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越南語空賓語的句法分佈與語意解讀
The Syntactic Distribution and Semantic Interpretations of Null
Objects in Vietnamese

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摘要

中文與越南語都為主題顯著以及空代詞語言,可以允許空主語和空賓語的結構存在。本論 文以文獻中針對中文空賓語的分析為基礎,探討越南語空賓語的句法分佈與語意解釋。我 以主題變量、動詞組刪略、動詞擱置動詞組刪略和論元刪略四種分析的角度來檢視越南語 空賓語,發現 Cheng (2011, 2013)的論元刪略假設應為越南語空賓語結構最適切的分析方 式,原因在於: (1) 在動詞組刪略的結構中,越南語與中文不同,後者會產生歧義 (strict 以及 sloppy 解讀),但前者只會有一種語意解讀 (strict reading);由於缺乏 sloppy 解讀,因 此我們推論越南語省略的賓語不能被分析為受約束的變項;(2) 動詞組刪略以及動詞擱置 動詞組刪略都無法解釋為何越南語可以單獨省略間接賓語或直接賓語;(3) 越南語的空賓 語結構中可以保有動詞後的頻率詞組以及次要謂語,與動詞組刪略以及動詞擱置動詞組刪 略的預測不相符。

關鍵字:越南語、空賓語、主題變量分析、動詞組刪略分析、動詞擱置動詞組刪略、論元 刪略分析

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Abstract

Mandarin Chinese and Vietnamese are topic-prominent languages, allowing radical pro-drop.

Building on the literature on null objects in Chinese, this thesis studies the syntactic distribution

and semantic interpretations of null objects in Vietnamese. More specifically, I examine

Vietnamese null objects based on the predictions of 4 different analyses proposed for Chinese null

objects: topic-variable, VP-ellipsis, V-stranding VP-ellipsis and argument ellipsis. I find that

Cheng's (2011, 2013) argument ellipsis analysis fares better for three reasons. First, while Chinese

VP-ellipsis allows both strict and sloppy readings, the Vietnamese counterpart permits only strict

reading. The lack of sloppy reading in Vietnamese VP-ellipsis suggests that Vietnamese null

objects cannot be a bound variable, ruling out the topic-variable analysis. Second, VP-ellipsis and

V-stranding VP ellipsis analyses fail to explain why Vietnamese object drop is able to target either

one of the internal arguments in a double object construction. Third, VP-ellipsis and V-stranding

VP ellipsis analyses also wrongly predict that frequency phrases and secondary predicates have to

be elided together with a null object.

Keywords: Vietnamese, null objects, topic-variable analysis, VP-ellipsis, V-stranding VP-

ellipsis, argument ellipsis

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1 序論

中文屬於 radical *pro*-drop 的語言,即在適切的言談語境中,中文的主語或是實語都可以被 省略,並可藉由前後文的語境訊息來推斷空代詞的指涉對象。以例(1)提出問句後的回答(2) 為例,句子的代名詞 ta 'he'可以合法的被省略並且出現在動詞 kanjian 'see'的前面主語位 置和後面實語位置。

- (1) Wangwu kanjian Xiaoming le ma? (Huang 1989)Wangwu see Xiaoming LE Q'Did Wangwu see Xiaoming?'
- (2) a. (ta) kanjian (ta) le.

 he see he LE

 '(He) saw (him).'
 - b. Wo cai (ta) kanjian (ta) le.

 I guess he see he LE

 'I guess (He) saw (him).'

雖然從上述例子看來空主語與空賓語在使用上似乎沒有太大差別,但在下列例句(3)中可以發現當句子出現空主語(3a)和空賓語的(3b)時,兩者在語意解讀上表現出不同的現象。(3a)中空缺處可以指涉到前面出現過的 Wangwu 之外,還能指涉到除了 Wangwu 和Xiaoming 之外的人。以同樣的語意解讀看到例(3b)時卻發現只能指涉到 Wangwu 和Xiaoming 之外的人,無法指涉到 Wangwu,而這樣的不同之處也讓我們了解到空主語與空賓語在語意詮釋的可能性上是不對等的。

(3) a. Wangwu_i shuo [$e_{i/*j/k}$ hen xihuan Xiaoming_j].

Wangwu say very like Xiaoming

'Wangwu said that [he] liked Xiaoming.'

b. Wangwu_i shuo [Xiaoming_j hen xihuan $e_{i/k}$].

Wangwu say Xiaoming very like

'Wangwu said that Xiaoming liked [him].'

另外,雖然中文空賓語出現的狀況非常普遍,但是在(4)的例子中將賓語的代名詞 ta 'him'以空賓語取代時,卻導致句子不合法,因此,似乎空賓語在使用上是具有限制性的,並非任何狀況下都能出現。

(4) Speaker A: Wangwu zuotian you bu lai xuexiao.

Wangwu yesterday again not come school

'Wangwu did not go to school yesterday again.'

Speaker B: Suoyi jiaoshou jueding chufa *(ta).

so professor decide punish him

'So the professor decided to punish him.'

越南語同樣也是屬於 pro-drop 的語言,舉(5)和(6)句子來看,代名詞 $anh \, \acute{a}y/c\^{a}u \, \acute{a}y$ 'he' 可以合法的被省略並且出現在動詞 $g\~{a}p$ 'see'的前面主語位置和後面賓語位置。

(5) Wangwu đã gặp Xiaoming à?

Wangwu PAST see Xiaoming PART

'Did Wangwu see Xiaoming?'

(6) a. (anh ấy/cậu ấy) đã gặp (cậu ấy/anh ấy).

he PAST see he.

'(He) saw (him).'

b. Tôi đoán là (anh ấy/cậu ấy) đã gặp (cậu ấy/anh ấy).

I guess COMP he PAST see he

'I guess (He) saw (him).'

針對中文中空賓語,有許多先前的學者做過不同的分析,主要的分析方式有主題變量 (Huang 1984, 1989)、動詞組刪略 (Huang 1991)、論元刪略 (Cheng 2011, 2013)和動詞擱置動詞組刪略 (Liu 2014)四種可能性;本論文以文獻中針對中文空賓語的分析為基礎,探討越南語空賓語的句法分佈與語意解釋。我以主題變量、動詞組刪略、論元刪略和動詞擱置動詞組刪略四種分析的角度來測試越南語空賓語,發現論元刪略應該為越南語空賓語結構最適切的分析方式。本論文的結構如下,第二章將會針對中文的空賓語進行文獻回顧並做簡要的介紹與統整;第三章介紹越南語的重點句法特質;第四章介紹針對越南語空賓語做的田野調查結果,討論其句法分佈與語義解釋。最後在第五章提出結論。

2 中文空賓語文獻回顧

2.1 Huang (1984, 1989): Topic-variable analysis

Huang (1984, 1989) 認為中文裡的空賓語應該要分析為 topic-variable。首先,針對不同的語言特性,以 Huang (1984)從 'hot' language 的 英文和 'cool' language 的中文不同進行對比來看,例(7)英文的疑問句回答,不管是主語還是賓語的位置空出都是不被允許的,反觀中文的疑問句回答(8)則全部都為合法。¹

- (7) Speaker A: Did Sam see Ken yesterday? (Huang 1984)
 - Speaker B: a. Yes, he saw him.
 - b. *Yes, e saw him.
 - c. *Yes, he saw *e*.
 - d. *Yes, e saw e.
 - e. *Yes, I guess e saw e.
 - f. *Yes, Sam said e saw e.
- (8) Speaker A: Wangwu kanjian Xiaoming le ma?

Wangwu see Xiaoming LE Q

'Did Wangwu see Xiaoming?'

Speaker B: a. ta kanjian ta le.

he see he LE

'He saw him.'

¹ 本文使用的縮寫如下:ASP = Aspect; FUT = Future; PAST = Past; DEM= Demonstrative; CL = Classifier; TOP = Topic marker; NEG = Negation; PART = Particle; PASS=Passive marker; COMP = Complementizer; PLU = Plural marker; Q = Question marker; PERF=Perfect; DEM=Demonstrative; REL= Relativizer; INFL=Inflection.

- b. e kanjian ta le.
 - '[He] saw him.'
- c. ta kanjian *e* le.
 - 'He saw [him].'
- d. e kanjian e le.
 - '[He] saw [him].'
- e. wo cai [e kanjian e le].
 - I guess see LE
 - 'I guess [he] saw [him].'
- f. Wangwu shuo [e kanjian e le].
 - Wangwu say see LE
 - 'Wangwu said that [he] saw [him].'

