

現代語言學論叢

漢語主賓位的語意研究

鄧守信著

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「現代語言學論叢」緣起

語言與文字是人類歷史上最偉大的發明。有了語言，人類才能超越一切禽獸成為萬物之靈。有了文字，祖先的文化遺產才能綿延不絕，相傳到現在。尤有進者，人的思惟或推理都以語言為媒介，因此如能揭開語言之謎，對於人心之探求至少就可以獲得一半的解答。

中國對於語文的研究有一段悠久而輝煌的歷史，成為漢學中最受人重視的一環。為了繼承這光榮的傳統並且繼續予以發揚光大起見，我們準備刊行「現代語言學論叢」。在這論叢裡，我們有系統地介紹並討論現代語言學的理論與方法，同時運用這些理論與方法，從事國語語音、語法、語意各方面

的分析與研究。論叢將分為兩大類：甲類用國文撰寫，乙類用英文撰寫。我們希望將來還能開闢第三類，以容納國內研究所學生的論文。

在人文科學普遍遭受歧視的今天，「現代語言學論叢」的出版可以說是一個相當勇敢的嘗試。我們除了感謝臺北學生書局提供這難得的機會以外，還虔誠地呼籲國內外從事漢語語言學研究的學者不斷給予支持與鼓勵。

湯 廷 池

民國六十五年九月二十九日於臺北

湯 序

近二十年來語言學的發展與進步，真够得上說是日新月異，突飛猛晉。在這二十年間，語言學家不斷地檢討舊的理論，也不斷地提倡新的理論。無論是舊理論的檢討或是新理論的提倡，都朝向一個共同的目標：尋求一種較為合理而普遍的理論模式來解釋所有自然語言的現象以及人類心智活動的過程。在這一種時代背景下，最近在中國語言學界發生了兩個十分可喜的現象。

第一個可喜的現象是：世界上越來越多的人，包括語言學家與非語言學家，對於中文的研究或華語的學習感到越來越濃厚的興趣。漢語不但是世界上使用人口最多的語言，而且是歷史演變最久、語言結構最高度發達的語言之

一。依據世界人口統計，地球上每四個人中就有一個中國人。照此比例而言，每四個語言學家中就應該有一個中國籍的語言學家或研究漢語的語言學家。目前的情況，雖然與這個理想的目標距離還很遙遠，但對於漢語研究的興趣與關心的方興未艾，確是一件非常令人興奮的事情。

第二個可喜的現象是：最近幾年來在國內外出現了好幾位傑出的中國語言學家，而鄧守信教授更是其中之一佼佼者。現在由學生書局做為現代語言學論叢乙類第一冊出版的「漢語主賓位的語意研究」，即是鄧教授已往就中國語言學問題所發表的十幾篇論文中，最富有代表性的著作。鄧教授在這一本書裡融會貫通 Fillmore「格變語法」(case grammar)的觀點、Halliday 有關「主賓關係」(transitivity relation)的主張、與 Chafe 在 *Meaning and the Structure of Language* 一書中的語意分析理論，以動詞為句子結構的中心，就國語動詞與主語、賓語、補語、狀語等的關係做一番深入而有系統的語意與語法分析。他的分析一向富有創意，而且最難能可貴的是：他對於國語句子所做的合法度判斷相當客觀而忠實，並且在論證中時時能留意到例外或反證的存在。鄧教授這一本書雖用英文撰寫，但是文筆流暢而清晰，凡稍有英文基礎的人來讀不應該會有太大的困難。此外，著者還在書末加了國語動詞分類的一覽表、參考書目與索引，可以幫助讀者對於全書內容的了解。

末了，我想為了書後所附的「英文中文術語對照表」做幾句說明。這是我們為了「使語言學說中國話」或「語言學中文化」所做的工作之一。其他的工作還包括儘量用中文發表論文著作（如現代語言學論叢甲類），以及正在計畫中的語言學詞彙的出版（共分四輯：第一輯普通語言學、第二輯句法與語意、第三輯語音與音韻、第四輯漢語語言學）。我們希望能透過這些努力提高國內一般人士對於現代語言學理論的興趣與中國語言學的關心，更希望國內外學者為我們這一個嘗試不斷惠予指教或鼓勵。

