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and

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如何定位汉语语法化的“特色”

彭 睿

提要 语法化存在普遍性规律。讨论个别语言的语法化现象,必须准确定位该语言历时形态句法变化因类型学特征而呈现出来的特色。个别语言语法化的特色或个性的影响力往往十分有限。文献中提到的上古汉语语法化的两种特色,即词类在句法层面的灵活性和对语用推理的依赖性,都是值得商榷的。前者是上古汉语语法化的有标记的特征,而非通常性的原则和手段;后者并不能定性为汉语语法化的特色,而是汉语的形态句法特色,是语法化的结果。

关键词 语法化;特色;普遍规律;语用推理;前范畴性;隐性复杂性

How to Understand the ‘Individualities’ of the Grammaticalization in Chinese?

Peng Rui

Abstract Universally applicable rules are identified in grammaticalization. It is important to appropriately understand a particular language’s typologically-related individualities with respect to grammaticalization. Studies show that the impact of the language’s unique features of this sort on grammaticalization is limited. As has been claimed in the literature, grammaticalization in the Late Archaic Chinese (LAC) has been affected by two typological properties, i.e., the relative freedom to assign different grammatical functions to a lexical (precategory) and the ease with which one and the same surface structure can be subject to different syntactic analyses (hidden complexity). This is open to question. In terms of the grammaticalization in LAC, the precategory may be just a marked property, but not a typical means. Hidden complexity is not among the properties of grammaticalization in Chinese, but rather a property of Chinese morphosyntax, which has been developed via grammaticalization diachronically.

Keywords grammaticalization; individuality; universality; pragmatic inference; precategory; hidden complexity

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初中级日韩学习者汉语文本可读性公式研究

王 蕾

提要 可读性公式是评价文本难易程度的公式,能较客观地评价阅读材料的难度水平。对外汉语领域可读性公式研究比较缺乏。本文以初中级日韩学习者汉语记叙性短文的阅读理解成绩为因变量,利用经典研究范式建立了一个衡量记叙性文本难易度的可读性公式: $Y=72.749-0.462X_3+0.802X_4-7.515X_5+2.446X_7$ (Y =可读性分数, X_3 =总词数, X_4 =简单词数, X_5 =虚词数, X_7 =分句数),该公式可解释 80.3% 的变异,拟合优度高于同类公式。总词数、简单词数、虚词数和分句数是汉语文本难易度的重要预测指标。本文同时构拟了一个简单的可读性分数与适读水平对照表,供教学、研究参考。

关键词 可读性公式;文本难易度;日韩学习者;阅读;对外汉语

Research on Chinese Readability Formula of Texts for Elementary and Intermediate South Korean and Japanese Learners

Wang Lei

Abstract Readability formula is a formula assessing the difficulty of a text. Such studies in the field of teaching Chinese as a second language (TCSL) are comparatively inadequate. In this study, we chose elementary and intermediate South Korean and Japanese learners as subjects, take their results on the cloze tests of narrative text as dependent variable and build a new readability formula: $Y=72.749-0.462X_3+0.802X_4-7.515X_5+2.446X_7$ (Y =readability score, X_3 =total number of words, X_4 =number of simple words, X_5 =number of function words, X_7 =number of sub-clause). It can explain 80.3% variance, which is higher than other Chinese readability formulae. The four variables in the formula are important predictors when assessing difficulty of Chinese L2 reading materials. This article also builds a tentative grade chart for researchers' reference.

Keywords readability formula; text difficulty; Japanese and South Korean learners; reading; TCSL

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意愿情态动词的意愿等级

高 亮

提要 句法结构与语义结构之间具有象似性,二者的互动是语言研究的重要课题。汉语的意愿情态动词表达意愿这种情态范畴,并不是均质的,内部各成员的意愿等级存在差异,因而在句法形式方面表现也就不同。汉语缺乏形态变化,观察用词汇手段标记的句式特征以及时间状语、否定副词、体标记、情态标记等外围成分所带来的句法效应成为汉语意愿等级与句法互动关系研究的重要切入点。本文在控制力假设框架下,通过对上述标记与意愿情态动词的共现关系测试,发现汉语意愿情态动词存在以下意愿等级:会>肯>要>愿意>希望>想。