中文屬於 pro-drop 的語言,在(8)中,不管代名詞有沒有出現都可以表達出與(8a)相同的語意,(8b)的空類詞是 Wangwu,而(8c)的空類詞是 Xiaoming,(8d-f)的空類詞,前者都為 Wangwu,後者都為 Xiaoming。這些回覆的方式可以表現出中文的空類詞的句法分佈與語意解釋相對於英文,是較為自由且具彈性的。

雖然空類詞看似沒有限制,但中文(9)和有代名詞出現的英文(10)在語意解釋上還是有些微的差異。(9a)的空主語可以指涉到主要子句中的 Wangwu 或是除了 Xiaoming 以外的人,而(10a)也是如此,代名詞的 he 可以指涉到 Sam 也可以指涉到除了 Sam 和 Ken 以外的人;但(9b)和(10b)就不一樣了,(9b)中的空賓語只能表示除了 Wangwu 和 Xiaoming 以外的人,並不能指涉 Wangwu,(10b)的 him 則是和(10a)一樣可以指涉到 Sam 也可以指涉到除了Sam 和 Ken 以外的人,兩種語意解釋都合法。

(9) a. Wangwu_i shuo $[e_{i/*j/k}]$ bu renshi Xiaoming_i].

Wangwu say not know Xiaoming

'Wangwu said that [he] did not know Xiaoming.'

b. Wangwu_i shuo [Xiaoming_i bu renshi $e_{*i/*j/k}$].

Wangwu say Xiaoming not know

'Wangwu said that Xiaoming did not know [him].'

- (10) a. Sam_i said that he_{i/*j/k} knew Ken_i.
 - b. Sam_i said that Ken_j knew him_{i/*j/k}.

因此,Huang 注意到中文裡的空主語和空賓語兩者的合法性並非完全相同,空賓語 比空主語的分布上限制更多。再舉下列例子來說,(11a)的空主語可以指涉到主句的先行 詞 Wangwu,但 (11b)的空賓語卻無法指涉 Wangwu。

(11) a. Wangwu_i xiwang [e_i keyi kanjian Xiaoming].

Wangwu hope can see Xiaoming

'Wangwu_i hopes that [he_i] can see Xiaoming.'

b. *Wangwu_i xiwang [Xiaoming keyi kanjian *e*_i].

Wangwu hope Xiaoming can see

'Wangwu_i hopes that Xiaoming can see [him_i].'

以例(11b)來說,看似中文的空賓語是無法指涉到先行詞 Wangwu,但如果空賓語的 句型是回答前一句的問題 Shei kanjian-le Wangwu? 'Who saw Wangwu?'的話,似乎就可以 指涉到 Wangwu,如以下例句。

(12) Speaker A: Shei kanjian-le Wangwu?

who see- LE Wangwu

'Who saw Wangwu?'

Speaker B: Wangwu_i shuo Xiaoming kanjian-le e_i .

Wangwu say Xiaoming see-LE

'Wangwu said Xiaoming saw him.'

從上述合法的句子中可以得知 Speaker A 的 shei 'who'是指涉到 Xiaoming,而 Speaker B 的空賓語之所以會合法是因為空賓語是指涉到 Speaker A 問句中建立的語境先行詞 Wangwu。因此,可以推測空賓語可能在談話語境中可以指涉到語境主題(discourse topic) 使句子合法。

而語境主題的分析是當主題詞出現在句子句首的位置時,空賓語就可以被指涉到額外增加的主題詞,像是(13)的 neige ren 'that man'是句子的主題詞,所以空賓語可以被理解成 neige ren。

(13) neige ren_i, Wangwu shuo [Xiaoming bu renshi e_i].

that man, Wangwu say Xiaoming not know

'That man_i, Wangwu said Xiaoming did not know e_i.'

因此, Huang (1984)提出中文裡空賓語的句型, 像是(9b), 應該要將句子分析成(14) 這樣的句法結構。

(14) [TOP e_i], [Wangwu shuo [Xiaoming bu renshi e_i]].

Wangwu say Xiaoming not know

'*[Him_i], Wangwu said that Xiaoming didn't know *e*_i.'

Huang (1984)也表示空主語和空賓語之所以會有語意解釋上的差異是根據下列兩種原則而來。例(15)的 Disjoint Reference (DJR)原則定義為代名詞不能在自身的管轄範圍 (governing category)內被任何先行詞拘束,以例(16)為例,(16a)中的 him 在自身的管轄範圍內被主語 Sam 約束,所以句子不合法,而(16b)的 him 以及(16c)的 he 因為在自身的管轄範圍內沒有被主語 Sam 所約束因此句子合法。

(15) Disjoint Reference (DJR)

A pronoun must be free in its governing category.

- (16) a. *Sam_i saw him_i.
 - b. Sam_i said that Mary saw him_i.
 - c. Sam_i said that he_i saw Mary.

例(17)的 Generalized Control Rule (GCR)定義為空代詞會往前找一個距離最近的潛在 先行詞作為其先行詞。舉(18)來說的話,離空代詞 e 最近的先行詞是 Sam,所以空代詞就不會往前找比較遠的 Mary 或是 They。

(17) Generalized Control Rule (GCR)

Coindex an empty pronominal with the closest nominal element.

(18) They told me that Mary expected that Sam_i would promise [e_i to come].

如果以例(9)來分析的話,可以發現(9a)空主語可以往前找到一個距離最近的先行詞Wangwu,上述兩種原則都合法,可以將空主語分析為pro,但是(9b)的空賓語若往前找先行詞會是Xiaoming,遵守GCR原則,不過卻會被Xiaoming約束而違反DJR,也就是說,空賓語其實不能是pro,應該要將其分析為variable。

若假設空賓語可以分析為 variable 的話,一個句子就應該可以出現多個主題詞的結構,而(19)又再次證實了這個假設是合理的,Wangwu 和 neiben shu 都為主題詞且句子合法。

(19) Wangwu₁, neige nuhai₂, ta₁ hen xihuan e₂.

Wangwu that girl he very like

'(As for Wangwu), that girl, he likes very much.'

因此, Huang (1984)提出空賓語應該是被 topic 約束的 variable 才對。

2.2 Huang (1991): VP-ellipsis analysis

Huang (1991)提出空賓語應該要分析為動詞組刪略(VP-ellipsis)結構。在例句(20)中可以發現第二句動詞 kanjian 重複出現,不過後面的名詞片語不見了,但若將中文完全翻譯成英文後,可以發現(21)第二句少了整個動詞片語,反而增加了助動詞 did。

(20) Sam kanjian-le tade mama. Mary ye kanjian-le *e*. (Huang 1991)

Sam see- PERF his mother Mary also see- PERF

'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did, too.'

(21) Sam saw his mother, and Mary did [$_{VP}$ e], too.

Huang (1991)推測中文裡沒辦法像英文一樣使用 'do-support'的結構允許動詞片語刪除(VP-deletion)。所以在(20)中,動詞 kanjian 會如(22)被移動到第二句中 INFL 的位置,使第二句的句法結構允許出現空類別。根據上述假設來看,第二句中出現在重複動詞後的是一個動詞片語而並非只是個空賓語。

(22) Mary ye [INFL kanjian-le [VP V ta-de mama]].

當然,例句(20)也可以簡單的被推論是空賓語,但是,還是有合理的理由可以說明 此種句型確實包含 VP-ellipsis。這與典型的 VP-ellipsis 結構中表現出兩種 (strict/sloppy reading) 模糊不清的語意有關。

因此,與英文例子(21)一樣,因為存有 strict reading 'Mary 也看到 Sam 的媽媽'和刪除代名詞 his 的 sloppy reading 'Mary 也看到 Mary 自己的媽媽'導致語意模糊不清,而中文的例子(20)一樣有相同的現象。

根據 Sag (1976)表示,如果例子(21)中先行詞動詞片語翻成 λx (x saw his mother),代名詞 his 就會被當成指示代名詞,空的動詞片語會有相同的解讀,也就是 strict reading;但是,若先行詞被解釋成 λx (x saw x's mother),那代名詞就會被當成 variable,形成 sloppy reading。

這些說明預測了對 sloppy reading 的局部性要求 (locality),也就是說,sloppy 代詞的 先行詞會被空動詞片語的主語所限制。因此,雖然(23)有 sloppy reading 'Ken 看見 Ken 自 己的媽媽'但並沒有出現另一個語意解讀 'Ken 看見 Mary 的媽媽'。 (23) Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken did, too.

