

语言学前沿丛书 E3

Frontiers in Chinese Linguistics E3

Varieties of Alternatives: Focus Particles and *Wh*-Expressions in Mandarin

汉语焦点副词与
疑问词的形式语义学分析

刘明明 (Mingming Liu) / 著



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“语言学前沿丛书”总序

“语言学前沿丛书”是北京大学出版社于2000年开发的一个语言学系列出版物。丛书在2000年到2009年十年间恰好推出了语言学著作10种,在汉语语言学界产生了重要影响,得到了普遍好评。为了进一步提高丛书的质量,扩大丛书的影响,推动语言学特别是汉语语言学研究,北京大学-香港理工大学汉语语言学与研究中心与北京大学出版社经过缜密筹划和协商,决定从2010年起,双方共同建设“语言学前沿丛书”。新版丛书由北京大学-香港理工大学汉语语言学与研究中心与北京大学出版社共同组建学术委员会和编辑委员会,由北京大学-香港理工大学汉语语言学与研究中心提供出版经费,北京大学出版社出版。新版丛书定位于国内高端、国际一流的语言学著作。但是在2010到2016六年间,丛书仅出版了两种在汉语语言学研究方面处于前沿的作品。质的提升要求与量的瓶颈同时出现,极有可能是受到了学术界出版与评价大环境的影响。学术出版的国际化,对学术成绩受到国际注目和认可的期待与要求,已是大势之所趋。

为了进一步提升丛书的国际“能见度”与影响力,北京大学-香港理工大学汉语语言学与研究中心牵线促成北京大学出版社在2016年与斯普林格出版社(Springer Nature)这个有着巨大国际影响力的出版社就“语言学前沿丛书”达成合作协议。双方共同出版“语言学前沿丛书”中的英文著作。就是说,收入“语言学前沿丛书”的英文著作,将由北京大学出版社与斯普林格出版社合作出版,分别在国内与国外发行。斯普林格出版社出版发行的国外版本的系

列名称为Frontiers in Chinese Linguistics。通过这一合作出版,将汉语语言学领域的研究成果放到国际舞台。

进入“语言学前沿丛书”的各类著作将以汉语研究特别是现代汉语研究为主,即主要为(但不限于)下列几个方面:现代汉语句法、语义和语用研究;现代汉语语音、词汇和文字研究;现代汉语方言研究;比较语言学研究;计算语言学和汉语语料库研究;心理与脑神经语言学及其他跨学科前沿研究等。延续丛书前沿的特质,2017年以后,丛书除了学者专著及针对特定议题的论文集外,也欢迎优秀博士论文和重要国际学术会议的优秀论文集。优秀博士论文和学术会议中的优秀论文,应该都是走在所研究领域前沿的创新者。当然,有了与斯普林格出版社的合作,出版具有国际视野的英文论著,也是丛书的一大特色。

新版丛书对作品的质量和取向都有更明确的要求,即希望所有入选著作都能体现当代学界关注的议题,坚持以理论为指导,凸显前沿价值,掌握丰富的汉语语言事实,运用科学研究方法与严谨逻辑论证给予分析解释。古女娲补天以“鳌之足”“立四极”,议题—理论架构—事实—方法与论证,正是优秀学术研究缺一不可的“四极”。这也是丛书试图实现的对汉语语言学研究的一种“导向”。我们希望这种导向能带领汉语语言学“走出去”:不但让国内外的研究流派与汉语语言事实接轨,更让整合后的研究成果登上国际舞台;更重要的是,让汉语语言学研究汇入国际语言学研究的主流,从而影响其他相关学科的研究,而不再安于一隅,孤芳自赏。

这个“开大门走大路”的格局,需要汉语语言学界国内外的所有学者一起努力搭建。丛书2016年已评选出几种中国境内外分别用中英文撰写的重要著作。第一个面向世界的汉语语言学的年度优秀博士论文的申请与评选,也在北京大学出版社的大力支持下展开,期待选出可以纳入“丛书”出版的优秀论文。

黄居仁 郭 锐

2017年2月20日

Preface of Frontiers in Chinese Linguistics

Frontiers in Chinese Linguistics (*FiCL*) is a book series jointly published by Springer Nature and Peking University Press. *FiCL* aims to publish original and innovative research outcomes in the fast expanding and developing discipline of Chinese language sciences. *FiCL* welcomes submissions of proposals of the following types of books on issues related to Chinese language and linguistics: selection of post-conference papers from leading edge prestigious conferences and workshops, monograph on research with potential to open new frontiers and outstanding dissertation dealing with new issues and new methodologies. *FiCL* volumes will be published by Springer Nature with worldwide distribution and by Peking University Press in China.

