

In this book, I will focus on the subset of the additive particles in Mandarin Chinese, which include *hai*, *vou* and *ya*, and others that the

Additive Particles in Adult and Child Chinese

汉语添加算子的语法与习得研究



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Preface

This book contains two parts: the theoretical analysis of Mandarin additive particles: *hai*, *you* and *ye*, and children's acquisition of these particles.

Mandarin additive particles are investigated with respect to the information structure and their interaction with prosody. The major claim is that the various uses of these particles are related by virtue of their interaction with information structures. When they are followed by an accented focus in their c-command domain, a default focus structure arises, and a proposition with different entities from the presupposed one is added in the discourse. When the particles associate with a preceding accented focus, two possibilities arise: pure addition of contrastive topic or scalar addition. If the particles are accented themselves, they function as focus operated by an ASSERT operator, and they are also scope particles with different associates.

Mandarin additive particles are claimed to have different scopes and associates with respect to their interaction with prosodic prominence. Stressed *hai* and stressed *you* have a wide scope, in which case the associate is co-extensive with the whole VP, whereas stressed *ye* and unstressed particles have a narrow scope of the accented constituents. These particles have different presuppositions in these conditions.

The acquisition part explores the production and comprehension of these particles. A series of experimental studies have been conducted to explore 2- to 8-year-olds' production and understanding of different variants of Mandarin additive particles. The experiments of production are mainly elicitation tasks with picture description and video description, and for children under 3, a game play is designed to create a natural environment; the comprehension tasks are act-out tasks and truth-value judgment, and children are asked to give explanations to their judgments. The results show that like other languages, Mandarin additives are acquired as early as 2 years old for all the six variants. However, the comprehension patterns split with regard to different variants: children comprehend stressed *hai* and stressed *you* as early as 2, though they cannot interpret stressed *ye* and unstressed additives correctly until 7 years old, and a few children wrongly interpret these particles as stressed *hai*.

Our experimental results seem to suggest that children at a very young age have mastered the linguistic knowledge necessary to produce correct sentences with additive particles, such as that of scope, focus, c-command relation and even the idiosyncratic properties of different particles. However, children as old as 7 could not understand *ye* as well as the additives with a following focus. The incapability is caused by different presuppositions of stressed *ye* and stressed *hai* and *you*. To understand additive particles, children have to accommodate the presupposition to the context. Stressed *ye* presupposes a proposition which contains a different element from the host sentences of *ye*, and so is that of unstressed additives with a following focus. Following Crain & Thornton (1998), I assume that presenting sentences of stressed *ye* without its anaphoric presuppositions will render children's failure of accommodating correct presuppositions. The reason why children could do much better in stressed *hai* and stressed *you* cases is that their presupposition is anaphoric within the host sentence, and children need not accommodate the presupposition with different elements. In production, the presupposition is provided in the context, and children need not accommodate the presupposition, and so they can do well in the elicitation task.

It is further observed in our study that children tend to interpret stressed *ye* and unstressed additive particles as stressed *hai*. The default interpretation of sentences with additive particles is the wide-scope reading. Children adopt the same processing strategy as adults, and it also provides evidence to the "modularity matching model" of language processing theory.

前言

本书是在我 2009 年于香港城市大学所做的博士论文的基础上修订而成的，从选题、构思、拟定框架、理论论述、实验验证到最后成文，都得到了潘海华教授的悉心指导。本书的写作也得到了方立教授、李行德教授、胡建华教授、邓思颖教授、李宝伦教授、陈月红教授和杨小璐教授等各位老师和前辈的多方面指导，他们都曾在论文的撰写过程中给了我很多宝贵意见，也感谢多次跟我进行激烈讨论的李汝亚博士、张庆文博士、刘鸿勇博士以及香港城市大学的各位同学，没有他们的陪伴和鼓励，本书的写作过程会变得更加艰难。同时，还要感谢北京语言大学青年学者文库出版基金的资助，并由衷感谢北京语言大学出版社总编辑张健女士、责任编辑孙玉婷女士为本书的出版所付出的辛苦与努力。最后，特别感谢始终支持我的家人及所有给予我关怀和帮助的师友。本书的疏漏之处，敬请各位同仁指正！

本书主要内容为汉语中的添加算子“又”、“也”、“还”的理论和习得问题。添加算子是从焦点信息结构的角度对语言中表示添加的词进行的分类，这些词对句子中的焦点敏感，表示除了预设的部分以外，还有其他的选项也符合命题的陈述。