最重要的是,strict/sloppy reading 的選擇是根據 λ 表達的內容來決定的。Huang (1991) 提出中文的空賓語如(24)所示,也有相同的語意詮釋可能性,即 strict reading 'Ken 看見 Sam 自己的媽媽'和 sloppy reading 'Ken 看見 Ken 自己的媽媽'。假設(24)中的第二句子句包含了一個空的動詞片語,其動詞被往前移動到 INFL 的位置,則導致句子的 strict reading和 sloppy reading 產生模糊不清的狀況,因此無法獲得'Ken 看見 Mary 的媽媽'這個 sloppy reading。

(24) Sam kanjian-le tade mama, Mary zhidao Ken ye kanjian-le.

Sam see-PERF his mother Mary know Ken also see-PERF 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken did, too.'

所以 Huang 提出中文的第二個句子出現的重複動詞 kanjian 應該將其視為英文的 VPellipsis 構造。也就是說,(24)中缺少的是動詞片語,而不是名詞片語。

根據中文空賓語句型,可以得出兩種語意解釋,當先行詞 VP 屬於 λx (x saw his mother),那後面空的動詞片語就可以得到 strict reading,若 VP 屬於 λx (x saw x's mother) 的時候,就可以得到 sloppy reading。

2.3 Cheng (2011, 2013): Argument ellipsis

Oku (1998)的研究指出論元刪略(argument ellipsis)是否存在與(Japanese style) scrambling 有相關聯性,以(25)表示兩者的雙向關聯性。若一個語言中有(Japanese style)

scrambling 的話,那該語言就存有 argument ellipsis;或者若一個語言存有 argument ellipsis 的話,那該語言就會有(Japanese style) scrambling。

(25) a. If a language L has (Japanese-style) scrambling →L has argument ellipsis. (Cheng 2011)
 b.If a language L has argument ellipsis → L has (Japanese-style) scrambling.

以下列日文與中文的例句來看,日文例子(26),被插入的賓語 dare-no shasin-o 'whose picture' scramble 到句子句首後不會改變句子的合法性,反觀中文例子(27)中 shei-de zhaopian 移動至句首後產生不合法的句子。所以,若用 Oku 的研究來看的話,中文的句法沒有日式的不規則性(Japanese style scrambling),且從各種語言性質來看,中文與日文和韓文有諸多的不同之處,中文不是 SOV 結構,更不是阿爾泰語言,因此 Oku 認為從各種語言性質來看,中文空賓語是不能分析為 argument ellipsis 的。

- (26) a. John-ga [dare-ga dare-no shasin-o katta ka] sitteiru. (Oku 1998)

 John-NOM who- NOM who-gen picture-ACC bought Q know

 'John knows who bought some pictures of who.'
 - b. [dare-no shasin-o] $_{i}$ John-ga [dare-ga e_{i} katta ka] sitteiru. who-gen picture-ACC John-NOM who-NOM bought Q know 'John knows who bought some pictures of who.'
- (27) a. Wangwu zhidao [shei mai-le shei-de zhaopian].

 Wangwu know who buy-ASP who-gen picture

 'Wangwu knows who bought some pictures of who.'
 - b. $*[shei-de \quad zhaopian]_i$ Wangwu zhidao $[shei mai-le e_i]$.

who-gen picture Wangwu know who buy- ASP 'Wangwu knows who bought some pictures of who.'

不過,Cheng (2013)也注意到了與 Oku 論點不同的反例,以下列(28)日文與(29)中文例子為例,兩種語言都可以將補語片語省略。因此,似乎語言能不能使用 argument ellipsis 分析與有沒有 Japanese style scrambling 是沒有因果關係的。

- (28) a. Taroo-wa [CP zibun-no teian-ga Hanako-o odorokasu to] omotteiru.

 Taroo-TOP self-gen proposal-NOM Hanako- ACC surprise that think

 'Taroo thinks that his proposal will surprise Hanako.'
 - b. Ziroo-mo [$_{CP}$ e] omotteiru.

Ziroo-also think

'Ziroo also thinks (that his proposal will surprise Hanako).'

(29) a. Zhangsan renwei [CP Lisi shi yi-ge hao laoshi].

Zhangsan think Lisi be one-CL good teacher 'Zhangsan thinks that Lisi is a good teacher.'

b. Danshi Wangwu que bu renwei [CP e].

but Wangwu whereas not think

'But Wangwu does not think (that Lisi is a good teacher).'

以上述反例為基礎,Cheng 提出了更多 argument ellipsis 的句型來佐證自己的理論。 Cheng (2011)提出論元刪略(argument ellipsis)應為中文空賓語結構的分析可能之一 (雖然並不是所有的空賓語都可以分析為 argument ellipsis),並且提出兩種中文空論元可以是

argument ellipsis 的證據,一個是出現在動詞後的持續詞組和頻率詞組(post-verbal duration/frequency phrases,本論文將縮寫為 DFP),另一個則是雙賓結構和授與結構 (double object/dative constructions)。以下會簡略呈現這兩點證據的相關語料與相關論述。

2.3.1 動詞後的持續詞組和頻率詞組 (post-verbal duration/frequency phrases, DFP)

中文句型裡除了賓語被允許出現在動詞後,也允許持續詞組/頻率詞組(DFP)出現在動詞後,如下列(30)。

- (30) a. Wangwu da-le ziji-de xiaohai **san-ci**. (Cheng 2011)

 Wangwu hit-ASP self-gen child three-time

 'Wangwu hit his child three times.'
 - b. Xiaoming zeshi da-le e **liang-ci**. (OK strict, OK sloppy)

 Xiaoming whereas hit-ASP two-time

 'Whereas Xiaoming hit e two times.'

在(30)中,允許 strict reading 'Xiaoming 則是打了 Wangwu 的兒子兩次',也允許 sloppy reading 'Xiaoming 則是打了 Xiaoming 自己的兒子兩次'兩種語意解讀。若將句型分析為 VP-ellipsis 的話,DFP *liang-ci* 'two times'出現在動詞後,照理來講應該也要因為 VP-ellipsis 的原因而被刪除,如(31)。

(31) Xiaoming zeshi [INFL da-le [VP-V ziji-de xiaohai liang-ci].

€______

但在(30)中,DFP 不僅存在而且合法,無法得知 VP-ellipsis 是如何只消除內部論元並保持 DFP 出現在原本的位置。

唯一的可能性就是 DFP 在 VP-ellipsis 之前就先被移動到比動詞片語更高的位置,所以當動詞藉由 VP-ellipsis 移動時才不會影響到 DFP 的存在,就像(32)結構。

(32) Xiaoming zeshi [vP dav+v-le [vP-tv-ziji-de xiaohai] liang-ci]. (Cheng 2011)

不過, Soh (1998)證明了 DFP 沒有被移動且確實存在在動詞片語的結構裡。例句就如下列例(33)所示。

(33) a. Wangwu qing-guo mei-ge xuesheng **liang-ci.** (every>2, 2>every)

Wangwu invite-ASP every-CL student two-time

'Wangwu invited every student twice.'

b. Wangwu qing-guo **liang-ci** mei-ge xuesheng. (*every>2, 2>every)

Wangwu invite-ASP two-time every-CL student

'Wangwu invited every student twice.'

Soh (1998)觀察到(33a, b)的語意解讀有不同的現象,當 DFP liang-ci 在出現在賓語 mei-ge xuesheng 後面時(33a),兩種語意解讀都有可能存在;但是,當 DFP liang-ci 出現在 賓語 mei-ge xuesheng 前面時(33b),只會有 2>every 的解釋。

因此, Soh (1998)提出(33a) 造成語意模糊不清的原因在於 mei-ge xuesheng 'every student'是從較低的位置移動到較高的位置形成 c-command DFP 的狀況而導致語意不清,

結構以下列(34a)表示。而(33b)中賓語 mei-ge xuesheng 並沒有移動到 liang-ci 'two-time' 的前面,所以結構以(34b)表示。

(34) a.
$$[vP DP_{subject} V_{V+F+v} [FP DP_{1-object} t_{V+F} [vP DFP [vP tv t_1]]]]$$
 (Cheng 2011)

b.
$$[_{VP} DP_{subject} {}^{V}{}_{V+F+v} [_{FP} t_{V+F} [_{VP} DFP [_{VP} t_{V} DP_{object}]]]]]$$

若 Soh (1998)提出的是正確的預測,那就可以確定 DFP 確實存在在動詞片語裡,結構如(34a)。假設 VP-ellipsis 必定會刪除包含 DFP 的整個動詞片語的話,那例句(30b)的 DFP liang-ci 'two times'依舊出現在動詞後就令人無法理解。因此,這就是 argument ellipsis 必須存在的有利論證,因為只有在 argument ellipsis 的分析下,(30b)才可以只省略內部論元(賓語)。

2.3.2 雙賓結構和授與結構(double object/dative constructions)

第二種中文應該被分析為 argument ellipsis 的證據是跟雙賓結構(35)和授與結構(36)有關。

(35) a. Wangwu song ziji-de xiaohai Mali-de zhaopian.

