

出國報告（出國類別：國際會議）

句法與語意共享結構探討工作坊： 自理論與實驗語言學觀點出發 出席國際會議差旅報告

Workshop on the Syntax of Sharing & the Semantics of Sharing: From the combined perspective of Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics.
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摘要

本人於 2012 年 11 月 2 日及 3 日參加於法國南特地區舉辦之「句法與語意共享結構探討工作坊：自理論與實驗語言學觀點出發」(Workshop on the Syntax of Sharing & the Semantics of Sharing: From the Combined Perspective of Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics) 國際研討會，並且發表論文「累積性共享結構的句法衍生探討」(Deriving Cumulative-Sharing Constructions in Syntax)。本篇論文主要探討了語言當中的「累積性共享結構」(Cumulative-Sharing Constructions，簡稱 CSCs)，特別探討了以對等連接詞連接的兩個動詞共同享有一個受詞的結構時，句子的句法衍生過程 (syntactic derivation)。這種句子的例子如下：

- a. [How many books]_{j+k} did Ken borrow _j and Kim steal _k in total?

在例句 a. 當中，畫底線的片語即為後面的兩個致使動詞 *borrow* 以及 *steal* 共享的直接受詞。在這篇論文裡，正是探討諸如此類的句型，其背後隱含的句法衍生過程。在這次發表的論文當中，我試著指出過去的研究和論點當中的不足之處，並且利用謂語節構及擴展其影響範圍的方式，提出新的看法，以修正過去的研究中忽略的地方。

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1. 目的

此次研討會「句法與語意共享結構探討工作坊：自理論與實驗語言學觀點出發」(Workshop on the Syntax of Sharing & the Semantics of Sharing: From the combined perspective of Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics) 主要討論語言學理論。主要討論了語言當中的共享 (Sharing)，此次研討會不但歡迎以語言學理論的角度來探討語言當中的共享結構的相關研究投稿，但是並不限於形式語言學理論，而是歡迎以各種研究方法的觀點進行相關討論的文章。因為正好在進行相關的研究，而在得知此次會議訊息之後，決定向這個研討會投稿。這次向此研討會投稿的論文題目訂為「累積性共享結構的句法衍生探討」(Deriving Cumulative-Sharing Constructions in Syntax)，為我原創撰寫之研究論文。本篇論文主要探討了語言當中的「累積性共享結構」(Cumulative-Sharing Constructions，簡稱 CSCs)，特別探討了以對等連接詞連接的兩個動詞共同享有一個受詞的結構時，句子的句法衍生過程 (syntactic derivation)，與這場研討會的主旨有著密切關聯。藉由參加此次研討會，得以獲得與研究計畫相關的資訊，以期能讓研究成果更臻完善。

2. 過程

這次所參加的研討會「句法與語意共享結構探討工作坊：自理論與實驗語言學觀點出發」(Workshop on the Syntax of Sharing & the Semantics of Sharing: From the combined perspective of Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics) 以討論語言學理論為最重要的主題和導向。此次會議主要討論了語言當中的共享 (Sharing)，舉例來說，像是英語裡 *the syntax and the semantics of sharing*，以粗體字標明的部分是由前面 *the syntax* 和 *the semantics* 兩個片語所共有，諸如此類的句型或是片語正是此次會議主要探討的範圍。正如同徵稿公告裡所提到的，本次會議召集了

不同領域的語言學家，包含了句法學、語意學，以及心理語言學等，這些專家學者們在此次會議當中以各種語言學領域裡實證或是理論的觀點探討語言中含有共享的結構所涉及各種議題，這些議題包含了右節點抬昇(Right Node Raising)、(coordinated multiple wh- questions)、刪略(gapping)、省略(sludging)、動詞/名詞片語省略(VP/NP ellipsis)、多重支配位移分析(movement on a multidominance analysis)等。而這次會議的主旨有兩點：一方面，此次會議討論和比較了現有關於共享結構中出現的議題的句法-語意介面方面的理論，尤其是針對利用省略(ellipsis)和橫向位移(sideward movement)所提出的解釋方案，評論各種理論的不足之處、優勢，以及可能的替代方案；在另外一方面，此次會議也討論如何透過以實驗論證的方式，來看待及討論共享結構的議題。基於這樣的主旨，本次會議設定的主要議題如下：

