研基金的
全力资助（项目号：801），特此鸣谢。

内容简介

人们如何解读含有空间短语的句子，又如何表达空间概念？本书以汉语普通话为例考察事件类型和事件结构对空间表达的影响。全书共分六章。第一章介绍空间表达的句法语义基础，以及事件语义学的一些基本概念，包括论元结构和事件结构。第二章通过中英文对比探讨空间短语作为事件修饰语的歧义现象。第三、四章分别讨论汉语普通话表达空间关系最重要的几种句式：含有“在”引领的空间介词短语的句子、处所主语句和处所宾语句。作者将 Davidson (1967) 和 Parsons (1990) 等学者建构的事件语义学应用到这些句式的考察中，发现事件语义原则可以统一地描写或解释“在”引领的空间介词短语和处所主语句的句法语义特征。第五章介绍了空间参照系统或参照策略的选择、目的物 - 参照物非对称性两个现象，并以此来讨论空间语言、知觉及一般认知系统之间的关系。第六章讨论了用事件语义学来分析汉语空间表达主要句式的优势所在，以及这种分析给我们带来的新的认识。

本研究中讨论的事件语义学语义原则包括：动词的事件类型转换 (Smith 1997; Rothstein 2004)，以及空间介词短语是事件修饰语 (Parsons 1990)。这些普遍的语义原则使我们能够解释和描述汉语普通话中“在”引领的空间介词短语的分布和解读，它们是由与“在”连用的动词的事件结构决定的 (Fong 1997; Liu 2009)。当“在”短语出现在放置类动词（一种完成体动词）前时，它们可能会有歧义，因为它们可以修饰两个子事件中的任何一个。当“在”短语出现在姿态类动词后时，它们表达一个静态位置或是一个动作的结果位置，

因为动词经历了从状态体（它的预设事件类型）到成就体（它的衍生事件类型）的事件类型转换。在普通话口语中，只有事件结构中含有动态或结果状态的动词可以后接“在”短语。能进入双论元处所主语句的动词的事件结构中也必须含有动态或结果状态。除了可以被事件语义学解释的一系列语法现象外，汉语普通话空间表达还有一些独特性和复杂性：参照物的轴向信息在普通话中是由方位词表达的，方位词的词类是名词还是后置词仍在讨论之中；方位词短语的构成规则很复杂，根据方位词所带的名词短语的性质不同有不同的变体。

总而言之，汉语空间表达是一个复杂的系统，既有规律性，又有不规则性。在事件语义学的理论框架下，本书以跨语言的视角来研究汉语普通话中空间表达方式的句法语义问题，对比考察了英语、德语、Chichewa 语和上海话等语言或方言中的对应词汇、句法表达。我们的理论框架以及研究方法使我们能从复杂的语料中整理出一条清晰的思路，对汉语普通话中一些基于普遍语义原则的语言现象以及一些独特性有了全新的更为深入的认识。此外，本书将语言学理论和儿童语言习得联系起来，介绍了儿童空间语言习得的相关研究。我们相信本书对理论研究者、儿童语言研究者、汉语学习者、语文教师及对外汉语教师都有益处，能够帮助他们加深对汉语空间语言和事件语义学的了解。

Preface 序言

叶彩燕 (Virginia Yip)

邓湘君是我在香港中文大学语言学及现代语言系指导的专攻儿童语言习得的博士生。本书是在她 2014 年完成的博士论文《Space, Events and Language Acquisition in Mandarin》的基础上修改加工而成的。她的博士论文从语言学中事件语义学的理论角度出发,通过语料库及几种不同的实验手段,研究了 2 至 6 岁汉语普通话儿童对空间表达,尤其是方位词、“在”字句、处所主语句的习得。由于本书旨在介绍 Davidson (1967)、Parsons (1990) 等学者创立的事件语义学,以及事件语义学如何解释汉语空间表达中的相关现象,目标群体为语言学理论研究者、语言学或对外汉语教学研究生、汉语教学工作者、汉语学习者,她选取了自己的博士论文中的相关章节进行了修订。目前,此书包含了事件语义学的介绍,对国内外关于空间表达的经典理论和最新动态的综述,以及对相关儿童习得文献的回顾和总结。

本书的新颖之处在于用汉语普通话语料来验证并充实了一些事件语义学原则,如动词的事件类型转换、空间介词短语为事件修饰语等。动词是句子的核心,影响句子的解读,包括句子中空间修饰语的解读。本书运用事件语义学的核心原理,将动词按事件类型分为状态体 (State)、活动体 (Activity)、成就体 (Achievement)、完成体 (Accomplishment)。这样的动词分类,使我们看到动词与空间修饰语互动的本质以及同一个动词在不同类型间的转换。动词的事件类型转换、空间介词短语为事件修饰语这两个语义原则非常有力地解释了汉语“在”字句的一些歧义现象。

