現代語言學論叢

漢語的照應與刪簡

李梅都著

漢 語 的 照 應 與 刪 簡

ANAPHORIC STRUCTURES
OF CHINESE

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BY
MEI-DU LI

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作者簡介

　　李梅都，湖北省孝感縣人。國立臺灣師範大學英語系文學士，美國紐約州立大學（艾柏尼）英語教學碩士，美國加州大學（聖地牙哥）語言學碩士，博士。歷任中學教員，銘傳商專、新埔工專、臺灣大學等校講師。現任職於美國加州聖地牙哥GARJAK 研究中心。著有在美國學術雜誌上所發表之語言學及計算語言學論文多篇。

「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，人的思維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。論叢將分爲兩大類：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

　　近十幾年來，語法理論與語言分析的進步眞可以說是日新月異，日日新。語法理論的研究重心，已從追求「觀察上妥當性」（obser-vational adequacy）的「規律系統」（the rule system）與「描述上妥當性」（descriptive adequacy）的「一般限制」（general constraints）移到以探討「詮釋上妥當性」（explanatory adequacy）爲宗旨的「原則系統」（the system of principles）來，並且隨着語法理論的「模組化」（modularization）其內容變得更加精緻而細膩。語言結構的分析也越來越深入而精細，不僅從具有語音形態與詞彙意義的「實詞」跨進具有語音形態卻不具有詞彙意義的「虛詞」（如「稱代詞」（pronominals）、「照應詞」（anaphors）、「接應代詞」（resumptive pronouns）等），而且已經邁入了不具語音形態亦不具詞彙意義的「空號詞」（empty ca-tegories）（如「痕跡」（trace）、「變項」（variable）、「大代號」（PRO）、「小代號」（pro）、「寄生缺口」（parasitic gap）等）。

　　此時此地國內從事漢語語法研究的人，似乎也應該放開眼界，本着「大膽的假設，小心的求證」的態度，勇敢的接受這個新的挑戰。因此，我們特別高興李梅都博士的新著「漢語的照應與刪簡」將由學生書局出版。關於這一本新書的內容，已有陳淵泉教授的序文與作者自撰的中文摘要，這裡不再重複介紹。希望讀者能親讀本文，以便欣賞李博士如何把當代語法理論應用到漢語語法的研究來，如何做大膽的假設又如何做小心的求證。對於有志學習當代語法理論與漢語語法分析的人，本書提供了入門的絕好門徑。作者以其特有的細膩文筆與

清晰而耐心的論理把讀者步步引進語言研究的殿堂。李博士自從前年
自加州大學聖地牙哥分校獲得語言學博士學位以後，目前與同是語言
學家的美籍先生共同從事中英機器翻譯的研究工作。讀者如果有什麼
問題想提出來討論，李博士一定會樂意接受的。

　　「現代語言學論叢」藉這一次出版李博士新書的機會，在編輯方
式上做了一些改進；包括在本文前面加上「中文摘要」，在本文後面
附上「索引」與「中英文術語對照」，並且把「尾註」（ endnotes ）
改為「腳註」（ footnotes ），以方便讀者。輔大中文研究所的陳光明
同學在校對與索引的製作上面盡了不少功勞，在此特別表示謝意。又
「現代語言學論叢」決定今後優先出版語言學的博士論文，我們希望
在李博士新書之後有更多語言學論著問世，好讓國內研究語言的氣象
更加蓬勃興旺。

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湯廷池

一九八七年十月

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Foreword to: ANAPHORIC STRUCTURES OF CHINESE

Language is as wondrously parsimonious in its expressive means as it is highly complex in its inner workings. Consider the ´shorthands´ it makes use of in examples such as these:

A   1.   While <u>she</u> waited in line, Heather finished reading Tolstoy.

    2.   Guido told Domenico <u>e</u> to get <u>himself</u> a bride from Sicily.

B   1. When you are not home cooking, Swanson <u>is</u>.

    2. Take the money and run. If you <u>don´t</u>, somebody else <u>will</u>.

C   1. Brad works the night shift, and hates <u>it</u>.

