

Studies on modern Chinese syntax

Teng Shou-hsin

漢語語法論文集 / 鄧守信 著

Studies on Modern Chinese Syntax

漢語語法論文集

Teng Shou-hsin

鄧守信◎著

江苏工业学院图书馆
藏书章

Preface

This is a collection of articles, mostly previously published, on syntactic analysis of modern Mandarin Chinese and of modern Southern Min dialect, both as spoken in Taiwan. If written in the generative mode, the framework adopted is that of the so-called standard theory; though most of the articles included in this volume operate within a functional mode of syntax. The majority of these articles were written while I was a tenured professor at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. After my return to Taiwan in 1995, I have been attempting to develop a framework of pedagogical grammar of modern Chinese, and such work will constitute the contents of my next monograph.

My graduate students at Taiwan Normal University have been encouraging me to publish this volume. They helped retype the articles, proof-read errors, update some language data, and re-design tables and tree diagrams. I am grateful to these graduate students, some of whom may have completed their training by now. In particular, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Ms. Wang Chuchen 王楚蓁, who proof-read every page in this volume, checked the data against the current usage in Taiwan and prepared the camera-ready copies. Without the able editorship of Chuchen, this volume would not have been published within a tight schedule. I would also like to thank Ms. Chen Xiangyu 陳蕓宇 for designing a beautiful and truly professional-looking cover for the present volume.

Teng Shou-hsin 鄧守信
Graduate Institute of L2 Chinese
National Taiwan Normal University
Taipei, February 2005

Contents

<i>Preface page</i>	<i>i</i>
1. (1970) Comitative versus Phrasal Conjunction	1
2. (1973a) Negation and Aspects in Chinese	31
3. (1973b) Scope of Negation	55
4. (1974a) Double Nominatives in Chinese	59
5. (1974b) Verb Classification and Its Pedagogical Extensions	79
6. (1975a) On Location and Movement in Chinese	87
7. (1975b) Predicate Movements in Chinese	107
8. (1975c) Negation in Chinese	121
9. (1977a) Negation in Chinese: Mandarin and Amoy	137
10. (1977b) A Grammar of Verb-Particles in Chinese	155
11. (1978) Modification and The Structures of Existential Sentences	175
12. (1979a) Progressive Aspect in Chinese	185
13. (1979b) Remarks on Cleft Sentences in Chinese	197
14. (1980) The Semantics and Syntax of Modal Verbs in Amoy	207
15. (1981) Deixis, Anaphora, and Demonstratives in Chinese	217
16. (1982) Disposal Structures in Amoy	233
17. (1983) Quantifier Hierarchy in Chinese	253
18. (1985a) 漢語動詞的時間結構	261
19. (1985b) 功能語法與漢語信息結構	269
20. (1987) Relative Clause in Chinese	275
21. (1989) The Semantics of Causatives in Chinese	283
22. (1990) Grammatical Categories in Chinese	299
23. (1991) 漢語雙謂句的結構	307
24. (1992) Diversification and Unification of Negation in Taiwanese	315
25. (1994) 漢語狀語的結構	333
26. (1995a) Objects and Verb-Complexes in Taiwanese	343
27. (1995b) Verb Compounding in Taiwanese	361
28. (1996) Loan-Words in Taiwan: A New Trend	379

Comitative versus Phrasal Conjunction¹

Shou-hsin Teng

University of California, Berkeley

This paper investigates and defines the relationship between comitative and phrasal conjunction structures in Mandarin Chinese, with a view to determine the directionality of derivation between the two. Phrasal conjunction as discussed in previous works is examined under situational, lexical, and logical constraints, and it is shown here that phrasal conjunction associated with lexical constraint is but a surface phenomenon. 'Principality' is observed to underlie comitative constructions, which distinguishes the two otherwise closely related structures. With the clarification and establishment of the 'unidirectional' structure, which together with the comitative structure constitutes 'association' constructions, the conclusion that comitative is derived from phrasal conjunction is reached. Implications in English are also discussed.

Introduction

0. This paper² investigates and defines the relationship between structures illustrated by the following sentences

0.1 *Zhang San zuotian gen Li Si yikuar lai le.*

Zhang San came with Li Si yesterday.

0.2 *Zhang San gen Li Si zuotian yikuar lai le.*

Zhang San and Li Si came together yesterday.