一九七七年三月四日湯廷池於新竹

自序

現代語言學的理論主要有變形語法、衍生語意學、及格變語法（湯廷池教授譯名）。此書是以格變語法理論為基礎，針對現代國語的主語與賓語作整套有系統的語意方面的描述。

近幾年來，研究國語語法，以格變語法理論為基礎者為數不少，如一九七〇年李英哲教授的密西根大學博士論文（一九七一年西東大學出版）；一九七二年湯廷池教授的國語格變語法試論（原係德州大學博士論文，一九七二年臺北海國書局出版）；一九七五年呂施玉惠教授的康乃爾大學博士論文、同年 W a shburn 先生的喬治城大學博士論文等。這現象至少表示格變語法是近年

來研究國語語法較受重視的理論基礎。

理論基礎的選擇雖然總不免有主觀因素在內，但不應該是衡量優劣成敗的關鍵所在。最重要的是看如何運用某種理論將一個語言的規律及特性很清晰而有系統地表達出來，進而由那個語言本身的規律與特性來論證某種理論的健全與否。如此方能達到描述與立論兩方面的任務。在語言類型受到普遍注意及討論的今天，希望本書能夠對國語的語意及語法兩層次的相互關係提供一些作為進一步比較分析研究的資料。

本書原版是根據我一九七二年柏克萊加州大學博士論文改編而成，由加州大學於一九七五年出版發行。現經加州大學出版社同意並授權給臺北學生書局在臺灣發行國內版。有這機會能夠與國內同道聯繫並交換意見，感到非常榮幸。

我之所以走上語言學這條路可說是由於偶然的機緣。從牛津大學畢業後，經同學建議，遠道赴加大，計劃攻讀英語教學法（本以為那就是語言學的全貌）。到達後才發覺加大語言學系偏重理論上的研究。只好「將錯就錯」地硬着頭皮念完了學位，寫了這篇論文，希望還不至於「大錯特錯」。

本書國內版的問世全是師大湯廷池教授及學生書局經理張洪瑜先生熱心策劃的結果，在此謹誌謝意。並特別感謝湯教授在百忙之中為書後索引中的語言學術語編中文的對照。

鄧守信一九七七年二月九日于麻州安城

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	— auxiliary noun, classifier, or measure (ge, ben, etc.)
asp	— perfective or inchoative aspect (le)
exp	— experiential aspect (guo)
g.p.	— genitive particle (de)
i.p.	— inchoative particle (qilai)
l.v.	— locative verb (zai)
m.p.	— modificational particle (de)
Neg	— negation (bu or mei)
part	— particle (ma, ne, etc.)
p.p.	— passive particle (bei, jiao, etc.)
p.t.	— pre-transitive (ba)
p.s.	— progressive suffix (zhe)
p.v.	— progressive verb (zai)
Pro-V.	— pro-verb (nong)
s.p.	— successful particle (zhao or dao)
X	— reduplication

Author's note: Romanization of Chinese sentences is in the Pin Yin system.

PREFACE

This work studies the semantic roles of nominal elements occurring in a sentence. These roles are dichotomized into Transitivity and Circumstantial relations, the criteria for which are fully developed, and only the former type of relations constitutes the scope of this study.

A set of Transitivity relations, namely, Agent, Patient, Range, Goal, and Causer, is established to account for the various semantic ranges of the traditional designation of subject and object. Their semantic and syntactic characteristics are given.

These relations are developed within a semantic framework in which verb-centrality is postulated, and the inadequacies of the noun-centrality theory are discussed. The inter-relationship of verbs and nouns is discussed within this framework, and classification of verbs in terms of these relations is also presented.

I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation advisers: Professor Wallace Chafe, chairman, for his enlightening instruction as well as careful and untiring guidance throughout the entire dissertation, the influence of whose teaching is explicit in every page; Professor Kun Chang, for both his detailed and penetrating examination of the entire work and his constant suggestions, encouragement, and concern; Professor William Wang, whose pioneering works on Chinese transformational grammar initiated my interest in the field, for discussing the organization and for his encouragement and confidence in me when this work was being undertaken.

Professor Chao Yuen Ren read the theoretical foundations of this work, and I benefited from his valuable suggestions and comments. Without his monumental work on Chinese grammar, I would certainly have been drowned in the deep sea of collected material.

My deep appreciation is due to Janet Hamilton Teng, my wife, not only for typing my near unintelligible manuscript, but also for acting as my English informant and for constructing innumerable starred sentences in English to illustrate the point in Chinese.

