Mandarin Chinese

FUNCTIONAL REFERENCE GRAMMAR 溪西岛



法

CHARLES N. LI SANDRA A. THOMPSON

MANDARIN CHINESE A Functional Reference Grammar

Charles N. Li and Sandra A. Thompson

University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California University of California Press, Ltd. London, England

Copyright © 1981 by The Regents of the University of California

版權所有 翻印必究

中華民國七十年六月初版 新聞局登記證局版台業字第1452號

發行人:戴奕煌

發行所:文義出版有限公司

地 址:台北市和平東路1段107號之2二樓

電 話:3941791

印刷所:合興印刷廠

Preface

The aim of this reference grammar is to provide, for the first time, a description of Mandarin in functional terms. We attempt as much as possible to discuss the structural properties of sentences in the language in terms of the pragmatic situations in which they are used, that is, with an eye toward their entire communicative context. It is our conviction that only in terms of these functional factors can the grammar of a language be understood.

This grammar is explicitly designed for students and teachers of Mandarin, who are not necessarily linguists. Thus, we have tried to minimize the use of technical linguistic terminology, and those terms that do occur in the book are carefully defined. On the other hand, most of the analyses in this book are original. It is our hope, then, that linguists who are interested in a functional approach to the study of language will also find this book useful. We have attempted to present the empirical facts of Mandarin faithfully, describe the steps of our reasoning concisely, state the generalizations we arrive at clearly, and, whenever possible, provide a functional explanation of these generalizations. Needless to say, a grammar of any language is bound to be incomplete, and ours is no exception. It is in the hope that our effort may spur others on to further discoveries in the study of Chinese that we offer our analyses here.

It is worth noting that the written language in China is a heterogeneous mixture of the classical tradition based on the written literature before the twentieth century and modern colloquial Mandarin speech. Since the promulgation of Putonghua in mainland China, there has been a noticeable reduction of the classical component in most of the written material produced in the People's Republic of China. Nevertheless, a "classical" phrase or usage still makes its appearance here and there. We wish to make it clear that the classical language is not included in the scope of our analyses.

XIV PREFACE

We are indebted to the work of a number of linguists and scholars who have contributed to the study of the Chinese language. Some of our examples are drawn from their writings, and some of our ideas can be traced either directly or indirectly to our predecessors and contemporaries in the study of Mandarin. To all of them, we owe our gratitude. Where we have drawn on their ideas, we have acknowledged this in the notes to each chapter, but we have not attempted to document the sources of our examples, which come largely from conversations in which we have participated and from our own knowledge of the language, as well as from the writings of other linguists and scholars.

The preparation of this grammar has been partially supported by a U.S. Office of Education grant, OEG-G007701660, 1977-1979, and by the University of California, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. We are grateful to Phoebe Bissell, Donna Childers, Lila Margolis, and Nancy Warfield for their clerical assistance, to Li Ming-ming, Chang Hsiang-wen, Peter Pan, Wu Yenna, and R. McMillan Thompson for their help in discussing many of our examples with us, and to Wu Yenna, Barbara Fox, and R. McMillan Thompson for reading and commenting on the manuscript.

Conventions Used in Examples

- 1. (x): x is an optional element.
- 2. $\begin{cases} x \\ y \end{cases}$: either x or y.
- *: an utterance that is either structurally or semantically unacceptable to native speakers.
- 4. *(x): to be acceptable the example must include x.
- 5. (*x): to be acceptable the example must not include x.
- 6. ?: an utterance that is odd but not necessarily unacceptable.
- 7. Glosses and translations:
 - a. Each Mandarin example has two lines of English below it. In the line immediately below the Mandarin example, we have attempted to gloss each Mandarin element with the clearest and most literal English equivalent possible. In the second line we offer a translation of the whole utterance into idiomatic English, attempting to preserve the "flavor" of the Mandarin utterance as much as we can.
 - b. Mandarin elements may often have more than one possible English gloss. In cases where the choice of gloss is context sensitive, we have used the gloss appropriate to the given context. For example, $du\bar{o}$ can be

glossed either as 'much' or as 'many'; in a sentence such as

(i) tā yǒu hěn <u>duỗ</u> shū s/he exist very <u>many</u> book

S/He has a lot of books.

 $du\bar{o}$ would be glossed as 'many' because it occurs with $sh\bar{u}$ 'book', whereas in a sentence such as

(ii) tā yǒu hèn duô qián3sg exist very much money

S/He has a lot of money.

duō would be glossed as 'much' because it occurs with qián 'money'.