0.1 is a comitative sentence and 0.2 is a phrasal conjunction sentence. The relationship between the two is noted in Jespersen (1924: 90). In recent studies, it has been proposed by Lakoff & Peters (1967) and Fillmore (1968) that these two structures are derived from one underlying structure, but whereas the former postulates that the phrasal structure is basic and comitative is derived from it, the latter claims the reverse.

However, some fundamental questions to ask at the outset are: are these two structures necessarily related? If so, how are they related, both semantically and syntactically? Lakoff & Peters and Fillmore more or less assume their relatedness but do not point out what the relationship really is, i.e. what determines the shift from one to the other. A possible inference from their analysis, that they are mere syntactic variants, seems to be supported by Chinese, in which the phrasal conjunct has the same phonetic form as the comitative marker and the surface structures of phrasal and

¹ This article is from *Papers in Linguistics* 2.2.314-358, 1970.

² A condensed version of this paper was read before the Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, December, 1969. I would like to thank Prof. W. Chafe, who discussed some of the points in this paper, Prof. M. Haas, who read the preliminary draft, and Ben T'sou, who first enlightened me as to the notion 'principality'.

comitative are in many cases indistinguishable. However, closer examination reveals that such an analysis cannot account for some important semantic as well as syntactic characteristics of each structure. Similar situations are also observed in English. Thus the purpose of examining the Chinese cases is twofold: to establish comitative and phrasal structures in Chinese and to provide evidence for the directionality of derivation in both Chinese and English.

Some of the difficulties of the Lakoff & Peters analysis, as pointed out by Perlmutter (1968) and Dougherty (1968), are examined, and explanations are given in terms of our analysis in this paper. Also, the derivation of reciprocal structures, which are differently analyzed by Gleitman (1965) and Lakoff & Peters (1967), will be briefly looked at, as its analysis affects that of the relationship between comitative and phrasal structures.

The following discussion in Chinese centers primarily on the word gen 'and', 'with', but gen which functions as a full verb meaning 'to follow', as in

0.3 *Bie gen wo.*

Don't follow me!

and gen in sentential conjunction, as in

0.4 *Zhang san gen Li Si dou zou le.*

Both Zhang san and Li Si left.

will not concern us. However, the understanding that gen is basically a verb meaning 'to follow' is crucial to the understanding of 'association' constructions.

Phrasal Conjunction³

1. Phrasal conjunction, a notion developed in Smith (1965) and Lakoff & Peters (1967), is used referring to conjunction of nodes other than S in the underlying structure. Thus we may speak of NP phrasal conjunction or VP phrasal conjunction. A consequence of the establishment of this notion is that some surface sentences which contain conjoined elements can now be understood as not derived from conjoined sentences by the application of conjoining reduction⁴ and thus we are now in a better position to formally capture the ambiguity of sentences such as

1.1 *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua zuotian mai le yiben shu.*

a. (Both) Little Ming and Little Hua bought a book yesterday.

³ Dr. Fang Kuei Li pointed out to me that the title of this paper is 'unbalanced', since 'comitative' refers to a semantic notion while 'phrasal conjunction' to a structural notion. Thus I shall attempt to supply the latter with a property corresponding to that of 'comitative', instead of replacing the term which is commonly used in recent literature.

⁴ The status of 'conjunction reduction', which is the standard way of deriving partially-conjoined sentences, has been questioned by McCawley and Dougherty. Dougherty (1968) derives most partially-conjoined sentences from simplex sentences with phrasal conjunction by means of NP-indexing and quantifier assignment, thus eliminating the process of 'conjunction-reduction', in other words, the notion 'sentential conjunction', except in cases of 'secondary conjoining' and 'gapping'. His analysis accounts very well for the relatedness of plural and phrasally conjoined nouns as well as for the derivation of reciprocal structures.

b. Little Ming and Little Hua bought a book together yesterday.