I would also like to thank Samuel Cheung for being my constant Chinese informant and audience and Arax Kizirian, of POLA, for typing the dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Three Grammatical Theories

In this chapter, three grammatical theories – Fillmore's case grammar, Halliday's systemic grammar, and Chafe's grammar – will be briefly introduced. Only the bare outline and the mechanical apparatus of each grammar are presented in this chapter. General properties which differentiate one theory from the other will be presented in Chapter 2. The scope of discussion is limited to the organization of the underlying structures. How various underlying structures in each theory are transformationally realized in the surface structure will not concern us.

1. The Case Grammar

The significance of the case grammar, as presented in Fillmore (1968), is best illustrated against the perspective of the current syntactic theory, as presented in Chomsky (1965). In Chomsky's framework, the functions of nouns are wholly definable by and thus derivative from the configurations which hold among different grammatical categories (such as S, NP, and VP). Thus, e.g. the following definitions are possible

subject-of = [NP,S] – i.e. NP which is immediately dominated by S

direct-object-of = [NP,VP] – i.e. NP which is immediately dominated by VP

In this way, the functions, e.g. subject and object, are defined by relations and are not necessary notions in the specification of sentences. This type of specification Fillmore refers to as "pure relations" (1968:16).

Fillmore (1970) has demonstrated that the "pure relations" grammar imposes too much structuring on the grammatical categories in the underlying structure so that certain generalizations are missed. For example, in the following sentences

- (1) a. The door opened.
- b. John opened the door.
- c. The key opened the door.

'the door' in (a), 'John' in (b) and 'the key' in (c) are specified with the relation [NP,S] and are thus "subject," but it is obvious that 'John' is an actor in the way that 'the door' and 'the key' are not. The subject of the verb receives three, in our example, different semantic interpretations. Consequently, three different verbs, all realized as 'open,' have to be established to accommodate different selectional restriction; one, an intransitive verb, takes an inanimate subject, another, transitive, takes an animate subject, and the third, transitive also, takes an inanimate subject. That is, these verbs have different specifications in the lexicon, as below.

- (2) a. - [-NP], + [-animate] – ≠
- b. + [-NP], + [+animate] – [-animate]
- c. + [-NP], + [-animate] – [-animate]

The second inadequacy of this grammar is that it cannot capture the fact that 'the door' in all these sentences is understood to undergo the same type of process, i.e. the role is constant in all three cases, but it is a subject in (a) but object in (b) and (c). The relatedness of the verbs and of the nouns in question cannot be captured in this "subject-object" grammar.

Fillmore thus proposes to assign constant values to nouns which apparently play the same role in different environments: 'the door' is Objective in all three cases and 'John,' as Agentive, and 'the key,' as Instrumental, enter the construction as optional roles. In this way, we need only to postulate one verb with the specification [—Objective (Agentive) (Instrumental)]. A consequence of this postulation is that the underlying structure is no longer structured so as to define the grammatical functions such as subject and object. Instead, the different roles, i.e. cases, are unordered in the underlying structure, and a set of transformations distributes nouns into their appropriate positions. "Subject" and "Object" are then surface structure notions. In contrast to "pure relations," as in Chomsky's framework, Fillmore's relations between nouns are "labelled."

Fillmore's case categories are given below (see 1968:25 for definitions of these cases).

- Agentive (A): e.g. *He* cried.
- Instrumental (I): e.g. He cut the rope *with a knife*.
- Dative (D): e.g. *He* is tall. / He killed *a bird*.
- Factitive (F): e.g. He sang *a song*.
- Locative (L): e.g. He is *in the house*.
- Objective (O): e.g. He bought *a book*.
- Benefactive (B): e.g. He sang a song *for Mary*.
- Essive (E): e.g. He is *a student*.
- Comitative (C): e.g. He sang a song *with Mary*.

Cases are generated into a sentence in the following manner. A sentence consists of two major constituents, Modality (M) and Proposition (P), i.e.

$$S \rightarrow M + P$$

The Modality component includes such elements as negation, tense, mood, and aspect. Proposition is then expanded into a verb and one or more cases (C), i.e.

$$P \rightarrow V + C_1 + C_2 \dots C_n$$

Each case then expands into a case-marker (K) and an NP, i.e.

$$C \rightarrow K + NP.$$

The resulting phrase structure is as in figure 1.

