

DOUBLE DOUBLING IN DISYLLABLES—REDUPLICATION IN MANDARIN

优选论框架下现代汉语 双音节词重叠现象的研究

◎ 陈璐 著



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内 容 提 要

重叠是现代汉语中最重要的造词方法之一。国内汉语界对重叠现象的研究多集中在重叠的构成、音调变化、各方言差异等基本层面,尚未有一个系统的理论对重叠现象进行概括和分析。本书采用优选论(Optimality Theory)的理论框架来展示和分析现代汉语中双音节动词、形容词、副词和名词中不同的重叠形式。

在提出了几个新的制约条件并给出重叠音系学的产生机制后,本书更进一步结合形态学相关理论,通过采用“三方对应”的新模式将形态学和音系学之间的对应关系引入优选论的理论框架,从而使得现代汉语双音节词的重叠现象得到了更加深入的诠释。

本书采用西方语言学最新研究理论对现代汉语中重叠词的语音特点及形成方式进行了深入研究,适于语言专业研究生及广大汉语及语言学爱好者研读。

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“预”与“不预”的感悟

——代自序

光阴荏苒，不知不觉留校任教已经十年。三尺讲台，路漫漫其修远兮。快乐成功、尴尬无奈始终相伴左右，酸甜苦辣如影随形。俯仰之间，自己就从一个踌躇满志、心高气傲的“愤青”，变成了一个平平淡淡、宠辱不惊的“奔四”中青。

回首往事，让我想起了一句古训：“凡事预则立，不预则废”。这短短九个字，曾让我刻骨铭心。从小学、初中，一直到高一高二都是学校的佼佼者，老师、父母为之骄傲的“宠儿”的我，就因为高三那一年的“不预”，败走了高考的“麦城”。败于斯，亦应成于斯。痛定思痛，我以四年大学的不懈之“预”，将上海外国语大学研究生之梦变成现实，并最终成功地留校任教，实现了当一名大学教师的夙愿。从此，我再也不敢怠慢了。教学的实践，更让我深深领悟到，“与人一杯，必己有一桶”，深知自己离那真正的“一桶”，还相差甚远。为此，我又一次再推迟了婚姻，换来了给自己在职读博的宝贵时光。随后，我还于2005年以推迟怀孕生子的代价，争取到了去荷兰莱顿大学攻读语言学硕士的机会。一年后学成归来，博士的攻读也顺利结束。我成了当时留校任教的同学中最早拿到博士学位的一人。

大家都说机会是留给有准备的人，但机会不等于成功，知识、

才能、事业都要靠信心、毅力和付出。我选择语言学,尤其是音系学,外行人觉得稀奇,内行者会觉得我这是在自找苦吃。的确,一本本枯燥、生涩、冷寂的书本、教材都曾让我大吃苦头,学不下去一丢了之的念头也曾不只一次地出现过。好在在导师、同事、家人等帮助下,总算坚持了下来。“学海无边苦作舟”,想想那些查资料译文章、咬文嚼字抠字眼、一次次找导师请教,食不知味,寝不能寐的日日夜夜,至今仍“心有余悸”,难以忘怀。

有书载,葡萄牙人的启蒙教育中有这样一个目标:人的一生要做三件事——种活一棵树,生一个孩子,写一本书。我很幸运,前两件事都做到了。第三件事如今也算滥竽充数地交了卷。在书稿付梓之际,谨向我的硕士、博士导师梅德明先生致谢,感谢他对我始终如一的教诲;感谢我在荷兰的导师耶鲁安博士,是他带我走进了音系学这个研究领域;感谢我的领导和同事们给予我的多方照顾和帮助;感谢上海外国语大学青年科研项目对我的支持;感谢同济大学出版社给我这次难得的机会,让我这本冷僻少趣的拙作得以出版。

是为序。

陈璐

2014年6月于上海



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loving considerations and great confidence in me all through these years. I also owe my sincere gratitude to my friends and my fellow classmates who gave me their help and time in listening to me and helping me work out my problems during the difficult course of the thesis.