FiCL is the sister series of 语言学前沿丛书, a prestigious book series published in Chinese by Peking University Press since 2000. The series introduces new theories and new ideas in Chinese linguistics to the wide communities of linguists in China as well as Chinese linguists overseas. Since 2010, in order to bring a broader international perspective and impact, 语言学前沿丛书 has entered a collaborative publication agreement with the PolyU-PKU Research Centre on Chinese Linguistics (P2U2). Both party work jointly to form the editorial board and academic advisory committee in order to ensure more rigorous academic review process as well as to facilitate introduction of interdisciplinary pioneering topics to the series.

The collaboration with Springer Nature adds a third world-leading partner to

this joint publication series. This new arrangement will allow the series to publish excellent monographs written in English as well as ensure that all publications are equally accessible in China and overseas. With the new arrangement, we also propose to introduce two new types of publications that were not published by 语言学前沿丛书 before. One type is the thematic collection of excellent papers from international conferences, for these papers typically represents the forefront of the field. The other is from the new initiative also started by Peking University Press and P2U2 to select a Ph.D. thesis of the year on Chinese linguistics through worldwide call and competition. The award-winning theses would also represent the newest breakthroughs in the field and we plan to publish the excellent award-winning thesis of the year after review and revision.

With the competition in the field, effective indexing and sharing is essential to the reputation of the publication as well as authors whose theses are published in the series. Your contribution as author, reviewer, reader, and submitter is essential to the success of this book series.

Chu-ren Huang and Rui Guo

20 February, 2017

内容提要

本书主要探索汉语中的焦点副词“都、就”和疑问词。这些虚词不仅在汉语语法系统中起着重要的作用,它们还都具有“多义性”:“都”可以表示“总括”“甚至”“已经”;“就”可以用作有排除义的范围副词、无排除义的主观小量副词、条件句标志等;疑问词除了疑问用法之外,又有“虚指”“任指”“承指”等多种非疑问用法。本书在形式语义学的框架内处理它们的这种“系统性多义”,认为这些虚词的“多义”并非由于它们本身具有多个义项,而是由它们所在的环境不同导致的。

具体来说,本书分为焦点副词和疑问词两大部分。

在前一部分,本书坚持只有一个“都”,只有一个“就”。表面上的“多义”实际上是由包含这些虚词的句子焦点(或话题)所引出的对比选项的不同造成的。举例来说,假设“红楼梦”带焦点,可以引出对比选项,那么其选项集既有可能是{红楼梦,红楼梦和三国演义,……},也有可能是{红楼梦,三国演义,水浒传,……}。前者对应“就”的排除义和“都”的“总括”义,后者对应“就”的非排除义和“都”的“甚至”义。推广开来,由于这种不同性质的选项集的广泛存在,汉语的每个虚词都可以被诱发出不同意义,“系统性多义”得到了解释。

在后一部分,本书讨论了带疑问词“谁”的“驴子句”——“张三请了谁,李四(就)请了谁”。本书指出这类“驴子句”后句的疑问词对一个统一的汉

语疑问词理论是一个挑战。简单来说,汉语中的疑问词在非疑问句中出现时是受限的,比说“李四请了谁”作为陈述句就是不合法的,但同样的“李四请了谁”放在“驴子句”的后句就很自然,而“驴子句”的后句很难归入允准疑问词非疑问用法的环境中。面对该难题,本书提出带疑问词“谁”的“驴子句”前后句其实都是疑问句,疑问词之所以能在该句式中出现正是因为它们处在疑问句的环境中。这类“驴子句”的语义简单说就是“如果你知道前一个问句的答案,你就知道后一个问句的答案”。本书进而根据这一语义推导出了一系列前人未曾注意到的这类“驴子句”的性质。

Abstract

This book concerns two focus particles (*jiu*, *dou*) and *wh*-expressions (*shenme* ‘what’, *na ge ren* ‘which person’, ...) in Mandarin Chinese. These items are systematically ‘ambiguous’ and play important roles in various aspects of Mandarin grammar. An idea based on alternatives and varieties of alternatives in particular — following Chierchia’s 2013 analysis of the polarity system — is pursued to account for the systematic ambiguities. Unambiguous semantics of *jiu*, *dou*, and *wh*-expressions is maintained and ambiguity explained through varieties of alternatives interacting with other independently motivated aspects of the structure they occur in. A better understanding of a large array of phenomena that involve these items — exhaustivity, distributivity, questions, and conditionals — is achieved.

This book is of interest to formal semanticists as well as to linguists interested in core aspects of Mandarin Chinese grammar.