此外，本书还用汉语语料验证了一些前人提出来的语言共性，如目的物 - 参照物非对称性。本书的意义在于通过对空间概念在语言中的编码进行对比研究，使读者更深入了解到汉语普通话的语言独特性以及各语言、方言潜藏在表层差异下的语言共性。我觉得这是一本可读性很强的理论探讨书籍，因此将它推荐给读者。

Deng Xiangjun received her PhD degree from the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages at the Chinese University of Hong Kong under my supervision. This book is adapted from her 2014 dissertation "Space, Events and Language Acquisition in Mandarin". Under the framework of the linguistic theory of event semantics, her dissertation investigates Mandarin-speaking 2- to 6-year-olds' acquisition of spatial expressions, including localizers, sentences with *zai* '(be) at', and locative subject sentences, through a corpus study and a number of experiments. To produce this book, she selected and revised relevant chapters from her dissertation with a view to introducing event semantics based on Davidson (1967) and Parsons (1990) and its application to the linguistic encoding of space in Mandarin Chinese. The target readers are researchers in theoretical linguistics, postgraduate students with an interest in linguistics or teaching Chinese as a second language as well as teachers of Chinese and students of Chinese. The book includes an introduction to event semantics, a review of classic theories and cutting-edge research on spatial language at home and abroad, and a review of the literature on children's acquisition of spatial language.

The originality of this book lies in confirming and enriching principles in the theory of event semantics, such as aspect shift of the verb, and spatial modifiers as event modifiers, based on data from Mandarin Chinese. A verb is the core of a clause, determining the interpretation of the whole sentence, including its spatial modifiers. The most basic theoretical tenet of event semantics is its classification of verbs into State, Activity,

Achievement and Accomplishment on the basis of the verb's event type and event structure. Applying this classification to Mandarin verbs allows us to see the nature of the interaction between the verb and the spatial modifier and the shift of verbs between different event types, as this book shows. The two principles of aspect shift and spatial modifier as event modifier provide a powerful explanation of the ambiguities of Mandarin sentences with *zai* 'at'.

In addition, this book uses Mandarin data to support some proposed language universals, for instance, the Figure-Ground asymmetry. The significance of this book consists in the detailed comparison of the linguistic encoding of spatial concepts in different languages, and the revelation of the specificity of Mandarin Chinese as well as the commonalities underneath the superficial variation between Mandarin and other languages or dialects. I hope readers will find this book of great theoretical interest and be engaged by its rich and fascinating analyses. I highly recommend it.

Virginia Yip

Co-Director, University of Cambridge-Chinese University of
Hong Kong (CUHK) Joint Laboratory for Bilingualism

Director, Childhood Bilingualism Research Centre, CUHK

Professor, Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages, CUHK

Acknowledgements

This book has grown out of my PhD dissertation done at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the professors, colleagues and friends there, especially my supervisor Virginia Yip, for their inspiration and support. My thesis committee members Boping Yuan, Thomas Lee and Candice Cheung, as well as Stephen Matthews and Audrey Li generously shared their insights with me. My heart-felt gratitude also goes to the following colleagues and friends: Ziyin Mai, Jiahui Yang, Haoze Li, Donald White, Aijun Huang, Zhuang Wu, Natsumi Shibata, Hinny Wong, Haoyan Ge, Jing Yang, Jess Law, Yu'an Yang and Li Yang.

I am also indebted to my colleagues at Shenzhen University, Yinglin Ji, the director of the Research Centre for Language and Cognition, Xiaobei Zheng, and other colleagues at the School of Foreign Languages, for helping me in various ways in the publication of this book. The financial support from Shenzhen University Social Sciences Foundation (project code: 801) is acknowledged.

Part of the contents in this book has been published in the form of journal articles. An abridged version of Chapters 2 to 4 serves as the theoretical background in the article "The linguistic encoding of space in child Mandarin: A corpus-based study" published in *Linguistics* vol. 53 (5), 1079 – 1112 (Copyright 2015 by De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany). An adapted edition of Chapter 5 appeared in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*,

as the introduction and literature review in “Cognition and perception in the linguistic encoding of space in child Mandarin” vol. 44 (2), 287 – 325 (Copyright 2016 by *Journal of Chinese linguistics*). I am very grateful to the editors and publishers for permission to reprint.

Lastly, I owe profound gratitude to my beloved family members. I thank Keqing, Tongtong, Xianchuan and Yuxin for their sacrifice and support. This book is dedicated to the memory of my late mother Jinggui for her endless love.

