

## CHAPTER I

### DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" AND "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" CONSTRUCTIONS

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DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
"V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" (\*<sup>1</sup>) AND "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" (\*<sup>2</sup>) CONSTRUCTIONS (\*<sup>3</sup>)

FUMIYOSHI MATSUMURA

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

In comparing a radio broadcast of "Niumeng<sup>22</sup>(The Gadfly)" (broadcast for a total of 17.5 hours from 3.8 to 4.11. 1980 on Tianjin Renmin Guangbo Diantai) and the novel "Niumeng" (1953, Beijing. 1979, Shanghai, Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe), many differences were observed. These differences are assumed to have resulted from revisions of the written text made by the announcers during the course of the radio broadcast. (\*<sup>4</sup>)

0.2 PURPOSE

We can find various kinds of revisions among these data. Here we will only discuss revisions between "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" and "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions in Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin). (\*<sup>5</sup>) Our purpose here is to interpret discourse and syntactic differences between these two constructions.

0.3 PROCEDURES

Look at the following examples:

1. Tamen<sup>10</sup> like<sup>44</sup> fa<sup>1</sup> jingbao<sup>34</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> jiao<sup>4</sup> [leqilai<sup>000</sup>->qilai<sup>000</sup>]  
他們 立刻 發 警報 把 我 也 叫 了 起 來 起 來 了  
; wo<sup>3</sup> dao<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> laofangli<sup>220</sup> yi<sup>4</sup> cha<sup>2</sup>, faxian<sup>14</sup> chuangshang<sup>10</sup> de<sup>0</sup>  
我 到 他 的 牢 房 里 一 查 發 現 窗 上 的  
tietiao<sup>32</sup> ..... (N278) (\*<sup>6</sup>)  
鐵 條

(They raised an alarm at once and called me up; and when I went to examine his cell I found all the window-bars ... (p. 344) (\*<sup>6</sup>)

2. Wo<sup>3</sup> nenggou<sup>24</sup> xiangdao<sup>34</sup> de<sup>0</sup> weiyi<sup>21</sup> yuanyin<sup>21</sup>, shi<sup>0</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> jiu<sup>4</sup> bing<sup>4</sup>  
我 能 够 想 到 的 唯 一 原 因 是 他 的 旧 病  
you<sup>4</sup> <fu<sup>4</sup>> fa<sup>1</sup> (zuo<sup>4</sup>) le<sup>0</sup>; qixian<sup>31</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> (hai<sup>2</sup>) pinming<sup>14</sup> de<sup>0</sup> zhengzha<sup>12</sup>,  
又 復 發 作 了 起 先 他 還 拼 命 地 掙 扎  
ba<sup>3</sup> zuihou<sup>44</sup> yisi<sup>41</sup> (qili<sup>44</sup>->liqi<sup>40</sup>) dou<sup>1</sup> shi<sup>3</sup> [lechulai<sup>000</sup>->chulaile<sup>0</sup>]  
把 最 后 一 絲 氣 力 力 氣 都 使 了 出 來 出 來 了

00], jizhi<sup>24</sup> daole<sup>40</sup> yuanzili<sup>400</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> jing<sup>1</sup> pi<sup>2</sup> li<sup>4</sup> jie<sup>2</sup> jiu<sup>4</sup> [yun<sup>1</sup>->  
及至 到了 院子里 他精疲力竭就晕  
hun<sup>1</sup>] guoqule<sup>000</sup>. (N279)

昏 過去了

(The only thing I can think of is that one of these attacks must have come on, and that he must have struggled against it as long as his strength lasted and have fainted from sheer exhaustion when he got into the courtyard. (p. 346))

In 1, the radio announcer revised "jiaoleqilai<sup>4000</sup> (called up)" into "jiaoqilaile<sup>4000</sup> (called up)". And also in 2, "shilechulai<sup>3000</sup> (exhausted)" was revised into "shichulaile<sup>3000</sup> (exhausted)". In these two sentences, "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions were revised into "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions. But in the following sentences, on the contrary, "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions were revised into "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions.

