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摘要

此篇論文主要探討中文的態度副詞"到底"的句法分布及其語義特質。Kuo (1997) 以及 Huang and Ochi (2004) 認為"到底"會在邏輯表式層次爲了特徵查核進行移位。我們提出了三組語料顯示這樣的分析是有不足的。我們認為"到底"並不會有移動的現象。第一，自從 Ross (1967)的經典研究指出，一般會有移動特質的元素都會遵守孤島限制，但"到底"卻可以出現在子句主語孤島中，這質疑了前人認為"到底"會移動的看法；第二，當"到底"出現在直接問句的包蘊子句中時，主句主語只能是第二人稱，替換成第三人稱的主語會造成不合法的句子，這一點顯示一個純句法的分析無法適切地描述"到底"的全貌；第三，雖然"到底"一般可以用在 A-not-A 或是 wh 問句中表示說話者的態度，出乎預料地，"到底"並不能出現在詢問因果關係的"怎麼"問句之中，我們發現這一點中英文有同樣的限制，即 the hell 是不能與 how come 搭配成句的，這個限制指出前人對"到底"的語義分析並不完善，所以沒有捕捉到這個現象。爲了對"到底"的句法分布與語義特質提出一個周全的分析，我們採納 Rizzi (1997, 1999, 2002)以及 Cinque (1999)對左緣句法結構的分析以及 Speas (2004)和 Tenny and Speas (2003)認為句法投射可以蘊含語用特徵的看法，提出中文的左緣句法結構中存在著一個 Perspective 詞組。這個詞組中存在著一個運符，此運符的工作是標記一個命題的 perspective；除此之外，這個運符還有一個命題式的搜尋機制來給予態度副詞"到底"適當的 perspective 值。"到底"需要被設定 perspective 值的原因是我們必須將"到底"傳達的命題態度與適當的說話者做出連結，才能知道"到底"表達的態度是歸屬於哪一個說話者。此外，我們提出中文的態度副詞的語義都有一個尚未滿足的 perspective 論元必須在句法衍生開展的過程中由 perspective 運符來滿足；所以中文態度副詞本身的語義只帶有匯中標定的態度。這個分析進一步支持 Huang(2005)對現代漢語大部分詞彙性類的看法，即它們本身擁有的語義都是最簡單，單純及根本的。

On the Syntax-Pragmatics Interface in Chinese:

A Case Study of the Attitudinal Adverb *Daodi*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the syntactic distribution and the semantic property of the attitudinal adverb *daodi* ‘the hell’ in Chinese with the attempt of contributing to the theory of syntax-pragmatics interface in this language. I present three sets of data showing the deficiency of the previous analyses of *daodi* by Kuo (1997) and Huang and Ochi (2004) which claim that *daodi* would undergo covert movement for feature checking. Specifically, contrary to their position, the data shown in this thesis indicate that *daodi* does not move. Firstly, *daodi*, contrary to what one would expect of something undergoing movement, can appear in a sentential subject island. Secondly, when *daodi* occurs in the embedded clause of a root question, the matrix subject of such question displays a person asymmetry, that is, it can only be of second person, and replacing it with a third person NP leads to ungrammaticality. Thirdly, though generally compatible with a *wh*- or an A-not-A question, *daodi* is surprisingly not compatible with the causal reading of *zenme* ‘how come’. I propose that there could be a better analysis of *daodi* if we follow and extend two recent theoretical developments of phrase structures. One of them is concerned with the phrase structure of the left periphery championed by Rizzi (1997, 1999, 2002) and Cinque (1999). The other is the idea that there could be pragmatically-relevant syntactic projections in the left periphery proposed by Speas (2004) and Tenny and Speas (2003). I adopt their position and further propose the existence of a Perspective Phrase in the left periphery of Chinese, which is known as a CP-prominent language. The Perspective Phrase hosts a perspective operator in its specifier which serves to do the ‘perspective-typing’ of a proposition. This operator also have a proposition-wise probing mechanism to search for elements such as *daodi* which lacks a perspective value to give them the appropriate perspective value for a correct interpretation. The attitudinal adverb *daodi*

needs to set its perspective value because we need to decide which speaker (external or internal) the attitude carried by *daodi* is anchored to. The matrix subject person asymmetry arises when we ascribe the attitude carried by *daodi* to the wrong speaker, which leads to an incorrect interpretation. Given *daodi*'s need for the perspective valuation, we propose that there is an unsaturated perspective argument in the semantic denotation of attitudinal adverbs like *daodi* and causal *zenme*, and the incompatibility between *daodi* and causal *zenme* can be derived by an unsaturated perspective argument of causal *zenme* when we try to combine *daodi* with a causal *zenme* question. This proposal confirms Huang's (2005) assumption that almost all Chinese lexical categories have their simplest (pure, "root") meanings only. An attitudinal adverb only carries the attitude specified in the lexicon, and the attitude-holder (i.e. perspective-taker) is determined when the syntactic derivation unfolds.



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