- c. Mandarin nouns in general do not indicate singularity versus plurality. We gloss all Mandarin nouns as singular nouns in English.
- d. Mandarin has no grammatical category of tense, which means that many examples could be translated as either past or present tense in English. Rather than offering both possibilities for each such example, we have chosen arbitrarily to give either a past or a present tense translation. In each case, the discussion within which the examples are presented should make it clear whether a given construction could equally well be translated with an English present or past tense or whether the translation given is the only one it could have.
- e. Mandarin pronouns make no distinction between masculine and feminine. We have glossed tā as '3sg' and translated it as 's/he'.
- f. We have adopted the usage that is now conventional in linguistic scholarship of colons in glosses where it takes more than one English word to gloss a given Mandarin word. For example:
 - (i) yidián a:little
 - (ii) hàoxiē a:lot
- 8. Pinyin: the transcription system we use is pinyin (literally 'spell sound'), the official romanization system of the People's Republic of China, which is

also the most widely used system in the media and scholarly writings on Chinese in the West (see the Introduction):

- a. Syllables whose basic tone is third tone are given the third-tone diacritic even in environments where the third tone would change to second tone by tone sandhi. So, for example, we represent a word such as xiáo-nião 'small bird, birdie' with two third tones, whereas in normal pronunciation, the tones should be xiáo-nião, reflecting the application of the tone sandhi rule changing a third tone to a second tone before a third tone.
- b. There are two types of neutral-tone syllables (see the Introduction). Syllables of the first type always have the neutral tone, such as the aspect markers -zhe, -le, -guo, and the sentence-final particles le, ne, ba, and so forth; these are simply represented with no tone mark at all. Syllables of the second type, however, may vary between a full-tone pronunciation and a neutral-tone pronunciation. This variation may depend either on dialect differences or on the type of sentence in which the syllable occurs. The best example of variation due to dialect differences involves the pronunciation of the second syllable of many disyllabic words. For example, the word for 'clothes' is pronounced as yifu, with the second syllable having a neutral tone, by some speakers and as vifu, where the second syllable has a full tone, by other speakers, including most of those whose speech is influenced by Min and Yue languages. We have been arbitrary in representing such words; sometimes they are written with their full tone and sometimes with no tone mark. An example illustrating the influence of the sentence context in determining whether a syllable is pronounced with a full tone or a neutral tone is the variation in the pronunciation of shi 'be'. In a simple copula sentence, for instance, shi normally has no tone:

I am Zhangsan.

As a marker of affilimation, however, $sh\hat{\iota}$ is typically pronounced with its full falling tone:

It's true that I like to eat Chinese food,

We represent syllables such as these with their full tones, with the understanding that in some contexts they will be destressed and have a neutral tone.

- c. Exceptions to the generalization given just above are bu 'not' and yi 'one': not only can the pronunciation of these two syllables vary between a full tone and a neutral tone, but each has different full tones, depending on the tone of the syllable that follows. For the description of this variation for bu and yi, see Chao (1968:568). We have chosen not to mark these two syllables with tone diacritics, with the understanding that their pronunciation varies according to the sentences in which they occur.
- 9. Hyphens: We have attempted to be consistent in using hyphens between syllables in a Mandarin word only when each syllable has an independent meaning or use. Exceptions to this convention occur only in the chapter on compounds, where the structures of compound words are being analyzed. An example illustrating our use of hyphens is chūbán 'publish'. Although chū means 'put forth' and bān means 'board', we write chūbān as one word with no hyphen because the meaning 'publish' no longer has anything to do with 'put forth' and 'board'. Similarly, a word such as xuéxido 'school' is written without a hyphen because, although xué 'learn, study' may occur independently, xido 'school' may not. A word like kàn-jiàn 'see-perceive', on the other hand, is written with a hyphen because the two parts can function independently. It is impossible to be totally consistent on this matter, but we have tried to follow this principle to the best of our ability.
- 10. ~: This is a symbol used to gloss an undefinable object of a verb-object compound. An example is bāng-máng 'help-~ = to help'. The second syllable máng functions as an object of the verb bāng 'help'; but máng does not have any independent semantic content within the compound bāng-máng.

Abbreviations

		Where Introduced, Discussed, and
ABBREVIATION	Term	Defined
ASSOC	associative (-de)	4.2.2
BA	bå	15
BEI	bèi	16
CL	classifier	4.2.1
COMP	comparative	19
CRS	Currently Relevant State (le)	7.1
CSC	complex stative construction (de)	22
D.O.	direct object	4.3.1.B
DUR	durative aspect (-zhe, zài)	6.2
EXP	experiential aspect (-guo)	6.3
FW	Friendly Warning (ou)	7.4
GEN	genitive (-de)	4.2.2
I.O.	indirect object	10
NOM	nominalizer (de)	20
NP	noun phrase	4.2
ORD	ordinalizer (di-)	3.1.2A
PFV	perfective aspect (-le)	6.1
PL	plural (-men, -xie)	3.1,2.C, 4.2.1
Q	question (ma)	18.5
REx	Response to Expectation (ne)	7.2
RF	Reduce Forcefulness (a/ya)	7.5
RVC	resultative verb compound	3.2.3.A
SA	Solicit Agreement (ba)	7.3
3sg	third person singular pronoun	