Wangwu send self-gen child Mary-gen picture

'Wangwu sent his child Mary's picture.'

b. Xiaoming zeshi song *e* Xiaomei-de zhaopian. (^{OK}strict, ^{OK}sloppy)

Xiaoming whereas send Xiaomei-gen picture

'lit. Whereas Xiaoming sent e Xiaomei's picture.'

(36) a. Wangwu song ziji-de zhaopian gei Mali.

Wangwu send self-gen picture to Mary

'Wangwu sent his picture to Mary.'

b. Xiaoming zeshi song e gei Xiaomei.

(^{OK}strict, ^{OK}sloppy)

Xiaoming whereas send to Xiaomei

'lit. Whereas Xiaoming sent e to Xiaomei.'

- (35)、(36)的論元都出現在動詞片語裡,因此無法用 VP-ellipsis 的分析去解釋 sloppy reading 是如何得到的,因為照道理來說 VP-ellipsis 會影響到整個動詞片語裡的兩個論元。 唯一的可能就是假設位置較低的論元在 VP ellipsis 之前就移動出來了,所以被省略的只有位置相對較高的論元結構,如 Cheng (2011)提出的例(37)。
- (37) a. [TP Xiaoming zeshi [vP songv+V [vP-tv-ziji-de xiaohai ti-] [Xiaomei -de zhaopian]i]].

Xiaoming whereas send

self-gen child

Xiaomei -gen picture

b. [TP Xiaoming zeshi [vP songv+v {vP-tv-ziji-de zhaopian ti-}] [gei Xiaomei]i]].

Xiaoming whereas send

self-gen picture

to Xiaomei

然而,為了排除 VP-ellipsis 的可能性,就必須建構一個禁止位置較低的論元移動出動詞片語的句型,如(38)中的結構所示,第二個論元因為單獨成為 XP 而無法被移動。

(38) a. Subject1 V1 Object1 XP1

(Cheng 2011)

b. Subject2 V2 [*e*] XP2

Cheng (2011) 遵循 Kayne (1985) and Huang (1982, 1988)的論點,假設中文和英文的次要謂語(secondary predicates, SP)句子結構都如(39),例句像是(40)、(41)。(40b)和(41b)因為SP 不能被移動,所以當(40b) *flat* 和(41b) *bi-qing-lian-zhong* 移動至句首就會導致句子不合法。

- (39) subject [vP verb [SC NP SP]] (Cheng 2011)
- (40) a. Sam hammered the metal **flat**.
 - b. *Flat, Sam hammered the metal.
- (41) a. Wangwu da-de ziji-de xiaohai **bi-qing-lian-zhong**.

 Wangwu hit- DE self-gen child nose-green-face-swollen

 'Wangwu hit his child (to the degree that he is) wounded.'
 - b. *[**Bi-qing-lian-zhong**]_i, Wangwu da-de ziji-de xiaohai e_i .

 nose-green-face-swollen Wangwu hit-DE self-gen child

 'lit. Wounded, Wangwu hit his child.'

因此,SP 就可以用來反對空論元被分析為 VP-ellipsis,因為若是 VP-ellipsis 的分析合法, 那 SP 就必須在 VP ellipsis 之前就從動詞片語中被移動出來,像是(40b)和(41b),但 這兩句是不合法的例子,也證明 VP ellipsis 的分析不夠完整。

最後,回到 Huang 一開始在 1984 年提出的 topic variable analysis 論點來看,空賓語不能被指涉到句子的主語(42a),但若是被 topic 約束的 variable 就會使句子合法(42b),不過像是(42c)空賓語指涉到主題詞 Wangwu 的話,會越過中間的主語 ta 'he',會導致句子產生不合法的現象,因此,空賓語無法與主語共同指涉到主題詞 Wangwu。

(42) a. Wangwu_i shuo [Xiaoming bu renshi $e_{i/j}$].

Wangwu say Xiaoming not know

'Wangwu said that Xiaoming does not know [him].'

- b. [topic]_i Wangwu_i shuo Xiaoming bu renshi e_i
- c. *Wangwu_i, ta_i shuo Xiaoming bu renshi *e*_i.

Wangwu he say Xiaoming not know

'Wangwu, he said that Xiaoming does not know [him].'

由於(42)中沒有明顯的先行詞,所以(42a)只能指涉到前面的空主題詞,這與 Huang (1984)的論點相同,但 Cheng 同時也預測當句子有適切的先行詞時,表面的指涉就是有可能發生的,這也意味著 argument ellipsis 有其可用之處,且這個預測若可行的話,空賓語與主語共同指涉就會是有可能發生的現象,而這個預測也得到了證實,如下列(43)所示。

以(43a)作為先行詞使(43b)的空賓語可以與主語 ta 'he'共同指涉到同一個先行詞 Zhagnsan,也證實了中文空賓語確實可以用 argument ellipsis 來分析。

(43) a. Zhagnsan_i shuo [Lisi renshi ta_{i/i}].

Zhangsan say Lisi know he

'Zhangsan says that Lisi knows him.'

b. danshi ta_i renwei [Wangwu bu renshi $e_{i/j}$].

but he think Wangwu not know

'but he thinks that Wangwu does not know [him].'

所以, Cheng (2011) 提出中文中空賓語應該要以 argument ellipsis 來分析。

2.4 Liu (2014): V-stranding VP-ellipsis

Liu (2014)以 G. Li (2002) 為基礎探討了中文的空賓語應該要分析為動詞擱置動詞組刪略 (V-stranding VP-ellipsis,本論文將縮寫為 V-stranding VPE)。Cheng (2011)表示在 argument ellipsis 的過程中,只會有一個 verbal argument,間接賓語會被省略,如下列例(44)。

(44) Wangwu zeshi [vp [v' [v' song [np ziji-de xiaohai]]] Xiaomei-de zhaopian]].

Wangwu whereas send self-gen child Xiaomei-gen picture 'lit. whereas Wangwu sent e Xiaomei's picture.'

但是, Liu 的看法不同,他發現下列句型中兩個賓語結構不管是單獨省略直接賓語 (45d)或是單獨省略間接賓語(45e)都不合法,兩種賓語結構一起被省略(45b)才是最好的選擇。

- (45) a. Wangwu song Xiaoming biye liwu le ma?

 Wangwu give Xiaoming graduation gift LEQ

 'Did Wangwu give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'
 - b. Wangwu song-le.

Wangwu give-PERF

'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'

- c. Wangwu song Xiaoming biye liwu le.Wangwu give Xiaoming graduation gift PERF'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'
- d. ??Wangwu song Xiaoming le.

Wangwu give Xiaoming PERF

'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'

e. *Wangwu song biye liwu le.

Wangwu give graduation gift PERF

'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'

除了沒有任何省略的回答(45c)之外,是非問句最恰當的回答只有動詞後賓語全部省略的(45b)最合適,(45d-e)都是不合適的句型,這就與 Cheng (2011)提出的論點不同。此外,同樣的省略現象一樣也可以在是非問句中觀察到,舉下列例子為例。

- (46) a. Wo song Xiaoming biye liwu le.
 - I give Xiaoming graduation gift PERF
 - 'I gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'
 - b. Ni (ye) song-le ma?

you also give- LE Q

'Did you (also) give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'

c. [?]Ni (ye) song Xiaoming le ma?

you also give Xiaoming LE Q

'Did you (also) give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'

d. *Ni (ye) song biye liwu le ma?

you also give graduation gift LEQ

'Did you (also) give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'

在是非問句中只有(46b)省略動詞後全部的論元才是最合適的問句,其他兩種省略 (46c-d)都是不能被接受的。若 Cheng (2013)的分析是對的,那為什麼在(45)和(46)的分析中 只單獨省略間接賓語的句型都是不合法的,這就讓 Cheng 和 Liu 的分析成了極大的矛盾。

接著, Liu 針對 Cheng (2011)提出的例子進行解釋。以例句(47)來分析, (47b)出現 strict reading 和 sloppy reading 兩種語意解讀而導致句子模糊不清, 值得注意的是, (47a)的 直接賓語是 Mali de zhaopian 但 (47b)的直接賓語卻是 Xiaomei-de zhaopian, 兩者直接賓語的差異是源自於句子中有 zeshi 'whereas' 這個連接詞連接而使兩句形成對比焦點。

(47) a. Wangwu song ziji-de xiaohai Mali-de zhaopian.