3. "jiushi<sup>40</sup> jintian<sup>11</sup> wan<sup>3</sup>... wanshang<sup>30</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> dao<sup>4</sup> zher<sup>4</sup> lai<sup>2</sup> zhezhuang<sup>41</sup>  
就是 今天 晚 晚上 你到这儿来 這樁  
shi<sup>4</sup>, wo<sup>3</sup> xiangxin<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> kanbuchu<sup>400</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> you<sup>3</sup> shenme<sup>20</sup> huaji<sup>21</sup> de<sup>0</sup>  
事 我相信 你也看不出 他有什麼滑稽的  
difang<sup>41</sup> (ba<sup>0</sup>)." Mengtainili<sup>2423</sup> zhan<sup>4</sup> [qilaile<sup>000</sup>->leqilai<sup>000</sup>]. "Wo<sup>3</sup>  
地方 吧 蒙太尼里 站 起來了 了起來 我  
shi<sup>0</sup> dao<sup>4</sup> zher<sup>4</sup> lai<sup>2</sup> ting<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> shuo<sup>1</sup> suo<sup>3</sup> yao<sup>4</sup> shuo<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> hua<sup>4</sup> de<sup>0</sup>;"  
是到這來听你說所要說的話的(N294-5)  
(I d-don't believe you e-even see anything c-c-comic in the business  
you have c-come about this evening." Montanelli rose. "I came to  
hear what you have to say; ..." (p. 364))

4. Shui<sup>2</sup> zhi<sup>1</sup> na<sup>4</sup> chuanzhe<sup>10</sup> da<sup>4</sup> hong<sup>2</sup> fayi<sup>31</sup> de<sup>0</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> yi<sup>2</sup> kuadao<sup>44</sup> mian-  
誰 知 那 穿着 大紅 法衣 的人 一跨到 面  
qian<sup>42</sup>, Niumeng<sup>22</sup> de<sup>0</sup> shenzi<sup>10</sup> jiu<sup>4</sup> turan<sup>12</sup> yaohuang<sup>24</sup> <le<sup>0</sup>>qilai<sup>00</sup>, na<sup>2</sup>  
前 牛虻 的身子 就 突然 搖晃 了起來 拿  
qiang<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> shou<sup>3</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> chui<sup>2</sup> [xiaqule<sup>000</sup> -> lexiaqu<sup>000</sup>]. Zhe<sup>3</sup> yi<sup>2</sup> chana<sup>44</sup>  
槍 的手 也 垂 下去了 了下去 這一剎那  
jiu<sup>4</sup> juedingle<sup>240</sup> yiqie<sup>24</sup>. (N250)  
就 決定了 一切

(But as the figure in the scarlet cassock stepped forward, the Gadfly suddenly wavered and the hand with the pistol sank down. The instant decided everything. (p. 310))

In 3, "zhanqilai<sup>4000</sup>(rose)" was revised into "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>(rose)".  
In 4, "chui<sup>2000</sup>xiagu<sup>2000</sup>(sank down) was also revised into "chui<sup>2000</sup>lexiaqu<sup>2000</sup>  
(sank down)". This paper attempts to offer an explanation for these types  
of variation.

PROCEDURE I Discourse and syntactic conditions are investigated indepen-  
dently in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" and "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions. Here we  
use two types of language data. One is a broadcast of "Niu-  
meng" (henceforth we call it "AUDIBLE LEVEL"). The other is  
the novel "Niumeng" (henceforth "VISIBLE LEVEL"). In this  
PROCEDURE I, we collected examples in which the visible  
level data are coincidental with the audible level data.  
We easily find many examples of "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" and "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le"  
constructions. By analyzing these examples, we inductively  
reach a conclusion about the conditions of the respective  
constructions .

PROCEDURE II By comparing the audible level data with the visible level  
data, we investigate under which conditions "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" con-  
structions are revised into "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, and  
do the same for "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" into "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le". In this process  
the announcers' (native speakers') unconscious linguistic  
intuitions are revealed, if the conclusions inductively  
reached here coincide with those in PROCEDURE I. This allows  
us to confirm that the analyses in PROCEDURE I are correct.