Abbreviations

BA	marker of the <i>ba</i> construction
BEI	marker of the passive construction in Mandarin
CL	classifier
CP	complementizer phrase
DE	modification marker, genitive marker, or nominalizer <i>de</i>
DP	determiner phrase
DUR	durative aspect suffix <i>-zhe</i>
EXP	experiential aspect suffix <i>-guo</i>
GEN	genitive marker
L	localizer
LE	sentence-final particle <i>le</i> signaling inchoativity or current relevance
LP	localizer phrase
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
P	preposition
Perf	perfective aspect marker <i>-le</i>
PLU	plural marker <i>-men</i>
PP	preposition phrase
Q	question particle
RE	reference entity
RVC	resultative verb compound

sfp	sentence-final particle
TOP	topic marker <i>a</i> , <i>ma</i> , <i>ne</i> and so on
TP	tense phrase
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

The following symbols are used in the transcription:

- * Unacceptable sentence
- ? Marginally acceptable sentence
- # Sentence with semantic anomaly

Table of Contents

内容简介	(IV)
Preface 序言	(VI)
Acknowledgements	(IX)
Abbreviations	(XI)
Chapter 1 Space in Language	(1)
1.1 Defining space	(2)
1.1.1 Semantic primitives in motion events	(5)
1.1.2 Syntactic realizations of semantic primitives	(7)
1.2 Viewing space via event semantics; some preliminaries	(12)
1.2.1 Argument structure of a verb	(13)
1.2.2 Event type and event structure	(16)
1.3 Objectives and organization of the book	(21)
Chapter 2 Ambiguities of Mandarin Spatial Modifiers: An Event-semantic Perspective	(24)
2.1 Ambiguities in linguistic space	(25)
2.2 Explaining semantic ambiguity of spatial modifiers	(29)
2.2.1 The principle of (sub)event modification	(29)
2.2.2 The principle of aspect shift	(44)
2.3 Event semantics in framing Chinese motion events	(55)
2.4 Remedies for ambiguity in linguistic space	(56)
2.5 Summary	(59)

Chapter 3	Distribution of <i>zai</i> in Mandarin	(61)
3.1	Verb classification based on event type	(61)
3.2	Classification of spatial prepositions	(69)
3.3	Spatial prepositional phrases headed by <i>zai</i> (<i>zai</i> -PPs)	(74)
3.3.1	Distribution of <i>zai</i> -PPs	(75)
3.3.2	An event-semantic account of the use of <i>zai</i> -PPs	(77)
3.3.3	Syntactic positions of <i>zai</i> -PPs	(82)
3.3.4	Cognitive constraints on the use of <i>zai</i> -PPs	(92)
3.3.5	Diachronic changes of <i>zai</i>	(95)
3.4	Summary and discussion	(101)
3.5	Acquisition of <i>zai</i>	(105)
Chapter 4	Localizer Phrases, Locative Subjects, and Locative Object	(117)
4.1	Syntax and semantics of localizers and localizer phrases	(118)
4.2	Locative subjects	(127)
4.2.1	Information structure of locative subject sentences	(128)
4.2.2	Aspectual properties of locative subject sentences	(131)
4.2.3	One-argument locative subject sentences	(145)
4.2.4	Nature of locative subjects; subject or topic?	(146)
4.3	Syntax and semantics of locative objects	(158)
4.4	Summary	(162)
4.5	Acquisition of the localizer phrase and the locative subject construction	(163)
Chapter 5	Linguistic Space, Perception, and Cognition	(167)
5.1	Frames of reference, reference strategies and Figure-Ground asymmetry	(168)
5.2	Effects of cognitive development on language development	(176)

5.2.1	Frames of reference and reference strategies used by children	(176)
5.2.2	Acquisition sequence of localizers	(183)
5.2.3	Early awareness to Figure-Ground asymmetry	(193)
5.2.4	Summary	(193)
Chapter 6	Beyond the Domain of Spatial Language	(195)
6.1	The application of event semantics to the study of spatial encoding in Mandarin	(195)
6.2	A better understanding of linguistic space from the perspective of perception and cognition	(198)
6.3	Other contributions	(199)
References	(202)

Chapter 1 Space in Language

As an enduring object of intellectual inquiry, ‘language and space’ arouses extensive interest in the cognitive sciences, including linguistics, psychology, philosophy, and brain sciences (Levinson 1996a). Although the notion of space has not stirred the intellect of linguists to the degree that time and aspect have, there are still hundreds of monographs, and journal papers dedicated to this topic (Kracht 2002). Space, time, and aspect all fall under the broader linguistic study of I-semantics, which is concerned with intrinsic human knowledge of the relation between language and concepts. According to Jackendoff (1996a), I-semantics is preoccupied by the research of spatial expressions, because the field is rich, and judgments of truth and ambiguity for sentences with spatial relationships are perceptually verifiable and highly structured. Recently, the field has also attracted generative syntacticians, who endeavor to reveal the universal underlying structure for spatial expressions across languages (Cinque 2010).

The specific focus of this book is to connect space with verbal aspect, namely to take an aspectual, or event-semantic perspective to understand spatial expressions in Mandarin Chinese.^① It also aims to be an interdisciplinary psycholinguistic study addressing the broader issue of the

① In this book, Mandarin is used interchangeably with *Putonghua*, the official spoken language of mainland China. In its normal, broad use, ‘Mandarin’ refers to a group of related varieties or dialects spoken across most of northern and southwestern China based on which *Putonghua* was developed. We use ‘Mandarin’ in a more restricted way.