1.1 in the sense of (a) is understood as sentential conjunction, while in the sense of (b) as phrasal conjunction (in this sense, it is further ambiguous: either in the sense of 1.2 or 1.7). The different underlying structures may be illustrated as (greatly simplified)

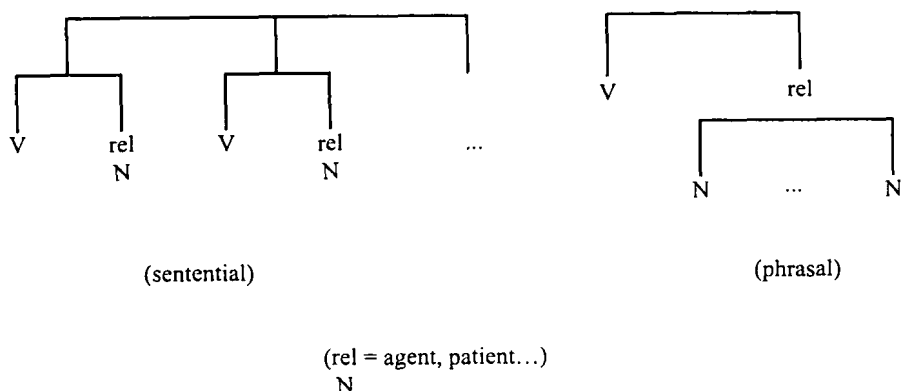


Figure 1

However, assuming that sentential conjunction involves more than one proposition, we would like to find out what semantic property is involved in phrasal conjunction. To do this, let us first examine the actual content of phrasal conjunction.

In recent literature, phrasal conjunction is argued for under the following three categories. (We are concerned with NP only.)

A. Due to situational constraint:

- 1.2 (a) *Wang Xiansheng gen Wang Taitai yikuar dao Xiang Gang qu le.*
Mr. and Mrs. Wang went to Hong Kong together.
(b) *Shu gen bi ta yikuar mai le.*
He bought books and pens together.

It can be seen that these, if without yikuar 'together', can be paraphrased as, (taking 1.2 (a) only)

- 1.3 (a) *Wang Xiansheng dao Xiang Gang qule.*
Mr. Wang went to Hong Kong.
(b) *Wang Taitai dao Xiang Gang qu le.*
Mrs. Wang went to Hong Kong.

which would imply two individual and independent events rather than one single event with two participants, as the original sentence means. However, there is no inherent property of verbs or nouns in 1.2 that requires that only one-event interpretation is

possible. Rather, the constraint stems from the situational nature of such events themselves, namely, 'joint participation' or 'combination'.

Yikuar, which literally means 'one lump', is quite suggestive of 'participation, combination', but it can also refer to 'simultaneity' when occurring in the context of individual events, e.g.

1.4 *Zhang San gen Li Si yikuar dou zhan-qilai le.*

Both Zhang San and Li Si stood up together.

Thus yikuar may refer to either 'temporal togetherness' or 'spatial togetherness', the latter implying the former, but not vice versa.

Arguments presented in Smith (1965) are primarily about this type of constraint.

It is not clear whether nouns in the following cases should be considered as phrasally conjoined due to this type of constraint or as lexical items or of the adnominal constructions,

1.5 (a) *Jintian zaoshang wo chi le niuyou mianbao.*

I had bread and butter this morning.

(b) *Ta mai po tong lan tie.*

He buys broken copper and rusty iron. (cf. rags and bones)

The latter analysis is preferred; for one thing, the insertion of gen 'and' would alter the meaning, so that while 1.5(b) implies that he also collects other items of the same category, the insertion of gen would exhaust what he actually collects and exclude the others. Niuyou mianbao 'bread and butter' in 1.5(a) is probably of the adnominal plus head noun construction.⁵

B. Due to lexical constraint:

1.6 (a) *Zhong Zheng Lu gen Zhong Shan Lu pingxing.*

Zhong Zheng Road and Zhong Shan Road are parallel.

(b) *Zhang San gen Li Si changchang chaojia.*

Zhang San and Li Si are always quarrelling.

These sentences cannot be paraphrased by conjoined sentences as

1.7 (a) **Zhong Zheng Lu pingxing.*

*Zhong Zheng Road is parallel.

(b) **Zhang San changchang chaojia.*

*Zhang San is always quarrelling.

The ungrammaticalness stems from the constraint of the lexical nature of verbs concerned, namely, that two or more or plural nouns are necessary for the realization

⁵ Compare its origin in English

I like to eat bread and butter.

Bread and butter is nice to eat.