句法上的多重支配(multidominance)所引發的語意學和心理語言學的議題為何？多重支配的論點如何處理和解釋共享結構的語意問題？語意學如何分析和解釋共享結構？特別是被不同成分共享的部分如何得到語意上的詮釋？在實證語言學上如何討論、驗證、比較各種對於共享結構的解釋和論點？又要如何設計可行的實驗來達成目的？

以上的問題都是這次會議想要討論的議題，但是本次會議並不將議題侷限在這些問題當中，而是歡迎其他所有與會者提出相關的其他問題，並且加以討論。

因此會議討論之主旨及所探討之問題與目前正在著手進行的研究有所相關，因此決定撰寫將目前研究所得撰寫成論文投稿，以期能夠將目前研究所獲及發現與來自世界各地的學者們進行交流。希望藉著這次機會，得知研究中不足和闕漏之處，使未來研究內容更加完善。再者，這次研討會與會者皆為此領域相關的研究者，參加這次研討會能夠與這些學者們交流，更可以得知目前學界所關切之最新議題為何，除了能夠跟上世界的潮流之外，也能夠得到更多新的啟發。

本次會議為期兩天，第一天由 Nicolas Guillot 主持開幕儀式後，便開始讓所有論文發表人進行論文發表。第一天上午由 Masaya Yoshida 發表論文；下午，則是由我、Lena Ibnbari、Kyle Johnson、Bradley Larson, Dave Kush & Shevaun Lewis、Luis Vicente 進行發表，總計發表了六篇論文；除了口頭發表之外，在下午休息時間進行的同時，也有不少海報論文進行發表。而到了第二天，Uli Sauerland、Friederike Moltmann、Dafina Ratiu、Asaf Bachrach、Jutta Hartmann, Andreas Konietzko & Martin Salzmann、Martin Salzmann 等人進行發表，總共七篇文章。除了口頭報告之外，在上午的休息時間如同的一天般也讓海報發表者進行了論文的發表。

當研討會主辦單位收到我所寄送的摘要，他們隨即將摘要送給四名匿名審查委員進行初步的審查。經過初步的審查，這四位委員們每一位都對送交的摘要提供了十分詳盡而且中肯的建議，也對這篇論文可能遇到的問題和不足之處提出相當多的指正和評論。在我詳細的參酌審查委員所給的評論和意見之後，我將原先的論文版本進行了修改。將其寄回研討會主辦單位，再次進行審核，如此反覆進行數次後才完成了最後發表的版本。修改完成後，我便在研討會的第一天進行口頭發表修改過的版本。

在研討會主辦單位的大力協助之下，我快速的找到合宜的飯店，並且自主辦單位提供的資訊中順利的規畫交通行程，他們對於參與研討會者的親切和貼心的態度讓我印象深刻。我在 10/30 搭乘飛機前往法國巴黎，中途經過香港轉機，到了巴黎之後又再度轉乘火車，才終於順利抵達法國南特大學，而到達的時間已經是 10/31。趁著會議開始之前，在進住的旅館做最後的修改，還有報告的預演練習，直到 11/1 第一天進行發表。在論文發表的提問討論時間裡，有許多與會的學者提出了許多見解、講評，也對發表內容不清楚之處提出問題，甚至在休息時間以及用餐時間時，亦有不少人找我繼續討論論文的相關議題。