    2. The bank forced the Hunt brothers to auction off their farm, <u>which</u> came as a surprise.

The underlined <u>she</u>, <u>himself</u>, <u>is</u>, <u>don´t</u>, <u>will</u>, <u>it</u>, <u>which</u> and the symbol <u>e</u> (standing for ellipsis or ´empty category´) function as a kind of surrogate ´pro-forms´ standing for longer constructions, which can be a nominal expression (A), a verb phrase (B), or an entire clause (C). Without such linguistic shortcuts everyday discourse would become unbearably cumbersome and bog down hopelessly in a quagmire of redundancies.

While the average speaker is hardly even conscious of the mental feat, he routinely performs in retrieving the information encoded in such linguistic shorthands, the precise principles that enable the speakers to accomplish such complicated tasks with seemingly effortless ease constitute the elusive object of the linguist's curiosity and systematic inquiry. To illustrate the problems confronting the analyst, contrast examples A1,2 with A3,4:

A   3. She waited in line, while Heather finished reading Tolstoy.

     4. Guido promised Domenico e to get himself a bride from Sicily.

Whereas the pronoun she can refer to Heather in A1, it cannot do so in A3. With the change of the verb from told to promised in A4, the implied or elliptic subject (e) of getting a bride can no longer be Domenico (as in A2), but must be Guido instead. By the same token, the reflexive anaphor himself is keyed to the subordinate subject, namely Guido or Domenico, as the case may be.

Linguists have long wrestled with problems like these since the early days of transformational grammar. In tackling this central problem Dr. Mei-Du Li brings to bear not only her extensive knowledge of current linguistic theories ranging from GB (Government and Binding) to GPSG (Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar) and LFG (Lexical-Functional Grammar) but a creative and critical mind and a keen appreciation of the language-specific characteristics of Chinese. She argues, for instance, that the topic-prominent nature of Chinese, calls for an account of the 'empty categories' that goes beyond sentence syntax and appeals to discourse context and pragmatics. In this respect Chinese contrast with English in interesting ways. What Mei-Du Li has to say about anaphoric relations in Chinese will not only elucidate the language-specific problems at hand, but will sharpen linguistic theory in general and ultimately shed light on that mysterious process of verbal communication at large.

In this monograph the author critically surveys a wide variety of current theories, points out where each falls short of a fully satisfactory account, and proposes alternative solutions, backed up by close argumentation. Its expository clarity puts a highly technical and complex subject matter within the grasp not only of a handful of specialists but of a broader readership, and will no doubt

spark   the   interest   of   a   new   generation   of   budding
linguists.

        I   will   close   on a personal note. To follow Mei-Du
Li's steady progress through her graduate school, especial-
ly   at   the   more advanced stages of her dissertation, was a
most rewarding and satisfying experience in my career. As
she has settled down in San Diego, currently employed in a
private   industry   that   combines   linguistics with computer
technology,   I   count   myself   lucky   in being able to look
forward to a stimulating and fruitful interaction with her
in the years ahead.

Matthew Y. Chen

Professor
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September 28, 1986

Preface

        In ordinary speech identical recurring elements are
often omitted or replaced by a pro-form. All languages
exploit such redundancy-reduction devices in the interest
of expediting the process of communication. A complex set
of rules and conditions determine what can and cannot be
omitted or replaced by an anaphoric shorthand.

        This monograph examines the syntactic environments
in which reduced constituents may appear. Such syntactic
environments are represented by coordinate and subordinate
sentence structures. Within these structures, I analyze
the rules or constraints on reduction in Chinese together
with the properties or characteristics the anaphors and the
antecedents may have to possess. An important reduction
phenomenon of Gapping is demonstrated to exist in Chinese.
Moreover, I identify four syntactic types of Chinese verbs.
These four categories permit distinct manifestations of
NP-anaphora in Chinese surface structures to be clearly
predicted and delineated. As for pronominals, I show that
zero pronouns can occur in any argument positions in
Chinese. They can be identified in three ways: in syntax,
in discourse, and in pragmatics (i.e. extra-linguistical-
ly). Limiting oneself to solely one aspect such as on the
syntactic or on the sentence level alone, one can never
achieve the goal of accounting for zero anaphors in
sentences satisfactorily.