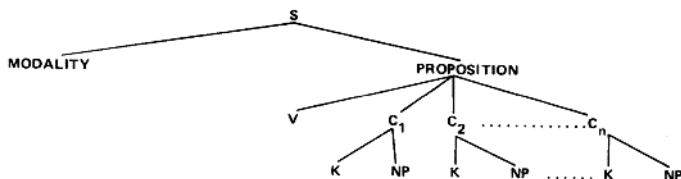


Fig. 1

2. The Systemic Grammar

Central to the Systemic Grammar as presented in Halliday (1967a, 1967b, 1968) are two components, experiential and discoursal or informational. The experiential component defines "the linguistic expression of the speaker's experience of the external world." It provides "a conceptual framework for the encoding of experience in terms of processes, objects, persons, qualities, states, abstractions and relations" (1968:209). Within this component is defined "transitivity," which sets up the "content" organization within the sentence as its scope.

The informational component, on the other hand, defines "grammar above the sentence" (1968:210), within which the speaker relates one sentence to another. The notions "given" and "new" information are thus defined in this component and not in the experiential component.

Our concern in this thesis is the notional organization within a sentence, and we shall in this chapter focus our attention primarily on the experiential component. This component corresponds to the organization of case categories in the case grammar.

Transitivity refers to "a network of systems whose point of origin is the 'major' clause, the clause containing a predication" (1967a:38).

Three types of major clause (hereafter sentence) are postulated, as given in (1).

- (1) a. Action sentences: Action here includes physical and abstract processes. It is not confined to activities alone, and not all these sentences are answerable to "what is X doing?" Thus sentences of this type may include the following verbs: wash, throw, sell, march, fall down, rain, and open. However, action sentences do define "events."
- b. Mental-process sentences: These consist of four sub-types: reaction (like, hate), perception (hear, see), cognition (believe, realize), and verbalization (say, promise).
- c. Relational sentences: These include two sub-types: ascriptive (be, look) in which an attribute (either an adjective or a substantive) is assigned to an attribuant, and equative (be, resemble) in which an identification is assigned to an identifier.

Action, mental-process, and relation are then the three types of processes underlying all sentences. The following categories are operative in these three types of sentences:

- (2) a. In action sentences:

Actor:	Subject of a transitive (directed action) or intransitive (non-directed action) verb
	E.g. <i>She</i> washed the clothes.
	<i>The prisoners</i> marched.
Goal:	Object of a transitive verb.
	E.g. She washed <i>the clothes</i> .
Range:	Object of a non-directed action verb
	E.g. He ran <i>the race</i> .
Initiator:	Subject of an intransitive verb used transitively
	E.g. <i>He</i> marched the prisoners.
Benefactive:	Indirect object
	E.g. He gave <i>John</i> the book.

- b. In mental-process sentences:
 Processor: Subject of a mental-process verb
 E.g. *He* likes the play.
 Phenomenon: Object of a mental-process verb
 E.g. He likes *the play*.
 (also *The play* pleases me.)
- c. In relational sentences:
 Attribuant: Subject of an ascriptive verb
 E.g. *She* looks happy.
 Attribute: Complement of an ascriptive verb
 E.g. She looks *happy*.
 She is a *student*.

The following categories are developed to inter-relate these three types of sentences at the most abstract level,

- (3) a. Cause: Actor of a directed action verb and Initiator
- b. Affected: Actor of a non-directed action verb, Goal of a directed action verb, Processor, and Attribuant
- c. Range: Range of an action verb, Phenomenon, and Attribute

These three categories define the participation network of a sentence, and other categories such as Beneficiary, Instrument, Manner, Time and Place enter into relationship with, and not as the constituents of, the participation network.

The generation of sentences is as follows. A set of grammatical features of sentences are selected out of a network of options, e.g. effective (directed action) and descriptive (non-directed action) (see Halliday 1967a:47 and 1968:201-3). The combinations of these (grammatical) features determine the selection of types of sentences, types of verbs, and types of participation nouns. Thus a sentence such as

- (4) Mary bought a car.

is specified as

Action: effective: operative: goal - transitive

which constitutes the grammatical description of the sentence. The feature "action" determines that the verb occurring in the sentence must be an action verb, as opposed to a mental-process verb, and the feature "effective" selects an action verb out of the sub-class of verbs which take "goal." In his framework, verbs are sub-classified into three classes:

Class O, e.g. seem, Class I, e.g. march, and Class II, e.g. wash.

Class O verbs occur in relational sentences, Class I verbs in descriptive sentences, and Class II verbs in effective sentences.

3. The Chafian Grammar

The grammatical theory presented in Chafe (1970) states that every sentence is built around a predicative element. A predicative element is a necessary component of most types of utterance and can be referred to as verb. In most cases, a verb is accompanied by one or more arguments or nouns. The semantic roles which the accompanying nouns play in given sentences are not independently selected in the process of sentence generation as