摘要

重叠是现代汉语最重要的造词方法之一。本书采用优选论 Optimality Theory 的理论框架来展示和分析现代汉语中双音节动词、形容词、副词和名词中不同的重叠形式。在仔细考察了动词和形容词的特别重叠形式的韵律、语义和语法功能以后,我们提出了一个新的概括性的分类,重新划分了动词和形容词重叠的基本和特殊的形式分类:包括广义动词下面的重叠形式 V_{ABAB} 和 A_{ABAB} ,以及与此相似的广义形容词下面的重叠形式 A_{AABB} 和 V_{AABB} 。同时我们还对冯冠军(2003)采用的具体词类的制约条件进行了扩展,并用来解释广义动词和形容词的重叠形式。除 V-O 动词的重叠形式 AAB,我们还进一步探索了形容词的重叠形式“A里AB”有可能的制约条件的排序,并提出由于线性制约条件 LINEARITY 在层级上高于同界制约条件 ALIGN-里-L,所以最优的输出项是重叠[A]部分并且把“里”镶嵌在“A里AB”里面做中缀。值得一提的是,形态学在研究重叠现象上也起着举足轻重的作用。通过采用“三方对应”的新模式,形态学和音系学之间的对应关系被引入到了优选论的理论框架中来,从而使得现代汉语双音节词的重叠现象得到了更加深入的诠释。

在引言简介之后,本书的结构是这样组织的。第一章着重介

绍了目前流行语音系学界的优选论,以及重叠现象在优选论中的一般分析方法。第二章结合普通话语料对主要词类动词、形容词、名词和副词的重叠形式——作了简要的介绍。第三章以重叠的变调和句法语义的用法功能为基础,讨论如何重组双音节动词和形容词的重叠类型。这将打破从前常见的分类界限,把动词特殊的重叠形式 V_{AABB} 和形容词基本的重叠形式 A_{AABB} 整合成一个可以概况形容词 $AABB$ 性质的类别。同样地再将动词重叠的基本形式 V_{ABAB} 和形容词重叠的特殊形式 A_{ABAB} 整合成一个涵盖动词 $ABAB$ 性质的种类。接下来在第四章里,我们采用优选论框架来解释动词和形容词重叠形式的不同,同界(ALIGNMENT)制约条件和线性(LINEARITY)制约条件将在此起关键作用。同时,中缀“里”在形容词重叠过程中导致形容词重叠形式 A 里 AB 的产生的观点也在这一章中得以叙述。第五章是对前一章的升华,利用 Walker 和 Feng 提出的“三方对应”关系来分析现代汉语中双音节词的重叠现象。这一理论的优点在于,它将形态学和音系学通过各项制约条件有机地结合在一起,从三方面对重叠现象作出分析和解释,从而更加完善了优选论在研究现代汉语重叠领域的应用。最后,第六章总结全文并指出将来可以深入进行研究的扩展领域。



Abstract

This thesis explores different reduplication patterns in Mandarin Chinese. The goal is to make a brief and clear summary of the Mandarin reduplication, especially that of the disyllables so that different patterns across word categories conform to one basic character — the OT (Optimality Theory) framework and to examine the wider implications of this account for both morphological and phonological theory. The analysis builds on generalizations from a comprehensive survey documenting reduplication variation in four word classes, namely, the nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. To capture cross-categorical variation in reduplication patterns, this analysis draws on a lexically-specific constraint hierarchy ranking segments according to the morpheme RED it takes. The newly proposed constraints are two well-formedness constraints: ALIGN (Verb, MRU) and ALIGN (Adj. MRU), the LINEARITY constraint and constraints $REALIZE-\mu$ and $*\sigma_i \sigma_i \sigma_i$. With these constraints, we successfully yield the optimal patterns for both AABB and ABAB reduplication. In order to

account for the special patterns *AliAB* adjective reduplication, two natural constraints, $*[\sigma\text{LT}]$ and *ALIGN-li-L* are proposed. Extending our discussion to incorporate morphological structures into the analysis, we adopt the Ternary Model for Correspondence put forward by Walker and Feng (2004). Featured with three mapping types, this new model offers a more powerful and systematic way for the analysis of the disyllabic reduplication in Mandarin.