致 谢

本书是在我的博士论文(2016, Rutgers)的基础上修改而成的。我觉得下面这段话(引自Gennaro Chierchia的博士论文)准确地表达了我个人对这本书/博士论文的看法:

Various circumstances in my life prevent me from being a student any longer. For this reason, it was necessary to finish the present dissertation. But this should not be taken to imply that I regard it in any way as a complete piece of work. (Chierchia 1984: iv)

本书的写作得到了我的导师Veneeta Dayal的悉心指导和极大帮助。Veneeta是一位杰出的导师,毫不夸张地说,如果没有她的帮助,我绝无可能将这本书呈现在大家的面前。从我博士一年级的第一篇小论文开始, Veneeta就耐心地指导我走过一个又一个学术 and 职业上的关卡,而且正是她1996年提出的回答算子使我得到了启发,开始了整个博士论文的研究和写作。我十分感激她多年来对我的指导、鼓励和支持,以及给予我的耐心,还有研究方面的自由。

我也十分幸运能有Simon Charlow, Mark Baker和Gennaro Chierchia作为我的论文委员会成员。Simon在2015年春季开设的关于选项语义学的研讨课对我帮助很大,与他时不时的讨论总是能让我的思路更加清晰。Mark通读了我博士论文的好几版文稿,并给出了细致的评语,他敏锐的洞察力和中肯的建议使我受益良多。Gennaro一直是我学术上的楷模,他在语义复数、照应词和极性词等诸多方面都做出了重要的贡献,这些工作对我研究的影响

在本书随处可见。Gennaro也十分支持我的研究，花了不少时间跟我讨论。在跟Gennaro讨论时他尖锐的问题时常使我措手不及，但我也从这些激烈的争论和严谨的批评中得到了长足的进步。我希望本书能够回答哪怕是只有一半Gennaro所提出的问题。

我还要感谢给我上过课的其他语义学家Roger Schwarzschild、Maria Bittner、Kristen Syrett、Thony Gillies、Lucas Champollion，以及在罗格斯大学教授句法和音系的老师Ken Safir、Jane Grimshaw、Viviane Déprez、Bruce Tesar、Alan Prince。

我的硕士导师北京大学董秀芳教授是最早引导我学习研究语言学的人，她严谨的学风和扎实的功底给我留下了很深的印象，给我开了个好头儿，在此我向她表示感谢。

我曾在多个会议报告本书的各个章节，并在跟很多人交流的过程中得到了启发和帮助，这些人包括：Sam Alxatib、Sigrid Beck、Daniel Buring、Ivano Caponigro、Ivano Ciardelli、崔延燕、邓盾、Mitcho Erlewine、Yael Greenberg、贺川生、谢易达、黄师哲、Hans Kamp、Chris Kennedy、Manfred Krifka、罗海琪、李昊泽、李晓、林若望、潘海华、Kyle Rawlins、Bernard Schwarz、Florian Schwarz、Anna Szabolcsi、Satoshi Tomioka、蔡维天、Alexander Williams、伍雅清、向明、向伊梅、杨小璐、张琳敏、周鹏、Roberto Zamparelli、Ede Zimmermann、Eytan Zweig，以及众多期刊会议的匿名审稿人。我对他们表示感谢。

我在罗格斯大学度过了一段愉快的时光，感谢我的朋友们：李昂、徐贝贝、Deepak、Diti、Eason、Hope、Jeremy、金城国夫、Lynette、Matt、Naga、Nick、Sarah、石书豪、Teresa、Todor、Ümit、Vandana、Vartan。

我的博士论文得到了罗格斯大学研究生院所提供的Mellon Dissertation Fellowship的资金支持，对此我表示感谢。在将我的博士论文转化成本书的过程中，我得到了Veneeta Dayal和伍雅清教授的支持，也得到了丛书主编和匿名审稿人的宝贵建议，北大出版社的李凌和斯普林格出版社的Sukanya Servai的诸多帮助，在此一并表示感谢。

最后，我要感谢我的父母家人。特别是我的妻子朱莎，她的理解和支持支撑我完成了六年的博士学业。语言学研究是一个很艰辛的职业，我很欣慰在这条道路上能有她的陪伴。

Acknowledgements

This book grows out of my dissertation written at Rutgers in 2016. I would like to start with a paragraph from Chierchia 1984: iv that best describes the current form of the dissertation/book.

Various circumstances in my life prevent me from being a student any longer. For this reason, it was necessary to finish the present dissertation. But this should not be taken to imply that I regard it in any way as a complete piece of work.

The dissertation would not have been possible without support from many people, especially my adviser Veneeta Dayal, who was the best adviser I could possibly imagine. She guided me through every step of my academic development, and her answerhood operator started the entire dissertation. I am extremely grateful for her guidance, encouragement, support, patience, and open mind.

I was also very lucky to have my committee. Simon Charlow's seminar on alternatives was instrumental and discussion with him always helped me clarify my thoughts. Mark Baker was willing to read several drafts of the thesis and his detailed comments and sharp insights improved the quality of the dissertation. Gennaro Chierchia has been my role model. His works on pluralities, anaphora, and especially the polarity system have a great influence on every aspect of the dissertation/book. He was also extremely supportive and generous with his time. I admit discussion with him was sometimes exhausting, but I learned a lot from his valuable comments and rigorous constructive criticisms. I hope I have answered even half of his questions.

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My MA thesis supervisor Prof. Xiufang Dong at Peking University first introduced me to linguistics, and I thank her for teaching me to be rigorous with my research.

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