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Abstracts for Keynote Speech 主旨演讲

[Keynote Speech]

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Keynote Speech

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汉语事态寄生范畴再探：附论语言中的敏感范畴（提要）

刘丹青 孙泽方

本文接续刘丹青（2018）继续以事态范畴（TAM）为例研究“寄生范畴”。寄生范畴是库藏手段和语义范畴的一种非直接对应现象，即由于表达甲范畴（目标范畴）的手段在使用中存在语义条件乙的限制，因此语义乙也在该手段中得到隐性表达，成为寄生于目标范畴的语义范畴。本文从寄生范畴的种类、宿主范畴的种类、相关库藏手段的种类三个方面举例考察了事态范畴在现代汉语中的寄生情况，并在附录中列出了事态寄生范畴的全部调查分析结果。本文发现事态范畴中的“时”“体”“式”（现实性；语气；示证）都存在寄生情形，其中“式”范畴的寄生占寄生个案的2/3强；宿主范畴庞杂零碎，涉及动作的方式、速度、时间点、时间量、频度等数十个目标范畴；相关库藏手段涉及大多数虚词和半虚词类别（如副词、介词、连词、助词等）及一个实词小类（时间名词），包括数百个常用词。本文深化了对寄生范畴及其与显赫范畴关系的认识：首先，寄生范畴不“入库”，不具备显赫范畴的基本属性，因此不属于显赫范畴；但两者之间又存在相似的一面，都是母语人敏感的范畴，能广泛影响句法规则。因此，本文提出“敏感范畴”的概念加以概括，包括“显性敏感范畴”（如显赫范畴）与“隐性敏感范畴”（如吸纳库藏能力较强的寄生范畴）。此外，本文还提出了语言形式与意义之间关联程度的观念，包括如下形义关联等级序列：强关联（形式-基本义/原型义/显赫义）>中等关联（形式-引申义[上中等]、边缘义[中中等]、化石义[下中等]）>弱关联（形式-寄生范畴）。寄生范畴体现了形式和语义之间的弱关联，既非无关，又非紧密关联。

Revisiting Parasitic TAM Categories in Chinese:

With Some Thoughts on Sensitive Categories in Language (Abstract)

Liu Danqing and Sun Zefang

Following Liu (2018), this paper continues to take TAM (tense, aspect and mood) categories as a case to study the "parasitic category". Parasitic categories shows an indirect correspondence between inventory means and semantic categories. That is to say, because of the existence of semantic limitation B on some means' expression of category A (target category), semantic category B is also implicitly conveyed via this means and becomes a semantic category parasitic in target category A. This paper examines the parasitism of TAM categories in modern Chinese from three respects by analyzing examples: kinds of parasitic categories, kinds of host categories and kinds of related inventory means, with more detailed results of the investigation of TAM categories listed in the Appendix. This paper finds that "tense" "aspect" and "mood" (reality; speech act types; evidentiality) can be parasitic, of which parasitic mood is most common, constituting more than two-thirds of all examples; the host categories are numerous and diverse, involving dozens of target categories such as manner, speed, time point, time span and frequency; the related inventory means involve most classes of functional and semi-functional words (such as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, etc.) and a subcategory of notional words (time nouns), including hundreds of commonly used words. This paper deepens the understanding of the parasitic category and its relationship with the mighty category. Firstly, the parasitic category is not stored in the inventory and does not possess the basic attributes of the mighty category, so it does not belong to the mighty category. However, there are some similarities between them,

for example, native speakers are sensitive to both of them and they widely influence syntactic rules. Therefore, this paper proposes the general concept of "sensitive category" ,which is divided into "overt sensitive category" (e.g., mighty category) and "covert sensitive category" (e.g., parasitic categories with strong inventory means absorption). In addition, this paper proposes the concept of degree of relevance between linguistic form and its meaning, as well as the following hierarchical: strong relevance (form-basic meaning/prototypic meaning/mighty meaning) > medium relevance (form-extended meaning [upper middle], marginal meaning [middle middle], fossil meaning [lower middle]) > weak relevance (form-parasitic category). Parasitic category reflects the weak correlation between linguistic form and its meaning, which is neither irrelevant nor closely related.