Contents

Preface	
Conventions Used in Examples	xv
Abbreviations	xıx
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Chinese Language Family 1.2 The Phonology of Mandarin	2
1.2.1 Initials1.2.2 Finals1.2.3 Tones1.2.4 Phonetic Effects of the Retroflex Suffix	3 6 6 9
2 Typological Description	10
2.1 The Structural Complexity of Words: Mandarin as an Isolating Language	01
2.1.1 Morphemes Occurring with Nouns2.1.2 Morphemes Occurring with Verbs	11 12
2.2 Monosyllabicity: The Number of Syllables per Word2.3 Topic Prominence2.4 Word Order	13 15 16
2.4.1 The Word Order Typology 2.4.2 Word Order in Mandarin	16 19

vi CONTENTS

3 Word Structure	28
3.1 Morphological Processes	28
3.1.1 Reduplication	28
3.1.2 Affixation	36
3.2 Compounds	45
3.2.1 The Meaning of Compounds	46
3.2.2 Nominal Compounds	48
3,2.3 Verbal Compounds	54
3.2.4 Subject-Predicate Compounds	70
3.2.5 Verb-Object Compounds	73
3.2.6 Antonymous Adjectives Forming Nominal Compound	is 81
3.2.7 Minor Types of Compounds	81
4 Simple Declarative Sentences	85
4.1 Topic and Subject	85
4.1.1 Characterization of Topic	85
4.1.2 Characterization of Subject	87
4.1.3 Comparison of Topic and Subject	87
4.1.4 Double-Subject Sentences	92
4.1.5 Comparison with Chao's Analysis	93
4.1.6 Time and Locative Phrases	94
4.1.7 Further Examples	95
4.1.8 Topic as a Discourse Element	100
4.1.9 Topic and Coreference in Discourse	102
4.2 The Noun Phrase	103
4.2.1 Classifier Phrases/Measure Phrases	104
4.2.2 Associative Phrases	113
4.2.3 Modifying Phrases	116
4.2.4 The Order of Elements in a Noun Phrase	124
4.2.5 Definiteness and Referentiality	126
4.2.6 Pronouns	132
4.2.7 Reflexives	137
4.3 The Verb Phrase	139
4.3.1 Types of Verb Phrases	141

		CONTENTS	vii
5	Auxil	iary Verbs	172
	5.1	Auxiliary Verb versus Verb	172
		Auxiliary Verb versus Adverb	181
	5.3	List of Auxiliary Verbs	182
5	Aspe	et .	184
	6.1	The Perfective Aspect	185
		6.1.1 Where to Use -le: A Bounded Event	185
		6.1.2 Where Not to Use -le	202
		6.1.3 -le in Imperatives	207
		6.1.4 -le Does Not Mean Past Tense	213
		6.1.5 -le Does Not Mean Completion	215
		6.1.6 Summary	216
	6.2	The Durative Aspect	217
		6.2.1 Semantic Types of Verbs and the Durative Aspect	
		Markers -zhe and zài	217
		6.2.2 Complex Sentences with the Durative Aspect	
		Marker -zhe	223
	6,3	The Experiential Aspect	226
		The Delimitative Aspect	232
	6.5	Summary	236
7	Sente	nce-Final Particles	238
	7.1	le	238
		7.1.1 The Communicative Function of le	240
		7.1.2 Where Not to Use le	290
		7.1.3 Perfective -le versus CRS le	296
	7.2	ne	300
	7.3		307
	7.4		311
		a/ya	313
		Conclusion	317

viii CONTENTS

8 .	Adverbs	319
	8.1 Movable Adverbs	320
	8.1.1 Movable Adverbs of Time	320
	8.1.2 Movable Adverbs of Attitude	321
	8.2 Nonmovable Adverbs	322
	8.2.1 Manner Adverbs	322
	8.2.2 Nonmanner Adverbs	328
	8.3 Negation and Adverbs	340
	8.3.1 Negation and Movable Adverbs	340
	8.3.2 Negation and Nonmovable Adverbs	342
	8.4 Adverbs and the bå Construction	349
	8.5 Quantity Adverbial Phrases	352
9 (Coverbs/Prepositions	356
	9.1 The Function of Coverbs	356
	9.1.1 Occurrence with Aspect Markers	360
	9.1.2 Coverbs That Can Function as Verbs	362
	9.2 Representative List of Coverbs	367
10	Indirect Objects and Benefactives	370
	10.1 gěi Obligatory	374
	10.2 gĕi Optional	375
	10.3 gěi Forbidden	377
	10.4 Apparent Indirect Objects	379
	10.5 Explanation for the Indirect Object Facts	383
	10.6 Benefactive Noun Phrases, and Preverbal Indirect Object	385
	10.7 Other Functions of géi	388
11	Locative and Directional Phrases	390
	11.1 Locative Phrases	390
	11.1.1 The Structure of Locative Phrases	390
	11.1.2 The Position of the Locative Phrase in the Sentence	397
	11.2 Directional Phrases with day 'to'	400