文献中一般将添加算子分为三类：*too* 类算子；*still* 类算子以及 *again* 类算子，汉语中相对应的添加算子分别为：“也”、“还”和“又/再”。各个语言中的添加算子所表达的意义基本相同，但是也各有自己的特点，汉语中的添加算子一般被看作是一种副词，在句中的位置比较固定，研究汉语的文献中这些词也是讨论的热点，但是从它们和焦点关联的角度进行的探讨还不多见，另外，添加算子和句中的焦点重音关系密切，句子的焦点位置影响了句子的真值条件，添加算子的焦点在句子中可以出现在其右边，也可以出现在其左边，并且添加算子本身也可以重读，这种焦点算子和句子重音的互动有着系统性的规律，本书将从焦点解读的角度对汉语中的添加算子进行系统性的研究。

此外，对添加算子的儿童语言习得研究发现，儿童很早就可以产出添加算子，但是对添加算子的理解却很晚，有时要到 6、7 岁才可以正确解读，这就是一语习得中的理解—产出不平衡的现象，这种现象在很多语言中都存在，已有的研究包括德语、英语、荷兰语、日语和粤语等语言，但汉语添加算子的习得却没有相关研究。本书将从焦点关联的角度对汉语儿童添

加算子的习得进行研究，并将研究结果同其他语言的研究进行对照，以找出儿童语言习得中的普遍发展规律。

研究的章节安排如下：第一章对全书的理论背景进行介绍，第二章到第四章分别讨论了“也”、“还”和“又”和焦点的关联及解读，第五章系统总结了汉语中的添加算子和焦点的关系。第六章到第八章是对汉语儿童添加算子习得的讨论，第九章是对整个研究工作的总结。下面是各章的详细介绍。

第一章先对添加算子的研究相关的理论问题进行了介绍，本研究以 Rooth (1985, 1996) 的选项语义学 (alternative semantics) 作为焦点研究的理论框架，采用三分结构 (Heim 1982, Partee 1991) 对焦点结构进行表达，同时也讨论了和句子解读相关的事件语义学的有关概念，并在此基础上提出了汉语添加焦点算子研究所涉及的问题，概览了全书的结构。

第二章讨论了添加算子“也”与焦点的关联、辖域的确定以及所引出的预设。如果焦点成分出现在“也”的 c-command 的范围内，“也”与焦点就形成了一个典型的焦点结构，在其 c-command 范围的成分都有可能成为“也”的焦点，“也”的语义可以参照 Krifka (1999) 中关于添加焦点的解释，表征为： $[ADD1 [\cdots F1 \cdots]] : [\cdots F \cdots] (\exists F' \neq F [\cdots F' \cdots])$ ，也就是除了预设的成分外，在选项集中还存在另外一个不同的选项也满足句子的语义要求。此外，本章还对“也”和其他焦点算子的互动进行了讨论，同时提出在汉语中“也”也满足“唯一不同”的要求 (one-distinction requirement)，只是这个不同不仅限于句中重读的对比成分，也可以是语境中的不同命题。“也”的第二个变体是重读的“也”，当“也”重读时，“也”本身成为句子的焦点，受 ASSERT 算子的控制，“也”的辖域是其左边的成分，添加的成分是句子的对比话题，而非焦点，右边的成分应该和其预设中的谓词成分相同，重读“也”不一定遵守“唯一不同”的要求。“也”的第三个变体是焦点出现在“也”左边，焦点成分是对比焦点，而此时焦点成分的语义是有歧义的：既可以表示纯添加的语义，也可以和“连”连用形成等级添加焦点 (scalar additive particle)。此外本章还讨论了“也”的预设问题，提出“也”的预设可以引入 (accommodate) 到语境中来。

第三章关于“还”的研究也将“还”分为三个变体：焦点前“还”，焦点后“还”和重读“还”，添加算子“还”表示增量义 (incremental requirement)。焦点前“还”和焦点前“也”一样，引出一个典型的焦点结构，添加一个和预设成分不同的成分，而焦点后的“还”也可以表示等级添加，但是和“连……也”不同，“连……还”出现的环境要受到更多的限

制，这种限制和“还”的基本语义相关。和非重读的“还”不同，重读的“还”的辖域为整个命题，重读“还”和完成体、表示完成的动词情状和一些比较句不相容，这些限制和其增量要求有关。此外，和“也”相同，“还”也允许预设引入。

