

MENTAL STATE, VOLITION AND ARGUMENT REALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

We explore argument realization in the resultative *V-de* construction under the framework of the Theta System. We find that the theta grids of the resultative *V-de* construction are of two types, i.e., ([+c-m], [-c]) and ([+c-m], [-m]), depending on the (a-)thematic relation between the verb and second/internal argument. Crucially, the external argument always has a /-m feature (the minus value of the mental state), regardless of its animacy, leading to a non-volitional Agent reading (animate) and a Cause reading (inanimate). It is due to this [+c-m] feature cluster that the construction yields an unintended result reading, which captures its preference for the occurrence of *dou* ‘unexpectedly’ in the construction. In this sense, the resultative *V-de* construction can be considered as a non-volitional counterpart to its *de*-less counterpart. This contrast signals the grammatical/morphological coding of volition, with the assistance of *de*, in Mandarin Chinese. As for the internal argument, it can be either [-c] or [-m], and their syntactic and semantic differences lend credence to the

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distinction between “outer objects” and “outermost objects”. The syntactic distribution of [-c] is sensitive to animacy, with animate [-c] being allowed to in both [NP1 *V-de* NP2 XP] and [NP1 *ba*-NP2 *V-de* XP], and inanimate [-c] in [NP1 *ba*-NP2 *V-de* XP] only, due to the interactions between animacy and case. As for [-m], it occurs in [NP1 *V-de* NP2 XP], in which NP2 is not thematically related to V and *ba*-introduction is barred. This study enriches the Theta System with Chinese data, in special regard to how animacy, mental state, and volition may affect argument realization.

KEYWORDS

Resultative *V-de* construction Argument realization Volition Animacy
Theta system

1. INTRODUCTION TO *V-DE*

A Chinese verb, regardless of its transitivity, can be attached with *de* to form *V-de*, which anchors the well-known construction [NP1 *V-de* NP2 XP].¹ The intransitive *pao-de* ‘run-DE’ and transitive *qi-de* ‘annoy-DE’ are exemplified in (1) and (2), respectively.

- (1) Zhangsan pao de hen kuai. (*V_I-de*; manner *V-de*)
 PN run DE very fast
 ‘Zhangsan runs/ran fast.’
- (2) Zhangsan qi de wo bu xiang xie xin le.² (*V_I-de*; resultative
V-de)
 PN annoy DE me not want writeletter SFP
 ‘Zhangsan annoyed me so much that I didn’t want to write the letter.’

The construction is typically classified into two types, viz. the manner *V-de* and the resultative *V-de*, depending on the interpretation of the post-*de* XPs, as exemplified by (1) and (2) respectively. These two types also contrast syntactically with regard to whether a post-*de* NP is allowed or not. Huang, Li and Li (2009: 88) explicated that “a phonetically overt NP object is permitted post-verbally only in the resultative *V-de* construction”. This generalization, however, seems to be contradicted by attested data showing that post-*de* NPs cannot be licensed in some

心理状态、意愿性及论元实现

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摘要

本文在 Theta 系统理论框架下探讨[V-得]结构的论元实现方式。该构式有两种不同的论元结构,即([+c-m], [-c])和([+c-m], [-m]),两者的差异在于动词和内论元之间是否有述谓关系(thematic relation)。两种论元结构有一个重要的共同点,即外论元不具有心理状态的特性(即/-m)。具体而言,不管外论元是否具有生命性,该论元都没有执行动作的意愿性。生命性这一语义特征只能影响外论元的具体语义解读:如果外论元是有生命名词,该论元解读为无意愿性“施事”论元;如果外论元是无生命名词,该论元则解读为“原因”论元。不管具体解读如何,该外论元都含有无意愿性语义特征,这也解释了为何该结构倾向于选择具有出乎意料语义的“都”这一副词。据此,我们认为[V-得]结构的主要功能是无意愿性构式,而“V-得”则是汉语中无意愿性语义的语法体现。[V-得]结构的内论元具有无致使性(即[-c])或无心理性(即[-m]),两者的句法语义差异可以证实汉语中“外论元”和“最外论元”的存在。具体而言,无致使性内论元(即[-c])对生命性这一语义特征具有选择性,有生命的[-c]可以允准进入[V-得]结构,承担宾语功能,即[NP1 V-de NP2 XP];而无生命性[-c]只能借由“把”字引入,即[NP1 ba-NP2 V-de XP]。无心理性内论元[-m]则不受生命性特征影响,不管有无生命性,均可允准成为[V-得]结构的宾语;该宾语是“最外论元”,与动词没有述谓关系,也不能通过把字句引入。该研究用中文的语料丰富了 Theta 系统理论的研究;同时,该研究探讨了生命性、心理属性和意愿性等语义特征的句法实现。

关键词

结果性 V-得结构 论元实现 意愿性 生命性 Theta 系统理论