試論上古漢語被動句及其世界觀——以動力表達為線索

大西克也

(東京大學)

上古漢語被動句很不發達，這可以說是大家的共識。那麼在上古時代，人們使用被動句式是出於何種目的？被動句的核心特點是什麼？這是本文要探討的課題。考察對象是“為”字句和“見”字句，其主要論點如下：

(一) 上古漢語被動句特別少，這個事實反映了人類中心(human centric)、自我中心(ego-centric)、以力量源為中心的世界觀。

(二) 上古前期的被動句多數表示施者不存在或者類型化的非典型被動事件，如：“戰而不克，為諸侯笑。”（《左傳·襄公十年》）在施者佔優勢的語言世界中，只有低實體性的施者才可以退到斜格位置構成被動句。表示具體事件的典型被動句到了上古後期逐漸發展，如：“周幽王為犬戎所殺。”（《史記·管蔡世家》）

(三) 上古漢語被動句幾乎見不到無生名詞主語句。無生的物品是人的操作對象，這是在當時的社會中無可懷疑的前提，所以它不可能作移情對象，用主動句來表達事件就最合適。

(四) 上古漢語的被動句多表受害或受惠（主要是“見”字句），是因為古人往往不把它當成沒有感情色彩的中立性的事件。趨利避害是人最基本的心理之一，所以遭遇災禍或僥倖得利的人容易成為移情對象，提升到主語位置形成被動句。

(五) 上古後期以後，作格動詞也可以出現在典型的被動句中，如：“幽王為犬戎所敗。”（《史記·封禪書》）作格動詞帶當事主語時不能表示外在動力的施受關係。不過在具體事件中確實存在動力的施受過程。作格動詞用在被動句，其作用就是從受者的角度顯示這種動力的施受方向。

(六) 上古漢語作為一門賓格語言，具有較強的施事導向(agent orientation)，十分重視發出動力的施者。通過被動和使役的對比，這一點可以很清楚地顯現出來。使役句和被動句的不對稱，主要表現如下：

(1) 被動句運用很有限，使役句表達的語法意義高度發達。

(2) 被動句表示在特定時空中發生的被動事件，到上古後期以後纔開始變得常見；使役句則經常表示在特定的時空中發生的使役事件，如：“子產使校人畜之池。”（《孟子·萬章上》）。

(3) 被動句的主語限於有生實體，而使役句的主語可以是無生名詞，如：“鼎肉使己僕僕爾亟拜也。”（《孟子·萬章下》）。

(4) 出現在被動句的動詞有語義限制，多表主語受害或受惠的情況，而這種限制不見於使役句。

(七) 結論：上古漢語屬於賓格語言，使役句發達，被動句尚未成熟，就論元之間的動力施受方向說，上古漢語在語法上具有施者優先的顯著特點。

The position of Chinese in Sino-Tibetan, and of Sino-Tibetan in East Asia

Laurent Sagart, CNRS, Paris (emeritus)

Abstract

Chinese is a member of the Sino-Tibetan family. In a first part of my presentation, I will report on recent collaborative and personal work, offering answers to old questions: what are the family's structure, its age, the location of its homeland ? how did the speakers of the proto-language produce the food they needed for their survival ? what were their main plant and animal domesticates, and what were they called ?

In a second part, I will examine the position of Sino-Tibetan among the other language families of East Asia. I will review the linguistic evidence for a genetic connection of Sino-Tibetan with Austronesian, and of Austronesian with Hmong-Mien on the one hand and Kra-Dai on the other hand, positing a large genetic unit I call STAN (Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian) with the structure:

((Sino-Tibetan)(Hmong-Mien ((Austronesian)(Kra-Dai))))

I will outline a multi-discipline historical scenario for the STAN dispersal, paying particular attention to domestication studies, archaeology, and population genetics.

LANGUAGE, COGNITION, & NEUROSCIENCE

Abstract.