关键词 意愿情态动词;意愿等级;控制力假设;情态层级

Volition Hierarchy of Volition Modal Verbs

Gao Liang

Abstract The interaction between semantics and syntax is one of the hot topics in the field of linguistics. The relationship between Volition Hierarchy and its syntactic behaviors of VM (Volition Modal verbs) gives a good example of this interaction. Since Chinese lacks inflection, we could make use of the particular syntactic structures, temporal adverbials, aspectual and modal markers which have peripheral syntactic effects to study this relationship. Under the framework of Binding Force Hypothesis, we test the co-occurrence relationship between these markers and VM and discover the volition hierarchy of VM in Chinese: *hui* > *ken* > *yao* > *yuanyi* > *xiwang* > *xiang*.

Keywords volition modal verb; volition hierarchy; Binding Force Hypothesis; scalar structure of modality

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汉语构式二语习得研究的理论思考

施春宏 邱莹 蔡淑美

提要 本文立足于构式语法的基本观念和原则探讨汉语二语习得研究中的理论和方法问题,主要从以下几个方面来说明:构式知识习得的表现系统及相关的构式能产性问题;构式意识的形成和发展机制问题;构式习得中的界面互动关系问题;构式习得中的语言共性和类型特征问题;构式习得研究的方法和方法论问题。文章最后指出,在构式语法理论体系中,构式本体研究、习得研究和教学研究应有机结合,互动互进。

关键词 二语习得;构式语法;构式知识;构式意识;界面互动;研究方法

The Theoretical Thinking on Second Language Acquisition of Chinese Constructions

Shi Chunhong, Qiu Ying and Cai Shumei

Abstract Based on the fundamental ideas and principles of Construction Grammar, this article discusses the theoretical and methodological issues of second language acquisition in Chinese. It is mainly elaborated in the following aspects: the representation system of construction knowledge acquisition and its relevant productivity; the formation and development mechanism of constructional awareness; the interactive relationship among interfaces of construction acquisition; the linguistic universals and typological features of construction acquisition; the methods and methodologies of construction acquisition. Finally, this article proposes that the studies on construction ontology, acquisition and teaching should be organically integrated and interactive in the theoretical system of Construction Grammar.

Keywords second language acquisition; construction grammar; construction knowledge; constructional awareness; interface interaction; research method

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汉语运动事件表达偏误的类型学考察

鹿士义 高 洁 何美芳

提要 本文从运动事件类型学入手,通过口头诱导实验的方式收集语料,对汉语运动事件的表达及偏误进行类型学的研究。本文发现,汉语在运动事件的表达上,同时兼顾了运动的方式和路径两个方面,对方式稍有侧重。不同语言类型的学习者使用运动动词和动词结构类型的倾向不同。汉语学习者习得运动事件时会受到母语类型学特点的影响,母语的表达方式会被带入到二语学习中去,从而产生系统性的偏误。

关键词 运动事件;类型学;二语习得;偏误

An Analysis on the Expressions and Errors of Motion Events in Mandarin Chinese: A Cognitive Typological Perspective

Lu Shi-yi, Gao Jie and He Meifang

Abstract Based on the typology of motion events and the theory of construal, this study gives a systemic description and analysis of the expressions of motion events in Mandarin Chinese, using linguistic data from both spontaneous and elicited oral speeches. The results suggest that Chinese uses both manner and path to describe motion events, with a little more attention to the manner. The verb-direction complement is used as a characteristic lexicalization pattern in Chinese. Mandarin learners whose L1 is a satellite-framed language or a verb-framed language show different tendencies when describing motion events in Chinese. L1's typological features are transferred to descriptions of motion events in L2 and thus cause errors. Chinese has special features in motion event expressions, and all learners will face a challenge regardless of their L1.