CONTENTS	ix

12	Negation	415
	12.1 The Position and Scope of Negative Particles	417
	12.2 The Functions of bu and méi(yǒu)	421
	12.2.1 Variation in the Meaning of Sentences with bu	421
	12.2.2 Types of Verb Phrases	424
	12.2.3 Resultative Verb Compounds	426
	12.3 méi(you) Is Not a Past Tense Negative Particle	428
	12.4 Negation and Aspect	430
	12.5 Negating Some Element other than a Simple Verb Phrase	438
	12.6 Summary	440
13	Verb Copying	442
	13.1 Where Verb Copying Occurs	442
	13.2 Grammatical Properties of the Verb-Copying Construction	447
14	The Imperative	451
15	The bà Construction	463
	15.1 The bà Noun Phrase	465
	15.2 Disposal	466
	15.3 bå Sentences without a Subject	480
	15.4 bågěi	482
	15.5 When to Use the bà Construction	482
16	The bei Construction	492
	16.1 Use and Function	493
	16.1.1 Adversity	493
	16.1.2 Disposal	501
	16.2 Structural Properties	503
	16.2.1 Indirect Object Adversely Affected	504
	16.2.2 The bei Noun Phrase Can Be Inanimate	504
	16.3 bă and bèi	505
	16.4 Variant Forms	506

X CONTENTS

17	Prese	ntative Sentences	509
	17.1	Existential and Positional Verbs	510
	17.2	Verbs of Motion	517
18	Quest	tions	520
		The Four Types of Questions	520
	18.2	Question-Word Questions	522
		18.2.1 Question Words in Questions 18.2.2 Question Words as Indefinite Pronouns	522 527
	18.3	Disjunctive Questions	531
		18.3.1 Questions with Constituents Connected by haishi 18.3.2 A-not-A Questions	532 535
	18.4	Tag Questions	546
		Particle Questions	547
	18.6	Differences between A-Not-A Questions and	
		Particle Questions	548
	18.7	Questions Serving as Subjects or Direct Objects of a Verb	554
	18.8	Answers to Questions	557
19	Comp	parison	564
	19.1	Comparative Constructions	564
		19.1.1 Dimension	568
		19.1.2 Subject/Topic and the Standard	
		of Comparison	569
	19.2	Superlatives	571
20	Nomi	nalization	575
	20.1	A Nominalization Functioning as a Noun Phrase	576
	20.2	Nominalizations Modifying a Head Noun	579
		20.2.1 Relative Clause Constructions	47 9
		20.2.2 A Nominalization Serving as the Complement	
		to an Abstract Head Noun	585
	20.3	The chi de Construction	587

		CONTENTS	χi
21	Serial	Verb Constructions	594
		Two or More Separate Events	595
	21.2	One Verb Phrase/Clause Is the Subject or Direct Object of Another	598
		21.2.1 The Second Verb Phrase/Clause Is the Direct Object of the First Verb	598
		21.2.2 The First Verb Phrase/Clause Is the Subject of the Second Verb21.2.3 The Clause That Is a Subject or Direct Object	603
		is a Question	606
	21.3	Pivotal Constructions	607
	21.4	Descriptive Clauses	611
		21.4.1 Realis Descriptive Clauses	611
		21.4.2 Irrealis Descriptive Clauses	618
	21.5	Summary	620
22	The (Complex Stative Construction	623
	22.1	Inferred meanings	623
		22.1.1 Manner Inferred	623
		22.1.2 Extent Inferred	626
		22.1.3 Either Manner or Extent Inferred	627
	22.2	General Structural Properties	628
23	Sente	nce Linking	631
	23.1	Forward Linking	632
		23.1.1 Forward Linking with a Linking Element	633
		23.1.2 Forward Linking without a Linking Element	641
		23.1.3 The Semantics of Conditionals	646
	23.2	Backward Linking	65 i
		23.2.1 Adverbial Backward-Linking Elements in	
		Clause-Initial Position	653
		23.2.2 Nonmovable Adverbs as Backward-	

Linking Elements

655