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論文題目：漢語平比句式的句法語意研究

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論文摘要

This thesis explores both syntax and semantics of *yi yang* 'same', *buyi yang* 'different' and three types of comparative constructions (i.e., scalar (un-)equatives, similarity comparatives and identity comparatives) headed by them in Mandarin. In the first place, we present several pieces of evidence (e.g., ellipsis, the scope of question particle and structural ambiguity) for a necessary distinction between two different uses of *yi yang* and *buyi yang*, namely, degree adverbs and adjectival predicates. Secondly, we argue that the comparative marker *gen/ he*, which introduces the comparative standard, is prepositional in these three types of comparatives. This in turn suggests an adjunction analysis for the structural configuration of comparatives (e.g., Liu 1996, Kennedy 1999, Lin 2009). Regarding scalar (un-)equatives, we propose that they are both syntactically and semantically headed by degree adverbs *yi yang* and *buyi yang*. Seen in this way, *yi yang* and *buyi yang* resemble the English degree morpheme *more* in two respects. First, all of them are the head of comparatives. Second, all of them are degree morphemes introducing an ordering relation between individuals with respect to possessing some gradable property.

Turning to similarity comparatives, we first propose that *yi yang* and *buyi yang*, resembling their counterparts *same* and *different* in English, are lexically ambiguous between similarity and identity readings in Mandarin. Regarding the syntax of similarity predicates, we propose that *yi yang* (but not *buyi yang*) syntactically combines with a clause which is complement in nature, since the extraction of elements from it does not render island effects (i.e., CED effects in the sense of Huang 1982). Further, this complement clause functionally serves as a further specification of the dimension of similarity.

For another, by relating dimensions of similarity to degrees of similarity and showing several parallels with measure phrases, we propose that the complement clause in question should be considered as measure phrases in similarity comparatives. Seen in this light, dubbed with Alrenga's (2007) insight that comparative adjectives such as *different* and

like determine positive and negative intervals of a scale (i.e., similarity), we suggest that the syntactic asymmetry between *iyang* and *buyiyang* can not be attributed to the idiosyncrasy of lexicons; rather, it is better considered as a reflex of the deeper syntax-semantics of measure phrases and the interval nature of *buyiyang*.

Concerning the semantics of similarity predicates, we argue against Alrenga's (2007) treatment of similarity *same* and *different* as a pair of total/partial adjectives; rather, we suggest that the two pairs of adjectives *same/ different* and *iyang/ buyiyang* be better considered as the adjectives with totally closed scale (e.g., *full/ empty, open/ closed*), rather than the adjectives with partially closed scale (e.g., *dry/ wet, straight/ bent*) (see Rotstein & Winter 2004, Kennedy & McNally 2005). Finally, we present a syntax-semantics analysis of similarity *iyang/ buyiyang* and similarity comparatives in Mandarin. In particular, we propose that similarity comparatives are both syntactically and semantically headed by similarity predicates *iyang* and *buyiyang*.

As for identity comparatives, we point out two potential problems for Alrenga's (2007) semantic analysis of identity *same* and *different*. The first problem is an empirical one, concerning the combination of *same* and proportion modifiers such as *almost* and *completely*. The second one is theoretical in nature, concerning the postulation of an abstract measure phrase. Given these considerations, I propose a syntax-semantics analysis of identity *iyang/ buyiyang* and identity comparatives in Mandarin. Specifically, following Alrenga's conception that individual identity itself constitutes as the dimension of comparison in identity comparatives, I propose that identity predicates *iyang* and *buyiyang* not only syntactically and semantically head identity comparatives, but also determine positive and negative intervals of a scale (i.e., cardinality). Importantly, our analysis requires *iyang* to return a positive interval on the relevant scale, and this move leaves room for how proportion adverbs semantically contribute to identity comparatives. Obviously, our analysis thus fares better than Alrenga's with respect to the empirical problem. However, with respect to the theoretical problem, our analysis suffers the same pain as Alrenga's does, since both analyses have to postulate an abstract measure phrase and the truth value of a comparative sentence relies on the combination of such degree morphemes.

Last but not the least, our analysis of similarity and identity comparatives sheds light on the nature of those comparative-like gradable

adjectives such as *yi yang* and *buyi yang*. More specifically, *yi yang* and *buyi yang* not only serve as the head of comparatives (i.e., similarity and identity), but also resemble gradable adjectives in determining an interval on the relevant scale (i.e., similarity and cardinality).

B. 具體貢獻

This thesis has important contributions in both empirical and theoretical respects. First of all, the last two decades have seen increased attention being given to comparatives and gradable adjectives in the literature. However, little research has been dedicated to similarity comparatives, identity comparatives, and comparative-like gradable adjectives. The study of these types of comparatives and gradable adjectives offers a fundamental understanding of the general properties of the notional category of “comparatives”. More precisely, each comparative construction (i.e., the three types of comparatives headed by *yi yang* and *buyi yang*) is ultimately concerned with the distances among individuals’ locations along the dimension(s) — whether the dimension of comparison involves multiple ones or is restricted to a single one, depends on the type of comparative constructions. Thus, our thesis serves as a first step towards that fundamental position.

Second, as indicated above, few studies have been done on similarity comparatives, identity comparatives, and comparative-like gradable adjectives, not to mention a more refined understanding of the correlation among comparatives, gradable adjectives, and comparative-like gradable adjectives. In this respect, our thesis crucially provides a position of evaluating those correlations. Descriptively, comparative-like gradable adjectives such as *yi yang* and *buyi yang* have not only properties of comparatives but also properties of gradable adjectives. To be more specific, on the one hand, they resemble comparatives in comparing individuals with respect to their locations along dimensions; On the other hand, they resemble gradable adjectives in determining positive and negative intervals of the relevant scale (i.e., similarity and cardinality). Finally, there are other comparative-like gradable adjectives such as *xiang tong* ‘identical’, *xiang yi* ‘distinct’, *bu tong* ‘non-identical’ and *(bu)xiang* ‘(dis)similar’ in Mandarin. It will thus be interesting to examine these comparative-like gradable adjectives with respect to their correlations between comparatives and gradable adjectives in both syntactic and semantic respects. Seen in this light, our thesis can be considered as a demonstration of this line of research

as well as a preliminary move towards an overall understanding of these comparative-like gradable adjectives in Mandarin.

Last but not least, the present study suggests a cross-linguistic variation between similarity predicates in Mandarin and those in English. In particular, it is proposed that the antonymous pair of similarity adjectives *yi* and *buyi* determine a positive interval and a negative interval on the similarity scale, respectively. In contrast, both *same* and *different* introduce positive intervals, though on different scales (i.e., similarity and dissimilarity). An important empirical consequence following from this proposal is that it immediately explains why the syntactic asymmetry (i.e., mentioned in part A above) exists in Mandarin but not in English. For another, the proposal concerning the interval nature of *yi* and *buyi* is consistent with the study of Kennedy (1999, 2001) and Kennedy & McNally (2005) on the interval relation of an antonymous pair of gradable adjectives. Still another, this proposal regarding the interval nature of *different* is also supported by Alrenga's (2007) dissertation. In this line of research, it would be thus interesting to examine whether there are more linguistic phenomena along this cross-linguistic variation in the future.