Keywords motion events; typology; second language acquisition; errors

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叙事语篇的衔接与视角表达

——以“单说、但见”为例

方 梅

提要 本文基于民国初年的小说材料,以“单说”和“但见”为例,考察动词性来源的篇章衔接成分的功能浮现条件。文章指出,从篇章功能看,虽然“单说”与“但见”都具有元话语属性,显示情节之外的叙述者视角,但两者存在差异。其差异性表现为,“单说”是单纯的叙述者视角表现形式,用作开启情节、或者建立篇章话题,属于框架标记。而“但见”未完全虚化,既可用于体现情节内人物视角,也可用于体现“无所不知”的全知视角。用于情节内人物视角的“但见”,虽然它所在的小句与“单说”小句一样不允许显性主语,但允许作零形主语解读,并与话题之间具有同指关系。而全知视角的“但见”,它所在小句则不允许作零形主语解读;此时的“但见”用作提示受述者关注其后叙述内容,使之具有前台信息的属性,“但见”属于参与标记。叙述者视角与情节人物视角重叠是虚化为元话语成分的临界语境。汉语零形主语的句法促使低控制度的主句动词(如“单说、但见”)弱化,成为篇章衔接成分。

关键词 叙事语篇;衔接;视角;元话语;零形主语

Narrative Discourse Cohesion and Perspective Representation: A Case Study of *Danshuo* and *Danjian*

Fang Mei

Abstract Based on fictions of early Republic of China, focusing on the cases of *danshuo* (单说) and *danjian* (但见), this article investigates the functional conditions in which verbal discourse cohesion elements emerge. In terms of the discourse function, though both *danshuo* and *danjian* are metanarrative, both representing an omniscient perspective, they are different in many ways. *danshuo* takes a purely narrator-oriented perspective, It used as a way of topic establish and story-line boundary marking. *danjian* is not wholly grammaticalized and is employed to represent not only an intra-plot perspective of the character, but also an ‘omniscient’ super-narrator perspective. Clauses with *danjian* of the intra-plot perspective, though like clauses with *danshuo*, not allowing an overt subject, do allow a zero subject co-referential to the topic. Clauses with *danjian* of an omniscient perspective allows no interpretation of zero subject; *danjian* here is used to draw the narratee’s attention as an engagement marker. The overlapping between the narrator-oriented perspective and the intra-

plot perspective creates a hedgy situation for the emergent discourse cohesion element. The clause with syntax of zero subject evokes semantic blending of the main clause verb (such as *danshuo* and *danjian*) and the change to the macrosyntactic conjunction.

Keywords narrative discourse; cohesion; perspective; metadiscourse; zero subject

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语气词“呢”的功能及来源再议

任 鹰

提要 人们通常认为,语气词“呢”有事态和情态两种用法,前者表“持续”,后者表“申明”,后者是前者语法化的结果,而表“持续”的“呢”则是由方位词“里”(“裏”)虚化而来的。然而,对“呢”的用法与来源的考察告诉我们,“呢”(包括其曾用字)本质上或为记音字或称象声词,表示确认及申明语气,提醒听话人注意某一事态为其基本功能。某些语境中的“呢”之所以能读出持续义,主要是人的回溯推理能力在起作用。可以说,持续义是“呢”字句的语境浮现义,是一种语用衍推义。即便是“呢”在某些语句中的“持续义”已经不断得到强化乃至规约化,甚而可被列为独立的义项,我们依然应当承认这是语用法语法化的结果。

关键词 “呢”;事态与情态;持续与申明;回溯推理;语用衍推义

Revisiting the Function and Origin of Modal Particle *Ne*

Ren Ying

Abstract It is generally believed that the modal particle *ne*(呢) has two usages, one related to event, and the other to modality, the former expressing the meaning of ‘continuation’ and evolving from the locative word *li*(里), and the latter indicating ‘declaration’ as the result of grammaticalization of the former. However, synchronic and diachronic studies show that *ne* (including its older forms) in essence is either a character of phonetic notation or an onomatopoeia. Its basic function is to call the hearer’s attention, and to express confirmation and declaration. The reason that *ne* is considered to have a meaning of continuation is mainly attributed to people’s abduction ability. In other words, the continuation meaning of *ne* emerges from the context, and is the result of pragmatic inference. Even though the meaning of continuation has been reinforced and standardized in some sentences, or has even been seen as an independent meaning of *ne*, it should still be recognized as the result of pragmatic grammaticalization.