第四章关于“又”的讨论也采用和前两章相同的方法，从焦点关联的角度将“又”分为三个变体：焦点前“又”、焦点后“又”和重读“又”。与“也”和“还”不同，除了表示添加之外，“又”对添加的命题多了时间序列上的要求。焦点前的“又”也引出了一个典型的焦点结构，表示除了预设成分外，还有其他选项满足命题要求，而且这个选项在时间序列上要晚于预设的命题。焦点后的“又”只能表示纯粹的添加，没有等级添加的语义，而重读的“又”也是以整个命题作为其辖域，表示“重复”的意义。此外，本章还对和 *again* 类添加算子的理论问题如“同事件论元效应”(same eventuality argument effect)、“动态要求”(dynamicity requirement)、和“又”同现的时态要求、“又”的预设及其重复义(repetitive)和恢复义(restitutive)的关联等问题进行了探讨。

第五章对“也”、“还”、“又”的焦点关联进行了总结，并对不同的添加算子变体的辖域、添加成分、语义要求等进行了对比研究，用表格的形式对汉语的添加算子进行了系统性的解释。

从第六章开始是对汉语儿童添加焦点算子的习得研究的介绍。第六章回顾了其他语言中对添加算子的习得研究，在添加算子的习得研究中发现了理解—表达不对称的现象，本章提出了汉语儿童习得研究中的相关问题。

第七章报告了本研究对汉语儿童添加算子的生成实验，实验对象为母语为汉语的儿童，分为两个年龄段：2;00-2;06 的儿童主要采用游戏的方法来采集数据，对于 2;06 以上的儿童采用游戏法和图片/视频描述法进行生成实验。实验的结果发现：汉语儿童 2;00 多的时候就可以正确生成“也”、“又”、“还”三组添加算子，并能对这三组添加算子的不同变体进行区分，很少犯错。这说明汉语儿童很早就能掌握以下知识：重音知识、辖域的确定、预设的关联、选项集的确定等知识，而且这些知识出现得很早，在习得这些知识的过程中缺乏否定的证据。此外，对这些知识的习得在多种语言中都能发生在早期，具有普遍性的特点，这些都为语言天赋论 (language innateness) 提供了支持。

汉语儿童对添加算子的理解实验在第八章进行了讨论。跟生成实验不同，对添加算子不同变体的理解呈现了不平衡的特征。根据焦点算子和焦点的关联特征，实验选取了焦点前的“还”，重读的“也”、“还”、“又”四

个变体。焦点前的添加算子有着共同的焦点结构，即添加成分和预设成分有所不同，因此实验选取最常出现的“还”作为实验对象，代表了焦点前的一组添加算子。焦点后的添加算子涉及等级添加等问题，在本次研究中暂不涉及这方面的实验。而重读的添加算子添加成分各不相同：重读的“还”是同质添加、重读的“又”添加的成分和预设成分相同，只是有时间序列上的要求，而重读“也”添加的是和预设不同的成分。对于 2;06 以下的儿童，采用游戏法进行理解实验，而对于 2;06 以上儿童，使用图片/视频等让其进行真值判断实验。实验结果表明：2;06 的儿童就可以很好理解重读“还”，其次是重读的“又”，而对于焦点前的“还”和重读的“也”，一直到 6-7 岁才可以理解，而且在理解时，汉语儿童的错误比较多的是将非重读的“还”和重读的“也”理解为重读的“还”。这种不同添加算子变体理解之间的不平衡以及理解和生成之间的不平衡需要合理的解释。通过考察添加算子陈述和预设的关系，本研究发现：儿童对添加算子的理解障碍不是由其缺乏预设、辖域等知识引起的，而是由于受认知能力的限制，不能对预设进行引入而造成的。这和其他语言的添加算子理解实验有相同的观察，而本研究通过对汉语不同添加算子变体的进一步研究给出了不同的解释。

第九章对汉语添加算子的理论和习得研究做出了总结，并对将来要完成的相关研究进行了进一步介绍：理论方面，还可以考察更多的和添加算子有关的现象，比如添加算子的重复、添加算子的语气作用等，同时还可以参考限制焦点算子等其他焦点算子的重读问题进行更系统的研究；习得方面，可以关注等级添加算子的习得，在研究添加算子和预设、辖域等关系的同时，对等级序列、语用蕴含等知识也进行考察。此外，还可以对其他焦点算子进行研究，看这种生成—理解的不平衡现象是否普遍存在，以进一步探讨引起这种不平衡现象的原因。

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