我的發表在第一天早上便已經結束，由於本次會議聚集了眾多在語言學研究上有相當成就的學者，以及許多相同領域的研究者，趁著發表論文結束之後的空檔，

我也聽了許多其他學者們發表的研究和論文，我對部分學者們的研究議題感到相當有興趣，像是 Dafina Ratiu 討論了並列結構的句法和語意介面 (syntax-semantic interface)、Lena Ibnbari 討論了複數概念在句法的右節點抬昇 (Right Node Raising) 上的議題、還有 Friederike Moltmann 以句法學理論對於複數參照 (plural reference) 的語意詮釋得過程提出解釋，他們所發表的主題和目前正在著手進行的研究計畫息息相關，他們提出的看法也大大激發了我對於這些主題的想法，我在他們發表後也向他們提出一些個人看法和建議，在用餐的時間也與其他學者一同討論，在會場上交流的資訊對我未來的研究進行有很大的助益。另外，值得一提的是 Bradley Larson, Dave Kush & Shevaun Lewis 發表的文章，是從心理實驗的角度切入，探討句法學上的並列結構。他們設計了這種實驗收及各種數據，並且依照收集資料結合理論提出嶄新的看法。這樣的作法與我所熟悉的理論差異甚大，但是，他們採取了實驗數據的做法更能夠佐證語言學的理论。而會議最後順利的在 11/2 畫下完美的句點，我也帶著滿滿的收穫從法國南特返回台灣。

3. 心得及建議

在這次參與研討會的過程裡，藉由與其他不同領域和同樣領域的學者們共同討論，以及這些學者們所給的評論回饋，讓我對於自己的研究內容有了更進一步的想法。而且，透過參與聆聽他人的發表，也令我接收不少新的資訊和刺激，相信這些都能夠作為未來修改論文或是更新的研究時的重要參考依據。

另外，在會場上，我是唯一一位來自亞洲的口頭發表者，希望未來能夠有更多來自台灣的語言學家能夠參與在世界各地舉行，像這樣以理論為主要導向的國際性研討會，以增進台灣語言學研究的能見度，提升研究水平，讓台灣的語言學研究不再是閉門造車。

4. 被會議評審接受發表的摘要

Deriving Cumulative-Sharing Constructions in Syntax

Cumulative-Sharing Constructions (CSCs) are shown in (1):

- (1) a. [How many books]_{j+k} did Ken borrow _j and Kim steal _k in total?
b. I bought travel guides for Paris and London yesterday. Those two cities,
Ken
vacationed in _j and Kim decided to live in _k, respectively.
c. Ken said that a total of 15 boys arrived at the front door and
appeared at the back door.
d. I finally met Susan, Lyn, and Mary yesterday. They are the three sisters that
Bob married, John is engaged to, and Bill is dating, respectively.
e. I borrowed, and my sister stole, a total of \$3000 from the bank.
(Abbott 1976: 642)
f. It was a total of \$3000 that I borrowed and my sister stole from
the bank.

In each of the CSCs, the semantics of the underlined nominal is cumulatively “shared” by the two clausal conjuncts. In (1a), the sum reading of the two gaps is encoded by *how many books*. In (1b), one gap means Paris and the other means London. Modifiers such as *in total*, *respectively*, and *together* disambiguate CSCs from ATB constructions. CSCs are also different from implicit argument constructions such as (2), and from split pronominal constructions such as (3), in the fact that the gaps and the shared nominal are both obligatory, as shown in (4).

- (2) The shark was spotted at once (by our cameras). (see Landau 2010, among others)
(3) The couple came in. She was black and he was blond.
(4)a. *How many books_{j+k} did Ken borrow them_j and Kim steal them_k in total?
b. ...*(Those two cities) Ken vacationed in _j and Kim decided to live in _k,
respectively.

CSCs are productive and available cross-linguistically. Some efforts have been made to analyze their semantic structures (e.g., Landman 2000, Moltmann 2004, Gawron & Kehler 2002, et seq.). However, syntactically, the constructions have been understudied and considered a real challenge to generative grammar (Postal 1998: 137). In (1a), each of the two transitives has its agent role realized, as *Ken* in the first conjunct and *Kim* in the second. In our current syntactic theory, for a transitive, if the agent argument occurs, the theme argument must also occur in the structure. The syntactic position of the former is in the extended projection (vP) of the structure that

hosts the latter (VP). Thus, there should be an internal argument for *borrow*, and another one for *steal*, to satisfy the theta-role and selection requirement of the verbs. But there is no overt objects for the verbs. CSCs are unlikely to be derived by any of the following five approaches.

1 A movement approach does not apply, since the cumulatively shared nominal has a different reading from that of each gap.

2 A deletion/conjunction reduction does not apply to CSCs. In (5), neither of the deleted parts means [*how many books*]_{j+k}, violating the recoverability condition (Chomsky 1965: 144).

(5) How many books_{j+k} did Ken borrow ~~how many books_j~~ and Kim steal ~~how many books_k~~ in total?