        In an analysis of reflexives, it is argued that
syntactic constraints cannot alone satisfactorily account
for the distribution of Chinese reflexives. To fully
comprehend Chinese NP-anaphora, one must analyze it in
context beyond the sentence level. I emphasize and
delineate the significance and relationship between
sentence grammar and discourse grammar. I conclude that

this delineation should be crucial in further exploration of Chinese NP-anaphora.

This monograph represents a slightly modified form of my Ph.D. dissertation in Linguistics, completed in 1985 at the University of California, San Diego. The modifications relate to minor revisions in argument and style.

The dissertation represented a hiatus on an intellectual journey in linguistics that began with a fascinating undergraduate course taught by Professor Tang, T.-C., at National Taiwan Normal University. Professor Tang, in subsequent undergraduate courses, and by informal discussions during my graduate years at the University of California, always evoked excitement regarding possible new understandings of the complex intricacies of language. He was instrumental in aiding this publication to become a reality.

Moreover, as this work is derived from my dissertation, I would like to acknowledge how exceptionally fortunate I feel to have had the opportunity to develop research skills under the expert tutelage of my thesis advisor, Professor Matthew Chen. As exemplified in his kind foreword, Professor Chen's patience, clarity, wit, graceful style and insights always assured stimulating and memorable conversations. His encouragement aided me in perceiving obstacles as hurdles rather than as barriers.

Professor Sige-Yuki Kuroda was also very helpful in comments and guidelines, especially in terms of the section on reflexives. I appreciated also his special trip during an exceptionally busy period at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford to participate in my dissertation defense. In addition, Professor Edward S. Klima aided me with commentary and critiques to guide the focus and polish of my analysis. The classes on syntactic implications of the Theory of Government and Binding by Professor Sandra Chung were also very helpful in formulating research directions. Moreover, Professors Joseph C.Y. Chen, Richard P. Madsen and Paul G. Pickowicz need special recognition for their careful review and support of this work. Special thanks go also to Dr. Carol Georgopoulos for her attentive editorial skills and to Dr. Chi-Lin Shih for her cheerful verification of my examples of Chinese sentences. Many kind comments are also due to Cheryl Hunt whom, so unexpectively and so pleasantly, volunteered to type in the draft of Chapter 2. GARJAK Research Inc. should also receive recognition for its generous allowance of facilities and resources.

In addition, my father, Professor Li, Chao-Pei and my mother, Ms. Chang, Tsin-Nan, are thanked for their gracious encouragement during the development of this research. Appreciation should also be expressed to my loving husband, Dr. Gary G. Erickson, for his steady good cheer and humorous comments. Finally, of course, gratitude needs to be conveyed to our daughter, Janine Jia-Ling, for her captivating demonstrations of the amazing nature of language acquisition.

Mei-Du Li

GARJAK Research Inc.
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December 1986

中文摘要

　　本論文討論漢語的「照應」（anaphora）現象。當重複出現的詞語被省略或被「替代詞」（pro-form）替代時，日常語言就表現出此種現象。例如，在（1a）句中重複出現的詞語（以斜體印刷者），在（1b）句中被省略；而在（2a）句中重複出現的詞語，則在（2b）句中由替代詞'he'替代。

1 a. John has written the lyrics, and Paul *has written* the music.

　b. John has written the lyrics, and Paul ϕ the music.

2 a. John$_i$ agrees that John$_i$ will come tomorrow.

　b. John$_i$ agrees that he$_i$ will come tomorrow.

爲了加速「信息交換的過程」（communication process），所有的語言都運用某種「冗贅成分刪簡」（redundancy-reduction）的策略。那些詞語可被省略或可由「照應簡縮語」（anaphoric short-hand）替代，決定於一套相當複雜的規律與限制。此種前照應現象在以往漢語語法的研究中並未受到足夠的重視。本論文乃針對此一現象來探討「刪簡成分」（reduced constituent）的語法環境。此種語法環境包括「並列」（coordinate）與「從屬」（subordinate）兩種句法結構。漢語中的刪簡規律與限制，以及「照應語」（anaphor）與「前行語」（antecedent）所具有的性質與特徵均在本文討論之列。而本文的語法分析所採用的語法理論模式，也就是當前英語語法分析所採取的理論模式。