Wangwu send self-gen child Mary-gen picture

'Wangwu sent his child Mary's picture.'

b. Xiaoming zeshi song *e* Xiaomei-de zhaopian. (^{OK}strict, ^{OK}sloppy)

Xiaoming whereas send Xiaomei-gen picture

'lit. Whereas Xiaoming sent e Xiaomei's picture.'

所以 Liu 建議(47b)這種句型的分析方式應該是先將原本出現在動詞片語內的對比標記移動出來至 FocP 的位置之後,再發生 VP-ellipsis,使出現在動詞片語中的成分被移除,結構如下。

(48)[vP [v' songi [FocP [Xiaomei-de zhaopian]j [Foc' [vP ziji-de xiaohai [v-ti tj]]]]]] (Liu 2014)

give Xiaomei-gen picture self-gen child

在(48)的結構中,動詞會從V的位置移動至V,接著直接賓語會移動至FocP的位置, 間接賓語則會被留在原本的位置上,所以當直接賓語被移動到較高的位置後,間接賓語因 為被留在原地而被省略了,不過,這種移動方式只能出現在對比的狀況下。所以,在正常 移動的情況中,直接賓語是會和一般動詞片語一起消失的,這個預測如下列結構所示。

- (49) a. Wangwu song ziji-de xiaohai Mali-de zhaopian le ma?

 Wangwu send self-gen child Mary-gen picture LE Q

 'Did Wangwu send his child Mary's picture?'
 - b. Ta $song_i$ -le [$_{VP}$ ziji-de xiaohai [$_{V'}$ $song_j$ Mali-de zhaopian]]. he send-PERF self-gen child send Mary-gen picture 'Yes, he did.'

由於(49)這種問句與答句之間並沒有對比成分,因此不會觸發像(48)這樣的 FocP 結構,所以直接賓語和間接賓語都被留在動詞片語中原本的位置且會透過 VP-ellipsis 被省略。

同樣再拿 Cheng 的例子(30b)、(36b)來試試 Liu 的分析,再次驗證焦點對比這種分析方式是可行的。(30b)的焦點對比是頻率詞組 liang ci 'two times',這個對比標記會在 VPellipsis 發生之前,從原本動詞片語內的位置移動出來至 FocP 的位置,接著在動詞片語中的成分才會被刪除。

(36a)與(36b)之間的對比在於接收者不同,(36a)接收的是 Mali 而(36b)接收的是 Xiaomei,兩者產生介係詞片語的對比焦點,因此必須將這個對比標記移至 FocP。另外,由於這句話允許結構並行,因此適用 V-stranding VPE,使動詞論元刪 ziji-de zhaopian 'self's picture'.

(50) The derivation of (30b):

(51) The derivation of (36b):

$$\begin{split} &[_{vP} \, [_{v'} \, song_i \, [_{FocP} \, [_{PP} \, gei \, Xiaomei]_j \, [_{Foc'} \, [_{vP} \, ziji \, de \, \, zhaopian \, [_{v'} \, -t_i \, t_j \, -]]]]]] \quad (Liu \, 2014) \\ & send \qquad to \, \, Xiaomei \qquad self-gen \, picture \end{split}$$

因此,Liu 提出中文的空賓語應該要分析為 V-stranding VPE。

2.5 小結

綜合上述作者的解釋方式,我將利用於越南語空賓語的分析,運用這些中文中可以 允許空賓語出現的分析來進一步試著了解越南語中空賓語的結構。

Authors	Analyses of null object positions
Huang (1984, 1989)	Topic-variable analysis
Huang (1991)	VP-ellipsis
Cheng (2011, 2013)	Argument ellipsis
Liu (2014)	V-stranding VPE

3 簡介越南語句法結構

這個章節將會簡單的介紹越南語的基本句法結構及用法。越南語屬於 SVO^2 語言,句子結構為 head-initial,如例(52),越南語中的 voi 'elephant'為主語, $\check{a}n$ 'eat'為動詞,最後句尾是質語 mia 'sugarcane'。

(52) Voi ăn mía. (Tran 2009) elephant eat sugarcane

'Elephants eat sugarcane.'

此外,越南語也沒有格位上的變化,例如(53a, b)。第三人稱複數 they 和第三人稱單數 she 都沒有因為在句子的主語或是賓語的位子而改變,前置動詞也不會受時態而影響任何形式上的變化,(53a)的過去式變化為 đã,(53b, c)以 sē 做為未來式時態的變化,不管是主語或是動詞都沒有任何變化。

(53) a. Họ đã giúp cô ấy. (Tran 2009) they PAST help her

'They helped/have helped her.'

b. Cô ấy sẽ giúp họ.

she FUT help them

'She will help them.'

c. Anh ấy sẽ giúp họ.

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² S=subject, V=verb, O=object

he FUT help them

'He will help them.'

在聯繫動詞(copular verb)的使用上,若是謂語為職業指稱必須要有 copular verb 存在,但若是年紀指稱的謂語則不需要,如例句(54a, b)。

(54) a. Anh-Thơ là học-sinh. (Tran 2009)

Anh-Tho be student

'Anh-Tho is a student.'

b. Anh-Thơ mười bốn tuổi.

Anh-Tho ten four year

'Anh-Tho is fourteen years old.'

主題標記的部分,以(55b)的例句來看,賓語被移動到主題的位置後會多了一個主題標記 'thì'。

- (55) a. Người thợ-săn này bắt con gấu ấy. (Tran 2009)
 - CL hunter DEM catch CL bear DEM

'This hunter caught that bear.'

- b. Con gấu ấy (thì) người thợ-săn này bắt.
 - CL bear DEM TOP CL hunter DEM catch

'That bear, this hunter caught.'

但和上述所述不同的是,(56)的主題片語和謂語並沒有任何的語意關係。

(56) Ông Tân (thì) con-cái rất thành-đạt. (Tran 2009)Mr Tan TOP children very successful'As for Mr. Tan, his children are very successful.'

以(55)和(56)兩個例句的對比來看,主題詞 that bear 是句子中的語意論元,但 Mr. Tan 並不是。另外,主題性名詞也可以透過相符的概括代名詞取代,如(57)。

- (57) Quyển sách này cô ấy sẽ không phải mua nó mà. (Tran 2009)
 - CL book DEM she FUT NEG must buy it PART

'This book, she will not have to buy it (I am sure).'

當概括性代名詞被使用後,孤島效應就不存在了,如例(58)。

- (58) a. *Con gấu ấy tôi đã gặp [người thợ săn [mà đã tấn công]]. (Tran 2009)

 CL bear DEM I PAST meet CL hunter RELASP attack

 '*That bear, I met the hunter that attacked.'
 - b. Con gấu ấy tôi đã gặp [người thợ săn [mà nó đã tấn công]].
 - CL bear DEM I PAST meet CL hunter REL it PAST attack

'That bear, I met the hunter that it attacked.'

越南語中副詞雖然修飾動詞,但必須跟著賓語,若是副詞出現在賓語前面就會不合 法,如例句(59)。

- (59) a. Các sinh-viên này đã giải bài toán ấy rất nhanh mà. (Tran 2009)

 PLU student DEM PAST solve CL math DEM very fast PART

 'These students just solved that math problem very fast.'
 - b. ?? Các sinh-viên này đã giải rất nhanh bài toán ấy mà.
 PLU student DEM PAST solve very fast CL math DEM PART
 'These students just solved that math problem very fast.'

簡而言之,越南語的語序大致結構(60)和例句(61)如下:

- (60) Topic-Subject-Tense/Aspect particle-Negation-Modal verb-Main verb-Object Adverb-Final particle
- (61) Cái áo khoác này cô ấy sẽ không mặc nó mà.
 CL jacket this she FUT NEG wear it PART
 'This jacket, she will not wear it.'

4 越南語的空賓語分析

目前針對中文的空賓語有許多的分析方式,分別是 topic-variable analysis、VP-ellipsis analysis、argument ellipsis 和 V-stranding VPE。接下來會根據先前作者的分析以了解在越南語中的空賓語比較適用於哪一種分析方式。

4.1 Topic-variable analysis

首先,觀察越南語中空代詞的狀況後,可以發現在(62)的回答中不管是空主語的狀況(62b), 或是空賓語(62c),亦或是兩者皆空的狀況(62d-f)都是被允許的,這個狀況跟中文一樣。

(62) Speaker A:

Sam đã gặp Ken hôm qua à?

Sam PAST see Ken yesterday PART

'Did Sam see Ken yesterday?'