It may be a lexical item. Compare also 'fish and chips'

of such verbs. I shall refer to them as ‘multiple-reference’ verbs.⁶ Arguments for establishing phrasal conjunction presented in Lakoff & Peters (1967) center primarily in this type of constraint. However, it is important to notice here that ‘participation’ in 1.6 involves a different notion from that in 1.2, that is, while 1.2 involves a ‘common goal’ on the part of the agents, 1.6 involves a ‘reciprocal’ relation. This will become clear in Section 2. The understanding of the nature of ‘multiple-reference’ verbs will enable us to define the notion of ‘phrasal conjunction’ in a more precise manner, and they will be discussed separately below. It suffices here to point out that 1.6 is essentially of the ‘unidirectional’ structure and is not connected to phrasal conjunction in the underlying structure.

C. Due to logical constraint:

1.8 (a) *Zhang San gen Li Si yikuar mai yibu che.*

Zhang San and Li Si bought a car together.

(b) *Ta ba dangao dou gei le Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua.*

He gave all the cake to Little Ming and Little Hua.

Their sententially conjoined counterparts as (taking 1.8 (b))

1.9 (a) *Ta ba dangao dou gei le Xiao Ming.*

He gave all the cake to Little Ming.

(b) *Ta ba dangao dou gei le Xiao Hua.*

He gave all the cake to Little Hua.

are in fact mutually exclusive. Among 1.9 (a) and (b) and 1.8 (b), if one is true, then the others must necessarily be false. This constraint stems not so much from the situation involved as from the logically indivisible entity in question. This logical constraint brings the nouns in question into ‘joint participation’ relationship.

‘Joint participation’ is subject to two interpretations. In 1.2 it refers to ‘spatial togetherness’, which is a possible interpretation of 1.8 (a). But it may also refer to ‘partnership’, i.e. contributing to the expense. Only in the latter sense is it a case of logical constraint. In fact, 1.8 (a) is three-way ambiguous. I shall demonstrate it by close paraphrase, as below

1.10 (a) *Zhang San gen Li Si tongshi mai le yibu che.*

Zhang San and Li Si (each) bought a car at the same time.

(b) *Zhang San gen Li Si yikuar qu mai le yibu che.*

Zhang San and Li Si went together to buy a car.

(c) *Zhang San gen Li Si he mai le yibu che.*

Zhang San and Li Si jointly bought a car.

(a) refers to ‘temporal togetherness’ and involves two cars; (b) refers to ‘spatial togetherness’ and involves one car only (‘a’ in the English translation has to be understood as ‘one’), the ownership of which is not specified; and 1.10 (c) refers to

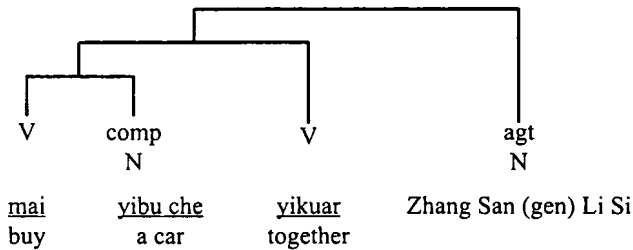
⁶ Dougherty (1968) refers to them as verbs which require semantically non-singular nouns.

'partnership' of ownership and does not require 'spatial togetherness' in this case. Following Dougherty's analysis of the distributive yikuar 'together' (Dougherty 1968), we may specify the difference of reference as

$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{totality} \\ +\text{individual} \end{array} \right]$	(temporal togetherness)
$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{totality} \\ -\text{individual} \end{array} \right]$	(spatial togetherness)

It may seem that these two features are inadequate for characterizing the meaning of 1.10 (c), but in fact the difference of meaning between 1.10 (b) and (c) lies in the difference domains of dominance of yikuar, that is, it dominates the 'act' of purchase in (b) but the 'nature' of purchase in (c). In other words, yikuar dominates the whole VP in (b) but only the verb in (c), as shown below

1.10 (b)



1.10 (c)

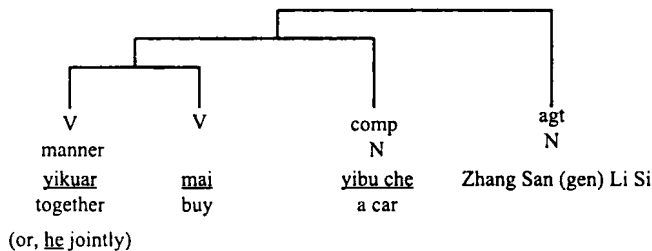


Figure 2

The foregoing observation indicates that the basic nature of 'joint participation' due to A and C type constraints is the same. Now let us examine the B type constraint to see if it also has this property, since ideally all phrasal conjoined structures should be defined under one general semantic property.