Keywords *ne*(呢); event and modality; continuation and declaration; abduction; pragmatic inference

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“长短”“齐整”特征制约下的 汉语动词的语体等级

王永娜

提要 本文对汉语动词内部的语体等级进行了考察,发现汉语动词在自身的单双、轻重、可否重叠、宾语中心语单双四个方面呈现出渐变性,这些特征其本质是动词的“长短特征”和“齐整特征”。与“长短特征”和“齐整特征”的渐变性相对应,动词的语体功能存在等级性,语法规则存在差异性。本文的研究表明,动词在韵律上的“长短特征”或“齐整特征”的有无和多寡与动词的语体等级构成了“形式”与“功能”的对应,与韵律层次和语体等级的不同相一致,其语法规则亦存在差异,这充分反映了韵律、语体、语法的交互作用。

关键词 动词;长短特征;齐整特征;语体等级;语法差异

Chinese Verbs' Stylistic Degree Under 'Long-Short Feature' and 'Regular Feature'

Wang Yongna

Abstract This paper investigates the prosodic features of Chinese verbs, and finds that these features exhibit a gradient change concerning whether the verbs are monosyllabic or disyllabic, whether they carry any neutral tone, whether they can be reduplicated, and whether their objects are monosyllabic or disyllabic. These features in fact are the 'long-short feature' and 'regular feature'. In correspondence with the gradient change of these two features, verbs also vary in stylistic functions and syntactic rules. This research shows that the existence and number of the 'long-short feature' or the 'regular feature' demonstrated in the verbs present a form-to-function correspondence with their stylistic degrees, and verbs differentiated under the above features have significant differences in grammatical rules. All these demonstrate the one-to-one correspondence among the rhythm, style, and grammar.

Keywords verb; long-short feature; regular feature; stylistic degree; syntactic difference

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求免义目的小句的句法语义分析

尹洪波

提要 现代汉语里,求免义目的小句的标记,绝大多数时候居于句首,偶尔位于句中。求免义目的小句通常负载新信息,这使得它几乎总是后置于行为小句。求免义目的小句的主语论元存在显性编码和隐性编码两种形式,但大多数时候采用后者。不管采用何种编码,它们在语义上大都受行为小句的主语、宾语或定语的约束。求免义目的小句表达的事件或状态常常是人们不希望发生的,正是语义上的这一限制,求免义目的小句呈现出肯定与否定的不对称:不论行为小句是肯定句还是否定句,目的小句绝大多数为肯定句。

关键词 目的小句;求免义;句法;语义

A Syntactic and Semantic Analysis of the Avertive Purpose Clauses in Mandarin Chinese

Yin Hongbo

Abstract The markers of avertive purpose clauses, except occasionally in the middle of a clause, are in the initial position with overwhelmingly more than chance frequency. The avertive purpose clauses almost always follow the action clauses because they normally convey new information. The encoding of subjects in the purpose clauses can be both explicit and implicit, but the majority of them are implicit. Both the explicit and implicit subjects are semantically bound by the subject, object and adnominal in the action clause. The event or state which the avertive purpose clause expresses is normally undesirable, which causes an asymmetry between the affirmative avertive purpose clause and the negative one, namely, the great majority of the avertive purpose clauses are affirmative regardless of whether the action clauses are affirmative or negative.

Keywords purpose clauses; avertive; syntax; semantics

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调位感知界限再探

——普通话阴平和去声的感知实验

刘娟

提要 本文对普通话存在连续现象的两个调位,即阴平和去声进行了感知实验,结果发现,普通话阴平和去声调位之间虽然在基频参量上表现出类别感知界限,但一些内在、外在因素会同时影响到感知边界的位移。与普通话阴平与阳平感知实验结果比较更揭示了汉语升调和降调感知的不平衡性。对不同声调调型感知特性的认识有助于我们观察和探索声调的共时和历时变化现象。

关键词 类别感知;普通话;调位;阴平;去声

Perceiving the Boundary Between Mandarin Tone 1 and Tone 4

Liu Juan

Abstract A perception experiment was conducted on Mandarin tone 1 and tone 4 which share continuous ending frequencies. The result shows a categorical perceptual mode, though certain intrinsic and extrinsic factors are found to affect the perceptual boundary at the same time. A comparison between the result from this experiment and that from an earlier one by Chan et al(1975) which focused on Mandarin tone 1 and tone 2 further reveals the asymmetry in perceiving a rising contour tone and a falling contour tone. Awareness of the tonal perceptual mechanisms and the properties will be beneficial in future investigations of certain synchronic phenomena of tonal variations and historical rules of tone change.

Keywords Categorical perception; Mandarin; Toneme; Tone 1; Tone 4

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