Speaker B:

a. Ù, anh ấy/cậu ấy đã gặp cậu ấy/anh ấy.

Yes, he PAST see he

'Yes, he saw him.'

b. Ù, e đã gặp anh ấy.

Yes, PAST see he

"Yes, e saw him."

c. Ù, anh ấy đã gặp e.

Yes, he PAST see

'*Yes, he saw *e*.'

d. Ù, e đã gặp e.

Yes PAST see

"Yes, e saw e."

e. Ù, tôi đoán là e đã gặp e.

Yes I guess COMP PAST see

"Yes, I guess e saw e."

f. Ù, Sam nói e đã gặp e.

Yes Sam say PAST see

"Yes, Sam said e saw e."

由此可知越南語也是屬於允許空代詞出現的語言。此外,進一步探測主語和賓語能夠指涉到的對象時,發現越南語中主語和賓語兩者的語意解讀並沒有不同。位在子句中 (63a)的主語可以指涉到 Sam 或是除了 Sam 和 Ken 以外的其他人,同樣在(63b)也發現位在賓語的代名詞可以指涉到 Sam 或是除了 Sam 和 Ken 以外的其他人。

(63) a. Sam_i nói anh ấy_{i/j/*k} biết Ken_k.

Sam say he know Ken

'Sam said that he knew Ken.'

b. Sam_i nói Ken_k biết anh ấy_{i/j/*k}.

Sam say Ken know he

'Sam said that Ken knew him.'

接著,再將原本子句的主語換成空主語(64),賓語換成空賓語(65)以了解當空代詞出現時,是否也能使句型合法。

(64) Wangwu_i nói $e_{i/*j}$ không quen Xiaoming_j.

Wangwu say NEG know Xiaoming

'Wangwu said that [he] did not know Xiaoming.'

(65) Wangwu_i nói Xiaoming_j không quen $e_{i/*j}$.

Wangwu say Xiaoming NEG know

'Wangwu said that Xiaoming did not know [him].'

從越南語的田野調查發現(64)空主語可以指涉到 Wangwu,但換成空賓語(65)就無法 指涉到 Wangwu,且根據 DJR和 GCR 原則,(65)的空賓語若往前找先行詞會是 Xiaoming, 遵守 GCR 原則,不過卻會被 Xiaoming 約束而違反 DJR,所以越南語空賓語不能被分析成 pro。

接著,進一步從分析主題詞(66)來看,中文裡允許各種不同形式的主題句出現。

- (66) Three types of topics in Chinese
 - a. Shuiguo (a), wo zui xihuan xiangjiao. (dangling/aboutness topic)

fruit (TOP) I most like banana

'As for fruits, I like bananas most.'

b. Akiu_i, Xiaoming bu renshi e_i .

(left dislocation topic)

Akiu Xiaoming not know

'As for Akiu_i, Xiaoming does not know (him_i).'

c. Wangwu_i, Xiaoming hen xihuan ta_i.

(hanging topic)

Wangwu Xiaoming very like him

'As for Wangwui, Xiaoming likes himi very much.'

同樣的,越南語也是允許各種不同形式的主題句(67)出現。

- (67) Three types of topics in Vietnamese
 - a. Hoa quả thì tôi thích chuối nhất. (dangling/aboutness topic)

flower fruit TOP I like banana most

'As for fruits, I like bananas most.'

b. Aki u_i thì Xiaoming không biết e_i . (left dislocation topic)

Akiu TOP Xiaoming NEG know

'As for Akiui, Xiaoming does not know (himi).'

c. Wangwu_i thì Xiaoming rất thích anh ấy_{i.} (hanging topic)

Wangwu TOP Xiaoming very like him

'As for Wangwui, Xiaoming likes himi very much.'

可見越南語可以容許不同種類的主題句。再以 Huang (1984, 1989)的分析來看,中文 裡當主題詞出現在句子句首的位置時,空賓語就可以被指涉到額外增加的主題詞,像是 (68)。

(68) neige ren_i, Wangwu shuo [Xiaoming bu renshi e_i]. (Huang 1984) that man, Wangwu say Xiaoming not know

'That man_i, Wangwu said Xiaoming did not know e_i .'

同樣在越南語也有相同的現象,舉下列例子(69)來說,主題詞 Người đó 'that man' 出現在句子句首的位置時,空賓語可以指涉到額外增加的主題詞,而且主題標記(thi)和代名詞有沒有出現在句子裡都不會影響合法性。

(69) a. Người đó_i (thi), Wangwu nói Xiaoming không quen e_i .

Person DEM TOP Wangwu say Xiaoming NEG know

'That man_i, Wangwu said Xiaoming did not know e_i.'

b. Người đó_i (thi), Wangwu nói Xiaoming không quen anh ấy_i.

Person DEM TOP Wangwu say Xiaoming NEG know he

'That mani, Wangwu said Xiaoming did not know himi.'

最後, Huang (1984, 1989)還有提到,若將空賓語分析為 variable 的話,應該要允許 一個句子中可以出現多個主題詞的結構。

(70) Wangwu₁, neiben shu₂, ta₁ hen xihuan e_2 . (Huang 1984)

Wangwu that book he very like

'(As for Wangwu), that book, he likes very much.'

照理來說,若越南語在上述的句型中都合法的話,那(70)這類的例子也應該要合法才對,但在越南語中,這樣的預測同樣沒有得到證實。(71a)是不合法的句子,不可以同時出現 Wangwu 和 cuốn sách đó 'that book'兩種主題詞的結構,而且就算是在主題詞

Wangwu 和 $cu\acute{o}n$ $s\acute{a}ch$ $d\acute{o}$ 'that book'後面(71b)加主題標記(thi)也不行,或是選擇一個主題詞後面加主題標記(thi)如(71c)、(71d)也是不合法的句型。

- (71) a. *Wangwu₁, cuốn sách₂ đó, anh ấy₁ rất thích e₂.
 Wangwu CL book DEM he very like
 Intended: 'As for Wangwu, that book, he likes very much.
 - b. *Wangwu₁ **thi**, cuốn sách₂ đó **thi**, anh ấy₁ rất thích e_2 .

 Wangwu TOP CL book DEM TOP he very like
 - c. *Wangwu₁ **thi**, cuốn sách₂ đó anh ấy₁ rất thích e_2 .

 Wangwu TOP CL book DEM he very like
 - d. *Wangwu₁, cuốn sách₂ đó **thi**, anh ấy₁ rất thích e_2 .

 Wangwu CL book DEM TOP he very like

除此之外,是否在越南語句尾的部分增加代名詞能夠改變句子的合法性也是一個問題,但下列(72)可以得知就算增加代名詞也無法讓句子合法。

- (72) a. *Wangwu₁ **thi**, cuốn sách₂ đó anh ấy₁ rất thích **nó**₂.

 Wangwu TOP CL book DEM he very like it

 Intended: 'As for Wangwu, that book, he likes it very much.
 - b. *Wangwu₁, cuốn sách₂ đó thi, anh ấy₁ rất thích nó₂.
 Wangwu CL book DEM TOP he very like it
 - c. *Wangwu₁ **thi**, cuốn sách₂ đó **thi**, anh ấy₁ rất thích $\mathbf{n\acute{o}}_2$.

 Wangwu TOP CL book DEM TOP he very like it
 - d. *Wangwu₁, cuốn sách₂ đó, anh ấy₁ rất thích **nó**₂.

Wangwu CL book DEM he very like it

若要讓中文(70)例句在越南語中合法的話,只能將原本是主題詞的 Wangwu 放回原本的位置才可以使句子合法如(73),所以越南語中是不允許一個句子中出現多個主題詞的結構。

(73) Cuốn sách_i đó (thi), Wangwu rất thích (nó)_i.

'That book_i, Wangwu likes (it)_i very much.'

CL book DEM TOP Wangwu very like it

從上述田調結果可以知道越南語與中文一樣都為主題顯著的語言,兩者省略賓語的語意解釋完全相同,但是差別在於越南語沒辦法使用多個主題詞結構。因此,這個段落內的語料還無法證明 topic-variable analysis 是否適用於越南語的空賓語。

4.2 VP-ellipsis analysis

根據 Huang (1991)的分析表示,中文(74) kanjian 'see' 和英文(75)的 did 具有相同的功能, 應該要將其視為 VP-ellipsis 來分析。

- (74) Sam kanjian-le tade mama. Mary ye kanjian-le. (Huang 1991)

 Sam see-PERF his mother Mary also see-PERF

 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did, too.'
- (75) Sam saw his mother, and Mary did $[v_P e]$, too.