Multiple-reference Verbs and Intrinsic Reciprocity

2. There is a class of verbs which requires multiple reference,⁷ e.g.

2.1 (a) *Zhang San gen Li Si zai lushang pengjian le.*

Zhang San and Li Si met in the street.

(b) *Wode yijian gen nide yiyang.*

My opinion and yours are the same.

2.2 (a) **Zhang San pengjian le.*

*Zhang San met.

(b) **Wode yijian yiyang.*

*My opinion is the same.

That is, the realization of these verbs depends on the reference of more than one noun, semantically ('semantically non-singular nouns', Dougherty (1968)). Multiple-reference may be satisfied by the following types of reference,

(i) Collective nouns: *yiqun ren* 'a group of people', *yixie shu* 'a lot of books'.

(ii) Plural nouns: *liangge xiaohai* 'two children', *santiao jie* 'three streets'.

(iii) More than one noun of different roles.

We shall not be concerned with types (i) and (ii). When we examine sentences which satisfy type (iii) reference, we notice that in some sentences, e.g. 2.1, both (or all) nouns in question appear as surface subjects, but in others, e.g. 2.3, one appears as subject and the other as object,

2.3 (a) *Zhang San zuotian pengjian Li Si.*

Zhang San met Li Si yesterday.

(b) *Xiao Ming zuotian renshi le Xiao Hua.*

Little Ming got acquainted with Little Hua yesterday.

It cannot be doubted that one and the same verb occurs in 2.1(a) and 2.3 (a), namely, *pengjian* 'meet', which is a process experiential verb.⁸ In 2.3 (a), *Zhang San* is an experiencer while *Li Si* is a patient. Does the same analysis hold for 2.1 (a)? Let us examine it as a representative case of multiple-reference verbs, which Lakoff & Peters associate with phrasal conjunction in the underlying structure. An important notion associated with 'phrasal' is that phrasally conjoined nouns must necessarily bear identical roles. It follows that both nouns in 2.1 (a) must be either experiencers or patients, but not in different roles. A consequence of postulating sentences such as 2.1 as phrasal is that the natural connection between 2.1 and 2.3 is necessarily destroyed, although Lakoff & Peters rightly establish the connection by means of the 'conjunct-movement' transformation to derive 2.3 from 2.1. If we follow their analysis in this

⁷ A sample list of multiple-reference verbs in Chinese:

chaojia 'quarrel', *dajia* 'fight', *shangliang* 'discuss', *taolun* 'discuss', *hezuo* 'co-operate', *jianmian* 'meet', *pengjian* 'meet', *jiehun* 'marry', *chongtu* 'conflict', *jiaohuan* 'exchange', *yiyang* 'same', *xiangtong* 'identical', *xianfan* 'opposite', *xiangxiang* 'similar', *pingxing* 'parallel', *xiangdui* 'relative', *renshi* 'acquainted', *butong* 'different', *pei* 'match'.

⁸ For types of verbs and verb-noun relation, refer to Chafe (1970).

case, we would have to say that 'conjunct-movement' changes the grammatical roles of nouns, obviously wrong. Moreover, a process experiential verb requires an experiencer and a patient in the underlying structure. Now the question is, if both nouns are experiencers in 2.1, where is the patient? Is there a third party understood or implied? Certainly not. Furthermore, we feel that 2.1 and 2.3 are very close in meaning, in that we understand that the one who Zhang San met Li Si and also that the one who Li Si met is Zhang San, in 2.1 (a). In other words, they are an experiencer and a patient at the same time. This is due to the intrinsic property of 'reciprocity' of these multiple-reference verbs. They possess double identity but in cross-reference, that is, an experiencer cannot be the patient of itself.

The characteristics and difficulties mentioned above can be explained if we do not associate multiple-reference verbs with 'phrasal' in the underlying structure, as do Lakoff & Peters, but derive them from 'unidirectional' sentences (see Section 6) which are conjoined in the underlying structure, that is, 2.1(a) is derived from 2.4

2.4 *Zhang San zai lushang pengjian Li Si, Li Si zai lushang pengjian Zhang San.*
Zhang San met Li Si in the street, (and) Li Si met Zhang San in the street.