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter One presents the theoretical background. In Chapter Two, I develop a unified description and analysis of cross-categorical patterns of reduplication in Mandarin. Chapter Three focuses on the *AABB* and *ABAB* reduplication and argues for a regrouping of the disyllabic verb and adjective reduplication patterns, namely, breaking the categorical restriction and grouping the special V_{AABB} pattern into the basic A_{AABB} pattern with a more general label *AABB* adjective reduplication and the same holds true for A_{ABAB} and V_{ABAB} being grouped into *ABAB* verb reduplication, which builds a solid foundation for the OT analyses of reduplication in Mandarin. In the following Chapter Four, an OT account is provided to offer an explanation for the difference in verb and adjective reduplication, in which the ranking of alignment constraints and *LINEARITY* play a crucial role. It is further proposed that the *AliAB* pattern of adjective reduplication is due to the infixation of the “*li*” during the

adjective reduplication process and we offer an OT analysis of the formation with two new constraints proposed. Chapter Five introduces another model for the disyllabic reduplication in Mandarin — the Ternary Model. When the morphological structures are taken into account, the picture for the correspondence relationship in Mandarin reduplication becomes much clearer and more comprehensible. Chapter Six concludes the thesis and points out areas for further research.



Introduction

Reduplication is a linguistic phenomenon that can be found in the majority of world languages. It is generally regarded as a process which combines aspects of both phonology and morphology. It not only involves affixation, both with respect to morpho-syntactic structure and with respect to the segments in the stem, but also a process of copying both segmental and prosodic features from the base to the reduplicant. The copying processes, which may be complete or partial, may lead to segmental or prosodic adjustments which show the operation of phonological constraints in full swing.

In Mandarin Chinese, reduplication takes the form of a total one, which is also one of the most common morphological operations in Mandarin. Reduplication may mark plurality but also has other different semantic or pragmatic effects. While much previous research looked into the semantic, grammatical and syntactic functions of reduplication of verbs, adjectives, etc (e.g. Feng 2003, Wang 2000, Chen 1991, Li 2001, Lu 2000, Tang 2004), formal aspects of reduplication have rarely been

taken into consideration, while the internal structure of the reduplicated forms have not been treated with the proper attention. The standard literature does not provide a systematic analysis of the reduplicated forms in the main word classes, nor does it look into the formal morpho-phonological aspect of the disyllables, resulting in the sporadic and incomplete discussion on only one or two reduplicated forms. This research project therefore aims to present a systematic and thorough investigation of the possible patterns of reduplication in Mandarin disyllabic verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, etc.

This research project will be implemented in a step-by-step manner. A preliminary research project has already been carried out, in which we analysed Mandarin disyllabic verb and adjective reduplication. A presentation on this topic was made at the Chinese Phonology workshop earlier last year in Leiden University, Holland (Chen & Bao, 2006) and it has also been developed in my MA thesis (Chen, 2006).

From the preliminary research project, it turns out that there are mainly three types of reduplication forms for disyllabic verbs, namely, AABB, ABAB and AAB (AB is a disyllabic verb). Among these different possibilities, the form ABAB is the most usual form for verb reduplication, but the structure AABB is also found. It is striking that for disyllabic adjectives, too, both the ABAB and AABB patterns are found, but that here the AABB patterns are most common. Consider

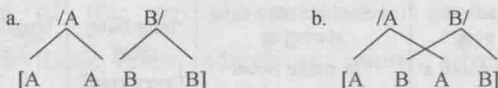
the following table, in which different examples are presented together:

	Verb Reduplication		Adjective Reduplication	
	Base	Reduplication	Base	Reduplication
Basic Pattern	V _{ABAB}		A _{AAAB}	
	liao-jie 了解 “to know”	liao-jie-liao-jie 了解了解 “to know a little”	wan-zheng 完整 “intact”	wan-wan-zheng-zheng 完完整整 “intact” (intensified)
	V _{AAAB}		A _{ABAB}	
Special Patterns	chao-rang 吵嚷 “to make a Racket”	chao-chao-rang-rang 吵吵嚷嚷 “to make noise continuously”	bing-liang 冰凉 “very cold”	bing-liang-bing-liang 冰凉冰凉 “icy cold”
	V _{AAB}		A _{AA/AB}	
	san-bu 散步 “to take a walk”	san-san-bu 散散步 “to take a little walk”	gu-guai 古怪 “straight”	gu-li-gu-guai 古里古怪 “a little bit straight”
	V _{ABAB} & V _{AAAB}		A _{ABB}	
	zhi-dian 指点	zhi-dian-zhi-dian 指点指点 “to comment” zhi-zhi-dian-dian 指指点点 “to be critical, be particular about”	luan-zao-zao 乱糟糟 “messy”	

Thus, a first objective of this research project will be to provide a way of accounting for the presence of multiple reduplication strategies for Mandarin verbs and adjectives, and a way of explaining why the verbs are skewed towards the ABAB pattern and the adjectives toward the AABB pattern. We hypothesize that the morphosyntactic structure of the

disyllabic verb constructs plays a role here. In ABAB reduplications, A and B form a unit which cannot be broken up, while in AABB reduplications, both parts are affected by reduplication separately. This can be expressed in various ways, for example, in Optimality Theory. One of our assumptions here is that there are multiple correspondences between input and output. The following correspondence is assumed for both reduplication patterns:

Multiple correspondence between input and output:



As shown, the configuration shows line crossing for the ABAB pattern, which is a violation of LINEARITY, which requires that the linear order in the input be kept in the output.

LINEARITY: S1 is consistent with the precedence structure of S2, and vice versa. (McCarthy and Prince, 1995)

Thus, for AABB outputs, Linearity is highest ranked. This leads to the question how the ABAB output is derived. The line of analysis that I would like to explore is that for these cases the input /AB/ forms a tight (morphosyntactic or phonological) unit, which cannot be severed, leading to an ABAB output.

Meanwhile, we could extend this analysis to other patterns that are found, e. g. AAB in verbs, *Ali*AB in adjectives and reduplication patterns in nouns, adverbs, etc. Take the *Ali*AB pattern in adjective reduplication for instance.

Base	Reduplication
gu-guai 古怪 “strange”	gu-li-gu-guai 古里古怪 “a little bit strange”
xiao-qi 小气 “stingy”	xiao-li-xiao-qi 小里小气 “a little bit stingy”
mao-cao 毛糙 “coarse”	mao-li-mao-cao 毛里毛糙 “a little bit coarse”
dun-shi 敦实 “stocky”	dun-li-dun-shi 敦里敦实 “a little bit stocky”

This special structure with “*li*” always denotes a negative meaning and “*li*” is usually realized as a light tone instead of its original third tone. Therefore, we claim that this special pattern of adjective reduplication is in fact a mixed case of both the reduplication of the input adjective /AB/ and an infixation of the word “*li*”. In order to license the position of “*li*” in the reduplicated form, we could propose a new constraint banning words with a light tone beginning a prosodic word. The constraint may be defined as follows:

* [₀LT (“No light tone (LT) begins a prosodic word.”)]

A second objective for this research is that we will take stock of the existing literature on the reduplication patterns of the less-discussed word categories, such as the nouns and adverbs. With the summary and review on these patterns, we can discover that similar constraints and ranking are also applicable in accounting for the reduplication patterns of disyllabic adverbs and some distributive nouns; while at the same time find out how changes in the morphosyntax affected