- (76) a. Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy. Mary cũng đã gặp

 Sam PAST see mom of he Mary also PAST see

 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did, too.'
 - b. Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy và Mary cũng vậy. Sam PAST see mom of he and Mary also PART 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did $[v_P e]$, too.'

接著,不管是哪一種類型的刪略方式如(77)、(78),在越南語的語意解釋只會有 strict reading,無法得到 sloppy reading,與中文(74)和英文(75)的分析有些許的不同,因為在中文與英文的例句中都可以得到 strict reading 和 sloppy reading 兩種語意解讀,但是在越南語則無法。

- (77) Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy. Mary cũng đã gặp.

 Sam PAST see mom of he Mary also PAST see

 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did, too.'
 - = 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw **Sam's mother**.' (OK strict, NO sloppy)
 - ≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw Mary's mother.'
- (78) Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy và Mary cũng vậy. Sam PAST see mom of he and Mary also PART 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did $[vp \ e]$, too.'
 - = 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw **Sam's mother**.' (OK strict, NO sloppy)
 - ≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw Mary's mother.'

另外,在(79)的中文和英文句型中,都只能有兩種語意解釋,一種是'Ken 看見 Sam 的媽媽',一種是'Ken 看見 Ken 自己的媽媽',沒辦法得到'Ken 看見 Mary 的媽媽'這個 sloppy reading。

(79) Sam kanjian-le tade mama, Mary zhidao Ken ye kanjian-le. (Huang 1991)

Sam see- PERF his mother Mary know Ken also see- PERF

'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken did, too.'

不過,在越南語中,兩種類型的刪略方式都只能得到 'Ken 看見 Sam 的媽媽'這個 strict reading,其他像是'Ken 看見 Ken 自己的媽媽'和 'Ken 看見 Mary 的媽媽' 兩種語意解釋都無法獲得。

- (80) Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy, Mary biết Ken cũng đã gặp. (^{OK} strict, ^{NO} sloppy)

 Sam PAST see mom of he Mary know Ken also PAST see

 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken did, too.'
 - = 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw Sam's mother.'
 - \neq 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw **Ken's mother**.'
 - ≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw Mary's mother.'
- (81) Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy, Mary biết Ken cũng vậy. (OK strict, NO sloppy) Sam PAST see mom of he Mary know Ken also PART 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken did [$_{vp}$ e], too.'
 - = 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw Sam's mother.'

≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw **Ken's mother**.'

≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary knew that Ken saw Mary's mother.'

根據 Sag (1976)表示,如果例子中先行詞動詞片語翻成 λx (x saw his mother),代名詞 his 就會被當成指示代名詞(demonstrative pronoun),空的動詞片語會有相同的解讀,也就是 strict reading;但是,若先行詞被解釋成 λx (x saw x's mother),那代名詞就會被當成 variable,形成 sloppy reading。

因此,初步分析看來越南語的語意解釋只會有 strict reading,無法得到 sloppy reading,也就是說越南語空賓語不能被分析為 variable,所以可以推測出越南語空賓語無法分析為 topic-variable。

不過,越南語空賓語究竟能不能分析成 VP-ellipsis 還無法下定論,目前看來還是可以被分析為 VP-ellipsis,只是其結構必須是 λx (x saw his mother)。

4.3 Argument ellipsis

回顧 Oku (1998)的研究,因為中文裡沒有 Japanese style scrambling 的特性,所以 Oku 認為中文不應該存有 argument ellipsis。我們將同樣的句型測試越南語後,發現越南語和中文有相同的現象,例(82)將 Ånh của ai 移動至句首後並不合法,句子無法出現所謂的 Japanese style scrambling。

- (82) a. Wangwu biết [ai đã mua ảnh của ai]

 Wangwu know who PAST buy picture of who
 - 'Wangwu knows who bought some pictures of who.'
 - b. $*[Ånh \ của \ ai]_i \ Wangwu \ biết [ai đã mua \ e_i].$

Picture of who Wangwu know who PAST buy

'Wangwu knows who bought some pictures of who.'

然而,Cheng 透過補語片語的的反例證實中文即使沒有 Japanese style scrambling 仍然可以用 argument ellipsis 分析,以相同的句型套用至越南語看看,越南語的補語片語(83)一樣可以被省略,也證實越南語是可以用 argument ellipsis 來做分析。

(83) a. Zhangsan nghĩ [CP Lisi là một giáo viên rất tốt].

Zhangsan think Lisi is one teacher very good

'Zhangsan thinks that Lisi is a good teacher.'

b. Nhưng Wangwu không nghĩ vậy [CP e]

But Wangwu NEG think PART

'But Wangwu does not think (that Lisi is a good teacher).'

為了更確定越南語空賓語是否分析為 argument ellipsis , 將以 Cheng (2011)提出的兩點論證進行討論。

4.3.1 動詞後的頻率詞組(frequency phrases)

在越南語中,(84)的動詞 dánh 'hit'後允許空賓語的出現外,也允許頻率詞組 hai lần 'two times'出現。而在空賓語被省略的情況下,若將其分析為 VP-ellipsis 的話,照理來說頻率 詞組就應該要和空賓語一起被刪除,但是,句中的頻率詞組還是存在,所以 VP-ellipsis 的分析並不理想。

(84) a. Wangwu đã đánh con của mình ba lần.
Wangwu PAST hit child of self three time
'Wangwu hit his child three times.'

b. Sau đó Xiaoming đánh e hai lần. (OK strict, NO sloppy)

Then Xiaoming hit two time

'Whereas Xiaoming hit e (= Wangwu's child) two times.'

假設 VP-ellipsis 必定會刪除包含頻率詞組的整個動詞片語的話,那例句(84b)中出現 hai lần 'two times'就無法被解釋了。因此,這就是 argument ellipsis 必須存在的有利論證,因為只有在 argument ellipsis 的分析下,(84b)才可以只省略內部論元(賓語)。

4.3.2 雙賓結構和授與結構(double object/dative constructions)

在雙賓結構和授與結構中,越南語(85)、(86)的論元都出現在動詞片語裡。然而,句子無法用 VP-ellipsis 的分析是因為照理來說 VP-ellipsis 會影響到整個動詞片語裡的兩個論元,但卻只有一個論元被省略。唯一的可能就是假設位置較低的論元在 VP ellipsis 之前就移動出來了,所以被省略的只有位置相對較高的論元結構。

(85) a. Wangwu tặng cho con mình ảnh của Mary.

Wangwu give for child self photo of Mary

'Wangwu sent his child Mary's picture.'

b. Sau đó Xiaoming tặng *e* ảnh của Xiaomei. (^{OK}strict, ^{NO}sloppy)

Then Xiaoming give photo of Xiaomei

'Whereas Xiaoming sent e (= Wangwu's child) Xiaomei's picture.'

(86) a. Wangwu tặng ảnh của mình cho Mary.

Wangwu give photo of self for Mary

'Wangwu sent his picture to Mary.'

b. Sau đó Xiaoming tặng *e* cho Xiaomei.

(^{OK}strict, ^{NO}sloppy)

Then Xiaoming give for Xiaomei

'lit. Whereas Xiaoming sent e (= Wangwu's picture) to Xiaomei.'

進一步運用 V-stranding VP-ellipsis 的句型分析雙賓結構看看有什麼不同。中文是不允許單獨省略間接賓語的(45e),但越南語中並沒有這些問題,在越南語空賓語結構中單獨省略間接賓語(87e)為合法句型。

- (87) a. Wangwu đã tặng [cho Xiaoming] [một món quà tốt nghiệp] à?
 Wangwu PAST give for Xiaoming one CL gift graduate PART
 'Did Wangwu give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'
 - b. Wangwu tặng rồi.

Wangwu give PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave (Xiaoming a graduation gift).'

c. Wangwu tặng cho Xiaoming quà tốt nghiệp rồi.

Wangwu give for Xiaoming gift graduate PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'

d. Wangwu tặng [cho Xiaoming] e rồi.

Wangwu give for Xiaoming PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave Xiaoming (a graduation gift).'

e. Wangwu tặng e [quà tốt nghiệp] rồi.

Wangwu give gift graduate PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave (Xiaoming) a graduation gift.'

若將(87)的直接賓語和間接賓語交換位置測試看看有什麼變化,像是下列(88),發現 句子依舊合法(88e),並沒有任何的不同。

- (88) a. Wangwu đã tặng [một món quà tốt nghiệp] [cho Xiaoming] à?
 Wangwu PAST give one CL gift graduate for Xiaoming PART
 'Did Wangwu give a graduation gift for Xiaoming?'
 - b. Wangwu tặng rồi.