Thus, phrasal conjunction due to lexical constraint is in fact a surface phenomenon. We shall return to this point again in Section 6.

Another characteristic of these multiple-reference verbs, which again points to their non-association with 'phrasal', is that while 'common goal' is available for 'phrasal' sentence due to situational and logical constraints, there is no 'common goal' for those due to lexical constraint. For example, in

2.5 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua yikuar chang le yizhi ge.*
Little Ming and Little Hua sang a song together.
(b) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua changchang dajia.*
Little Ming and Little Hua are always fighting.

the common goal between the nouns in question in (a) is 'sing a song', but the common goal, if any, cannot be 'fight' in (b), since the goal of Xiao Ming's fighting is Xiao Hua and vice versa, unless there is a third party involved, but that would be a different sentence. The notion 'joint participation' for a common goal is present in 2.5 (a) but lacking in 2.5 (b).

It should be noted that the notion 'multiple-reference' is different but not distinct from 'transitive', both of which require more than one noun of non-identical roles. A difference is that the former accepts collective or plural nouns but the latter does not, e.g.

2.6 (a) *Tamen dou renshi.* (multiple-reference)
They are all acquainted.
(b) **Tamen dou kanjian.* (transitive)
*They all saw. (As a non-elliptical sentence.)

These sentences also show that while transitive verbs normally require objects in the surface structure, multiple-reference verbs do not. Thus, they are independent features

of verbs, and ‘multiple-reference’, in other words ‘reciprocity’, contains ‘transitivity’. Noun in ‘transitive’ structures bear simple or unique role, but nouns in ‘multiple-reference’ structures bear double roles. This is clear when we consider the entailment of the following sentences

2.7 (a) *Zhang San ting guo Li Si zhege mingzi.*

Zhang San heard of the name Li Si.

(b) *Zhang San renshi Li Si.*

Zhang San is acquainted with Li Si.

in (a), it does not entail that Li Si also heard of Zhang San, but (b) necessarily entails that Li Si also knows Zhang San.

We thus conclude, from the observations on ‘grammatical roles’ and ‘joint participation’ (common goal), that structures associated with ‘multiple-reference’ verbs are not phrasal conjunction. Nouns come into phrasal conjoining relation only in the surface structure. Their underlying structures are of unidirectional nature, as well be discussed in Section 6.

Comitative

3. The term ‘comitative’ is used in Fillmore (1968) to refer to a case relation between nouns, as shown below (Fillmore’s diagram)

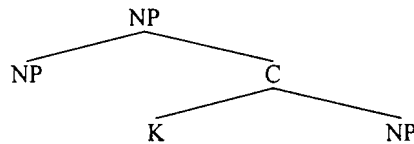


Figure 3

K, the comitative marker, is unique gen ‘with’ in Chinese. While Fillmore derives phrasal conjunction from the above structure, Lakoff & Peters (1967) postulate the reverse by means of ‘conjunct-movement’. Neither of them has explained or defined the semantic relation between them; thus, ‘conjunct-movement’, for example, introduces prepositions in English such as to and from, whose semantic property is so different from with, which will be defined later as the only comitative marker. Furthermore, we would like to know what determines the shift from one structure to the other, if indeed they are related.

While the problem in English is to relate phrasal and comitative because of their distinct syntactic structures, the problem in Chinese is to prove that underlying what are seemingly syntactic variants and in some cases underlying one surface structure there are in fact two notions, viz. phrasal and comitative. For example, in

3.1 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua mingtian bu yikuar chuqu.*

(Little Ming and Little Hua tomorrow not together go out)

Little Ming and Little Hua are not going out together tomorrow.

(b) *Xiao Ming mingtian bu gen Xiao Hua yikuar chuqu.*

(Little Ming tomorrow not and Little Hua together go out)

Little Ming is not going out together with Little Hua tomorrow.

3.2 (a) *Wo gent a keyi kaishi yikuar gongzuo le.*

(I and he may start together work)

He and I may start working together.

(b) *Wo keyi kaishi gen ta yikuar gongzuo le.*

(I may start and he together work)

I may start working together with him.

we observe that the positioning of negative marker, time adverbs, modals, and aspectual verbs is different in each of pairs of sentences. The question is, are they merely syntactic variants, due to the optional applications of some transformations? An answer in the affirmative is not obviously ruled out, but I would like to claim that (a) in each pair is phrasal while (b) is comitative. I shall briefly present the most crucial syntactic and semantic arguments for this claim.