　　表現於並列結構與從屬結構中的刪簡現象大不相同。每一種結構

都由各別的篇章來討論。第一章為導論，第二章討論並列結構，而第三章則分析從屬結構。第二章除了「空缺變形」（Gapping）一節有新的結論以外，其餘各節都著重於對過去有關文獻的評述。第三章提供了本論文中主要的創見與分析。以下就各章節做一個大略的介紹。

　　第二章有關並列結構的討論分析，包括對並列結構中一些刪簡過程的探討，例如「並列結構刪簡規律」（Conjunction Reduction, CR）、「右節提升規律」（Right-Node Raising, RNR）以及「空缺變形規律」。

　　第2.1節討論「並列結構刪簡規律」、「右節提升規律」、「空缺變形規律」、「動詞組刪略規律」（VP-DEL）等幾種規律的區別。各個規律因被刪簡的詞語與過程中的限制不同，有所區別因而在第2.1.1節討論各個規律所適用的「領域」（domain），在第2.1.2節綜論以前的分析研究，在第2.1.3節區別「空缺變形規律」與「並列結構刪簡規律」，並在第2.1.4節區別「並列結構刪簡規律」與「右節提升規律」，在第2.1.5節區別「空缺變形規律」與「右節提升規律」的討論，並就下列五點分別論述：(1)「主要詞組成分」（major constituency），(2)各個規律適用的「目標」（target），(3)「多種目標刪略」與「單一目標刪略」的區別，（Multiple Target Deletion vs. Single Target Deletion），(4)「孤島限制」（Island Constraints）的敏感性，(5)「規律適用的領域」。 第2.1.6節區別「空缺變形規律」與「動詞組刪略規律」，而第2.1.7節則討論這些規律不能合併成為一個規律，而應該視為各別不同的規律。

　　第2.2節專論「並列結構刪簡規律」，在各節中一一討論前人對此過程的分析。第2.2.1節評論Ross（1967）的「空缺變形假設」（Gapping Hypothesis），並指出「順向並列結構刪簡」（Forward Conjunction Reduction, FCR）與「逆向並列結構刪簡」（Back-

ward Conjunction Reduction, BCR）不應合併成為一個「鏡象規律」
（mirror-image rule）。第 2.2.2 節評論戴浩一（Tai 1969）的分
析，並指出把各種規律合併成為一個單獨的「刪略規律」（Deletion）
的錯誤，並在 2.2.2.1 節至 2.2.2.3 節討論戴（1969）所提出的「方
向原則」（Directionality Principle, DP）、「最高相同詞組成分的
條件」（Highest Identical Constituent Condition，HICC）與「直接
支配的條件」（Immediate Dominance Condition，ⅠDC）並不妥當。
第 2.2.2.4 節討論漢語中「並列連詞」（connector）對句子接受度
的影響。第 2.2.3 節評論 Hankamer（1971）的分析，並指出其把「空
缺變形規律」與「並列結構刪簡規律」合併成為「並列結構刪略規律」
（Coordination Deletion）的錯誤。第 2.2.4 節評論 Stockwell,
Schachter and Partee（1973）的分析。他們所提出的「衍生並列
母式」（Derived Conjunction Schema）雖然可以解釋大部分的並
列結構句子，但是由於其威力太強而需要許多附加條件來限制。即使
加了許多附加條件，「過度衍生」（overgeneration）的情形仍然難
免存在，因而會產生許多不合法的句子來。第 2.2.5 節討論 Gazdar
（1981）的「擴張的詞組結構語法」（Generalized Phrase Structure
Grammar, GPSG）。依據此一語法理論模式，「並列的成分詞組」
（conjoined constituent） 可在基底結構中由「詞組結構規律」
（Phrase Structure Rule）直接衍生，因而變形規律如「並列結構
刪簡規律」者，可從語法中加以剔除。

第 2.3 節專論「右節提升規律」，並在 2.3.1 及 2.3.2 節中分別
討論其適用領域與適用限制。這個規律可以適用於並列的句子、動詞
組、名詞組與介詞組（S，VP，NP，PP）中，而把詞組中的最
後一個句子成分加以提升，但在漢語中不能「連續適用」（apply
successively）。如果採用「擴張的詞組結構語法」則可以利用衍
生詞組規律，達到與「右節提升規律」同樣的效果。