3 CSCs cannot be derived by any operator-variable dependency between the cumulatively shared nominal and any assumed *pro*. For an A-bar dependency, in addition to a movement strategy, the *pro* binding strategy is also possible in some languages (Adger & Ramchand 2005 *LI*). Accordingly, the gaps in (1a) might be *pros*, as in (6). However, the WH phrase would have partially vacuous quantification, since neither *pro* is qualified as its real variable (similar to (4a)).

(6) *[How many books]_{j+k} did Ken borrow *pro_j* and Kim steal *pro_k* in total?

4 One might assume that the uninterpretable wh-features in (1a) move alone, leaving all interpretable features of the gaps in situ, assuming “no wh-word was moved, but only wh-” (Chomsky 1977: 123). However, if the relation between the wh-element and the gaps of a CSC is that of the uninterpretable wh-features alone, it is not clear why the former is interpreted exactly as the combined meaning of the two gaps. The bad forms in (7) need an account.

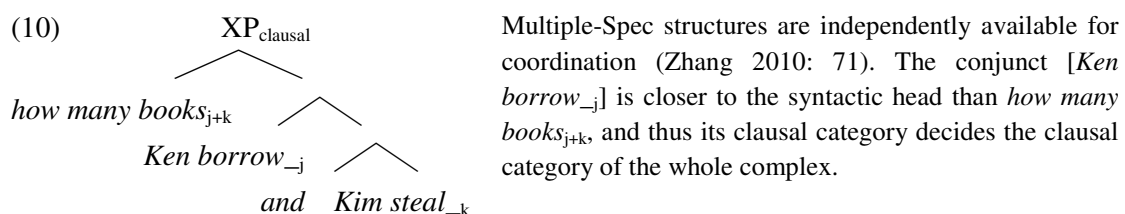
(7) a. *[How much money]_j did Ken borrow *pro_j* and Kim steal *pro_k* in total?
 b. *[How much money]_{j+i} did Ken borrow *pro_j* and Kim steal *pro_k* in total?

5 Since a multidominance analysis is claimed to cover the PL agreement in (8) (Grosz 2009), one wonders whether the analysis applies to CSCs. But PL is unmarked in English (Bale et al. 2011). Even if the intended adding is 1+9 in (9), PL agreement is still found in both conjuncts.

(8) Alice is happy that Iris, and Claire is proud that Diane, {have/*has} negotiated with the boss.

(9) A total of 10 books {have/*is} been bought by Ken and {are/*is} to be sold by Kim.

In my presentation, I explore Ramchand’s (2008) Underassociation Theory (UT). In UT, lexical insertion does not have to be under terminals; however, every node must be identified by lexical content locally. In (1a), I assume, the nodes of the objects of the two verbs are cumulatively identified by the lexical content of *how many books*, although neither of the nodes is associated with any lexical item. If the conjunct [*Ken borrow* $_j$] and the conjunct [*Kim steal* $_k$] are respectively Spec and Complement of a structure headed by *and* (e.g., Munn 1987), [*how many books*] $_{j+k}$ is base-generated as an outer Spec of this projection, and may appear ex situ.



Lexical insertion in the gaps does not take place since there is no item that matches all the grammatical features specified in the relevant nodes (The Superset Principle of UT: “Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item does not contain all features present in the node”). The Exhaustive Lexicalization of UT (“Every node in the syntactic representation must be identified by lexical content”) rules out those in (7), where the lexical content of the node for $_k$ is not identified (cf. the * version of (4b)). Certain parallelism requirement, which is also seen in paired dependency constructions (Zhang 2007 *Lingua*), rules out cases like (11).

- (11) a. *How much money $_{j+k}$ did Mary steal $_j$ and you got rich after you borrowed $_k$, in total?
 b. *How many people $_{j+k}$ did John ask $_j$ to hire $_k$ in total?

CSCs can attest the range of the empirical adequacy of multipledominance theory and that of other theories of sharing. UT has been proposed from other facts (e.g., Bengala V-V complexes, English denominal and verb-particle constructions, Czech morphology). It leads us to achieve a new understanding of certain basic concepts such as theta-role licensing and selection.

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