(A) Syntactic arguments:

(i) Topicalisation:

The sentence

3.3 *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua yikuar chuqu le.*

(Little Ming and/with Little Hua together go out)

is ambiguous. It may be topicalised in two ways

3.4 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua a, tamen yikuar chuqu le.*

Little Ming and Little Hua, they went out together.

(b) *Xiao Ming a, ta gen Xiao Hua yikuar chuqu le.*

Little Ming, he went out with Little Hua.

Focus is equally on both nouns in 3.4 (a), a typical characteristic of phrasally conjoined nouns; whereas in 3.4 (b), focus is on Little Hua only, the topic noun. Subjectivisation⁹ selects one relational noun node (it may contain single or conjoined nouns) as the surface subject; it does not select just one member. Furthermore, it may be the case that another process of topicalisation determines the surface linear order of phrasally conjoined nouns, in other words, to introduce the 'topic' noun, e.g. Little Ming in 3.3. This means that if 3.4 (a) and (b) are derived from the same underlying structure¹⁰, another different topicalisation process from the two discussed must have applied to (b).

(ii) Assertive construction:

3.3 may be realized in the assertive structure in two ways

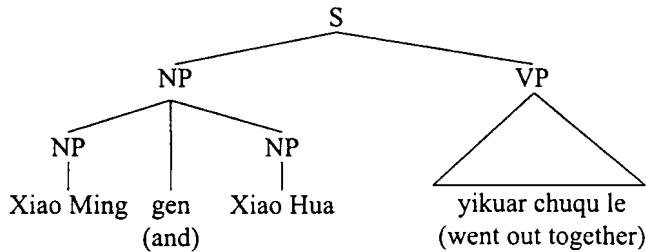
3.5 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua shi yikuar chuqu le.*

⁹ See Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970) for the process of subjectivisation.

¹⁰ Cf. Lakoff (1969), in which this notion is formally incorporated into the underlying structure.

- Little Ming and Little Hua did go out together.
 (b) *Xiao Ming shi gen Xiao Hua yikuar chuqu le.*
 Little Ming did go out with Little Hua.

This structure, together with topicalisation, indicates that there are two different surfaces involves (surface structure is indicated by tree-diagram)
 3.4 (a) and 3.5 (a)



3.4 (b) and 3.5 (b)

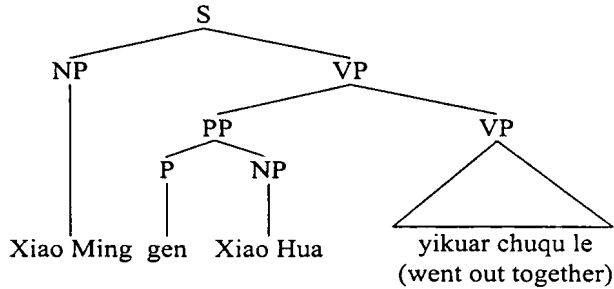


Figure 4

In (a) sentences, both nouns are predicated, but in (b) only one noun is predicated. The former is a case of phrasal conjunction and the latter comitative.

(B) Semantic arguments:

(i) Truth value difference:

With the assumption that transformations do not change truth values, let us compare the following,

- 3.6 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua mei yikuar chuqu.*
 Little Ming and Little Hua did not go out together.
 (b) *Xiao Ming mei gen Xiao Hua yikuar chuqu.*
 Little Ming did not go out with Little Hua.

In 3.6 (a), we understand that both agents went out, but not in the manner 'together'; whereas in (b) Little Hua definitely went out, but Little Ming may or may not have gone out. Presupposition involved in these two cases are different. Since 'negative-transportation' does not bring about such a discrepancy, they cannot be derived from one underlying structure. Again, in the following sentences,

- 3.7 (a) *Zhang San gen Li Si zhi tanguo zhege wenti.*
Zhang San and Li Si talked only on this matter.
(b) *Zhang San zhi gen Li Si tanguo zhege wenti.*
Zhang san talked over this matter only with Li Si.

3.7 (a) means that no other topic entered discussion, while (b) means that no other person was consulted. The domains of the dominance of zhi 'only' are different.