Each of us is a unique product of continuous and extensive interactions between the DNA we inherit from our parents and the successive environments we live in throughout our lifespan. We begin to be influenced by the surrounding language even while still in the womb. The language we use is built upon various inherited cognitive abilities of perception, motor control, memory, & computation; it is constantly modified & enriched by the language(s) we encounter. Thanks to developments in health sciences & technology over the past century and half, the human lifespan has doubled; centenarians are becoming increasingly common. This demographic shift world wide, particularly in East Asia, has greatly added to cases of cognitive disorders as the brain ages beyond the protection of natural selection. These include various types of severe language impairment, similar but distinct from the more familiar aphasias. Linguistics must join hands with other disciplines to meet this urgent challenge confronting our societies.

上古漢語的零形代詞

題要

魏培泉

現代漢語無疑是一種代詞省略的語言 (pro-drop language)，它的主語和賓語經常使用零形代詞 (zero pronoun)；上古漢語也經常使用零形代詞，只是它的零形代詞分布與現代漢語頗有不相對應之處。現代漢語零形代詞常用為主語和動詞的賓語，卻很少用作介詞賓語；上古漢語零形代詞常用為主語，也常用作介詞賓語，但較少用作動詞賓語。現代漢語和上古漢語在零形代詞的使用有所相類的只在主語，只不過上古漢語的主語使用零形代詞似更為發達。那麼是什麼樣的機制造成這樣的不同，上古漢語的代詞省略是否在類型上與現代漢語有所分別，這是本文要探討的問題。零形代詞可用於回指或當前指，本文主要關注的就是用來回指的零形代詞，而第三身的回指又是回指問題的探討焦點，因此本文所論述的將限於指示第三身的零形代詞。本文將分就上古漢語的零形代詞作主語、動詞賓語、介詞賓語來探討零形代詞的分布狀況與使用條件，並嘗試由此來解答上述的問題。

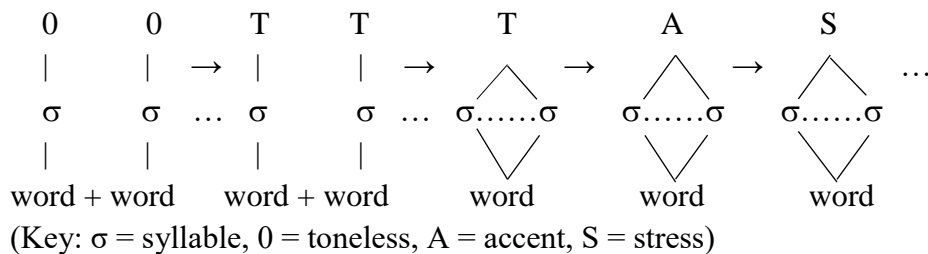
Features of Prosodic Patterns and Units of Prosodic Hierarchy

Hongming Zhang

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Abstract

Based on a synchronic phonological analysis of prosodic features at the word level, human languages can be classified as tonal languages, stress languages, and pitch-accentual languages. This study argues that such a classification needs to be critically re-examined in the light of diachronic change in the role of prosodic features in a language, which may alter the typological characteristic of a language. Such changes can be depicted in the form of a cycle which is {toneless → syllable tone → word tone → pitch-accent → stress → ...}:



The typological nature of prosodic features is closely related to the prosodic hierarchical units of a human language, a complete inventory of which will contain various levels including the mora, the syllable, the foot/phonological chunk, the prosodic word, the clitic group, the phonological phrase, the intonation phrase, and the utterance. The prosodic units of any specific language can find expression on different levels of the prosodic hierarchy, which is part of Universal Grammar, but a specific language may not necessarily include all the units on the prosodic hierarchy. The set of prosodic units a specific language encodes depends on whether this language makes use of the parameter that defines these prosodic units. To take ‘foot’ for example, one of the prosodic units on the prosodic hierarchy relevant to stress languages: the features of the parameter relevant to stress include prominence, predictability, rhythmicity, culminativity, hierarchical structure, etc. Within the typological framework presented here, I will demonstrate that it would be conceptually misguided and empirically groundless to claim that Peking Mandarin is a stress language, as the language does not possess any of the phonological properties required of such a phonological classification.

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