Wangwu give PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave (a graduation gift for Xiaoming).'

c. Wangwu tặng quà tốt nghiệp cho Xiaoming rồi.

Wangwu give gift graduate for Xiaoming PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave a graduation gift for Xiaoming.'

d. Wangwu tặng [quà tốt nghiệp] e rồi.

Wangwu give gift graduate PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave a graduation gift (for Xiaoming).'

e. Wangwu tặng *e* [cho Xiaoming] rồi.

Wangwu give for Xiaoming PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave (a graduation gift) for Xiaoming.'

同樣將問句出現省略進行測試,看看是否會影響句型的合法。在中文問句裡只單獨 省略間接賓語(46d)是不合法的,但在越南語單獨省略間接賓語(89d)是可行的。

- (89) a. Tôi đã tặng [cho Xiaoming] [quà tốt nghiệp].
 - I PAST give for Xiaoming gift graduate
 'I gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'
 - b. Bạn đã tặng rồi à?You PAST give PAST PART'Did you give (Xiaoming a graduation gift)?'
 - c. Bạn đã tặng [cho Xiaoming] e rồi à?You PAST give for Xiaoming PAST PART'Did you give Xiaoming (a graduation gift)?'
 - d. Bạn đã tặng e [quà tốt nghiệp] rồi à?

 You PAST give gift graduate PAST PART

 'Did you give (Xiaoming) a graduation gift?'

若推論越南語的例子應該分析為 argument ellipsis 的話,就必須建立一個禁止位置較低的論元移動出動詞片語的句型,如(90)中的結構所示,應該讓第二個論元單獨成為 XP 而無法被移動。

- (90) a. Subject1 V1 Object1 XP1 (Cheng 2011)b. Subject2 V2 [e] XP2

- (91) subject [vP verb [sc NP SP]] (Cheng 2011)
- (92) Wangwu đã đánh con mình [mặt mũi bầm-dập].Wangwu PAST hit child self face nose bruise'Wangwu hit his child (to the degree that he is) wounded.'
- (93) *[Mặt mũi bầm-dập]_i, Wangwu đã đánh con mình e_i.
 face nose bruise Wangwu PAST hit child self
 Intended: 'Wounded, Wangwu hit his child.'

因此,SP可以用來反對空賓語結構分析為 VP-ellipsis 和 V-stranding VPE,因為若這兩種的分析合法,那 SP 就必須在 VP ellipsis 之前就從動詞片語中被移動出來,但(93)是不合法的句型,所以,我們推論越南語中,空賓語結構應該要分析為 argument ellipsis。

最後,下列(94)再次證實 argument ellipsis 的分析方式在越南語空賓語是可行的, (94b)的主語和間接子句中的空賓語可以共同指涉到先行詞 Zhangsan。

(94) a. Zhangsan_i nói [Lisi quen anh ấy_{i/j}].

Zhangsan say Lisi know him

'Zhangsan says that Lisi knows him.'

b. nhưng anh ấy_i nghĩ [Wangwu không quen $e_{i/j}$].

but he think Wangwu NEG know

'but hei thinks that Wangwu does not know [himi/k].'

不過,雖然 argument ellipsis 看起來用來分析越南語的空賓語似乎非常的適切,但還是發現了越南語和中文之間的差別,在(35)、(36)的中文例子中可以預測有 sloppy reading 的語意解讀,但越南語中無法預測出此種解釋。

5 結論

根據中文裡空賓語的分析來看,目前在越南語空賓語中以 argument ellipsis 的分析最為恰當,雖然在田調中無法了解是什麼樣的問題導致中文與越南語之間的語意解讀有些許不同,可以做為日後研究討論的目標,但是,還是從田調的結果中了解到越南語空賓語是可以使用 argument ellipsis 做基本的分析。

在 topic-variable 分析中,一開始對越南語中主題句的基本架構(67)進行了解後,發現三種主題句,分別是 dangling/aboutness topic 和 left dislocation topic 還有 hanging topic 在越南語中都是合法的句型,但是卻發現(95)的主題句是不合法的句型,且就算增加了主題標記(thi)或是代名詞這些變因都無法使句型合法。

(95) *Wangwu₁, cuốn sách₂ đó, anh ấy₁ rất thích e₂.

Wangwu CL book DEM he very like

'(As for Wangwu), that book, he likes very much.

不過,這個田調結果只可以得出越南語沒辦法使用多個主題詞結構,無法直接證明 topic-variable analysis 是否適用於越南語的空賓語。

同時也發現越南語空賓語使用 VP-ellipsis 分析只會有 strict reading 的語意解讀, sloppy reading 是完全無法出現的語意解釋,像是下列例句(96)。也因為越南語沒有 sloppy reading 的關係,可以證明越南語空賓語是無法用 variable 進行分析,因此,topic-variable analysis 確實不適用於分析越南語空賓語。

(96) Sam đã gặp mẹ của anh ấy. Mary cũng đã gặp,

Sam PAST see mom of he Mary also PAST see

'Sam saw his mother, and Mary did, too.'

- = 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw **Sam's mother**.' (OK strict, NO sloppy)
- ≠ 'Sam saw his mother, and Mary saw Mary's mother.'

以(96)來說,似乎越南語空賓語在 VP-ellipsis 的分析中只要其結構為 λx (x saw his mother),還是有其可行性。但在(97)例中,若將句型分析為 VP-ellipsis 的話,頻率詞組 hai l a n 'two times'出現在動詞後,照理來講應該也要因為 VP-ellipsis 的原因而被刪除,但事實並非如此,因此 VP-ellipsis 的分析是無法使用在越南語空賓語的。

(97) a. Wangwu đã đánh con của mình ba lần.

Wangwu PAST hit child of self three time

'Wangwu hit his child three times.'

b. Sau đó Xiaoming đánh e hai lần. (OK strict, NO sloppy)

Then Xiaoming hit two time

'Whereas Xiaoming hit *e* (= Wangwu's child) two times.'

同時,在雙賓結構的田調中也發現了有利的論證,證明越南語空賓語無法用 VP-ellipsis 或是 V-stranding VPE 來分析,越南語不會因為是非問答句中只單獨省略間接賓語而使句子不合法,如下列例(98)、(99)。再次證明越南語空賓語不應該使用 VP-ellipsis 或是 V-stranding VPE 這兩種分析方式。

(98) a. Wangwu đã tặng [cho Xiaoming] [một món quà tốt nghiệp] à?

Wangwu PAST give for Xiaoming one CL gift graduate PART 'Did Wangwu give Xiaoming a graduation gift?'

b. Wangwu tặng e [quà tốt nghiệp] rồi.

Wangwu give gift graduate PAST

'Yes, Wangwu gave (Xiaoming) a graduation gift.'

(99) a. Tôi đã tặng [cho Xiaoming] [quà tốt nghiệp].

I PAST give for Xiaoming gift graduate

'I gave Xiaoming a graduation gift.'

b. Bạn đã tặng e [quà tốt nghiệp] rồi à?

You past give gift graduate past part

'Did you give (Xiaoming) a graduation gift?'

最後,回到一開始越南語空賓語中不合法的基本句型(100),該如何以 argument ellipsis 來討論這個句子呢?若只是單看這個句子我們確實無法以 argument ellipsis 來分析這個句子的不合法,但若在句子前面增加了語境先行詞 Wangwu (101a),(101b)的主語和間接子句中的空賓語就可以合法共指到先行詞 Wangwu,使句型合法,證實 argument ellipsis的分析可以使用在越南空賓語上。

(100) Wangwu_i nói Xiaoming_i không quen $e_{*i/*j}$.

Wangwu say Xiaoming NEG know

'Wangwu said that Xiaoming did not know [him].'

(101) a. Wangwu $_i$ nói [Lisi quen anh ấy $_{i/j}$].

Wangwu say Lisi know he

'Wangwu says that Lisi knows him.'

b. nhưng anh ấy_i nói [Xiaoming không quen $e_{i/j}$].

but he say Xiaoming NEG know

'but he says that Xiaoming does not know [him].'

因此,我認為越南語空賓語應該要用論元刪略(argument ellipsis)來分析,而未來的研究方向可以從越南語空賓語的語意解讀著手,去探討是什麼樣的結構會導致只有 strict reading 存在,而不能出現 sloppy reading 的原因為何。

同時,因為越南語空賓語有 strict reading 的語意解讀,所以可以被分析為 demonstrative pronoun,但是問題是,根據 GCR+DJR 運作的結論是空賓語不能是 pro,兩 者產生矛盾,究竟 demonstrative pronoun 以及一般的 pronoun 有何不同也是日後可以進行 研究的方向。

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