(ii) Principality:

Observe in the following sentences

- 3.8 (a) *Li Xiansheng gen Li Taitai yao dao Riben qu.*
Mr. and Mrs. want to go to Japan.
(b) *Li Taitai yao gen Li Xiansheng dao Riben qu.*
Mrs. Li wants to go to Japan with Mr. Li.

that there is in (a) an equilibrium of status between the agents, in other words, they both take equal initiative in the trip; whereas in (b), Mrs. Li is the 'topic' noun, noun which is the focus of theme, but Mr. Li is clearly the one who takes the initiative in the trip. In 'joint participation', Mrs. Li is the one who joins Mr. Li. Here I shall refer to Mr. Li, the comitative noun, as the principal participant.

This difference of status follows in a way from the lexical nature of gen, which means 'to follow'. It can be readily understood that in 'A follows B', B is the principal element although A is the 'topic' element. Let us define the notion 'participality' more precisely. It should be clearly distinguished from 'topic', which introduces the focus of discourse. Fillmore states that topicalisation processes are 'devices for isolating one constituent of a sentence as 'topic', of bringing one particular constituent of a sentence into some kind of 'focus'¹¹. On the other hand, 'principality' introduces hierarchy among nouns of the same roles (nouns of a constituent). The qualification 'nouns of the same role' is important, because, for example, when an agent and a patient co-occur in a sentence, as in the case of the 'unidirectional' structure, it is pointless to talk of 'principality' between them. They possess inherent relations between them already.

Let us observe the role of 'principality' in more examples. Between the sentences

- 3.9 (a) *Yiyuan zuotian gen zongtong yikuar qu kaihui qu le.*
The Senators went to the conference with the President yesterday.
(b) *Zongtong zuotian gen yiyuan yikuar qu kaihui qu le.*
The President went to the conference with the Senators yesterday.

the first is in accord with our pre-conception of the rank difference between the President and the Senators; the second one, on the other hand, is likely to demote the President to the role of a puppet. An interesting case is discussed in a linguistic journal in Communist China¹²,

¹¹ Fillmore (1968), p.57.

¹² See Chong Po Ku (1958).

- 3.10 (a) *Heiren gen bairen buneng zai yikuar zoulu.*
Black people and white people must not walk to together.
(b) *Heiren buneng gen bairen zai yikuar zoulu.*
Black people must not walk with white people.

The first one is commented on as not properly expressing the unfortunate situation of repression, while the second one does have the effect. What is in play here? Obviously, the notion ‘principality’.

Comitative versus Phrasal

4. Observations in the last section on the semantic as well as the syntactic differences establish the differentiation between comitative and phrasal in Chinese. They are not merely syntactic variants. Let us now look at the common properties of these two structures.

We noted earlier that phrasally conjoined nouns always bear identical roles. In the following comitative sentences

- 4.1 (a) *Lao Zhang yao gen Lao Li yikuar lai.*
Old Zhang wants to come with Old Li.
(b) *Wode zhang yao gen tade yikuar suan.*
My bill will be reckoned with his.

we observe the same situation, that is, Old Zhang and Old Li in (a) are both agents, and both nouns in (b) are patients. And in the pair of sentences (not paraphrases)

- 4.2 (a) *Wang Er gen Zhang San yikuar ba Li Si da-si le.*
Wang Er and Zhang San killed Li Si together.
(b) *Wang Er ba Li Si gen Zhang San yikuar da-si le.*
Wang Er killed ‘Li Si together with Zhang San’.

Wang Er and Zhang San are agents and Li Si is a patient in (a), but only Wang Er is an agent in (b), different from its English translation, in which the usual interpretation (if without ‘together’ especially) is to treat the comitative noun as an agent also. ‘Conjunct-movement’ in Chinese does not allow a conjunct to cross over a verb element. This prevents ambiguity. ‘Common goal’, which is another characteristic of phrasal conjunction, is also present in comitative. This is in fact a consequence of nouns bearing identical roles. Thus the common goal is the same in both

- 4.3 (a) *Xiao Ming gen Xiao Hua zuotain yikuar chang le yizhi ge.*
Little Ming and Little Hua sang a song together yesterday.
(b) *Xiao Ming zuotian gen Xiao Hua yikuar chang le yizhi ge.*
Little Ming sang a song with Little Hua yesterday.

which is ‘sing a song’.

Other matters such as selectional restrictions and co-occurrence restrictions also point to the close relatedness of comitative and phrasal, e.g.