PROCEDURE III By comparing the audible level data to the visible level  
data, we also investigate the cases in which "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>"  
constructions are reduced to "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, and also  
"V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" to "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>". If the conclusions here are iden-  
tical to those in PROCEDURE I, we may also be able to show  
that the analyses in PROCEDURE I are correct. By this  
process we can reveal the native speakers' unconcious lin-  
guistic intuitions.

1. DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC CONDITIONS OF "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" AND "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le"  
CONSTRUCTIONS

1.1 DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC CONDITIONS OF "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

The remarkable characteristic in this construction is that the majority

of verbs are motion verbs which express "human action". Non-motion verbs are very rare in this construction. In this section, we deal with two cases. One is the case in which sentences end in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, and the other is the case in which sentences do not end in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions.

### 1.1.1 SENTENCES ENDING IN "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

The first type in this case is the one in which "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions express "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the verb phrases which precede them. Look at the following examples:

5. Mengtainili<sup>2423</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> yizi<sup>30</sup> nuojin<sup>24</sup> caojian<sup>34</sup>, zuolexialai<sup>4000</sup>. Niumeng<sup>22</sup>  
 蒙太尼里 把椅子挪近 草荐 坐了下来 牛虻  
 tangzai<sup>34</sup> nar<sup>4</sup> dong<sup>4</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> bu<sup>2</sup> dong<sup>4</sup>, haoxiang<sup>34</sup> yi<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>4</sup> sishi<sup>31</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup>  
 躺在 那儿动 也不动 好象 一具死屍 他的  
 lian<sup>3</sup> shi<sup>0</sup> qinghuise<sup>114</sup> de<sup>0</sup>, tieban<sup>33</sup> de<sup>0</sup>. (N293)  
 臉 是 青灰色 的 鐵板 的

(Montanelli drew his chair closer to the pallet and sat down. The Gadfly was lying quite motionless, like a corpse, and his face was livid and drawn. (p. 363))

6. Na<sup>4</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> ge<sup>0</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> huxiang<sup>41</sup> shishi<sup>30</sup> yanse<sup>34</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>, haishi<sup>20</sup>  
 那几个人 互相 使使 眼色 也 站了起来 還是  
 neige<sup>40</sup> tuding<sup>13</sup> xingzheng<sup>24</sup> kezhang<sup>13</sup> shuo<sup>1</sup>: "<ei<sup>4</sup>>, kanlai<sup>42</sup> zhei<sup>4</sup>  
 那个 秃頂 行政 科長 說 欸 看来 這  
 manzhuo<sup>31</sup> jiucai<sup>34</sup> <r> bing<sup>4</sup> bushi<sup>20</sup> wei<sup>4</sup> women<sup>30</sup> yubei<sup>44</sup> de<sup>0</sup>. (Q31) (\*6)  
 滿桌 酒菜 并 不是 為 我們 預備 的

In 5, "jin<sup>4</sup>" in "nuojin<sup>24</sup> (drew closer)" is a "RESULTATIVE" complement (\*7), "le<sup>0</sup>" in "zuolexialai<sup>4000</sup> (sat down)" is a "PERFECTIVE" aspect marker. In 6, Reduplication of the verb, "shishi<sup>30</sup> (winked)" expresses a "TENTATIVE" or a "DELIMITATIVE" aspect, and "le<sup>0</sup>" in "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> (stood up)" is a "PERFECTIVE" aspect marker. As a result "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions in these sentences play a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding verb phrases (\*8). Although the "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction is not followed by a period in 6, from a semantic point of view, we regard it as followed by a period.

The discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" is found through discourse analysis of the following sentences.

7. [Zhe<sup>4</sup>shi<sup>2</sup>→Zheige<sup>40</sup> shihou<sup>20</sup>], yizhi<sup>42</sup> baochizhe<sup>320</sup> lengjing<sup>34</sup> de<sup>0</sup> Shi<sup>2</sup>  
 這時 這個 時候 一直 保持着 冷靜 的 石

Gan<sup>3</sup>, cong<sup>2</sup> [zhuopang<sup>12</sup> → zhuozi<sup>10</sup> pangbian<sup>21</sup>] zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup>  
 敢 从 桌傍 桌子 傍邊儿 站了起来 他  
 huanshi<sup>24</sup> sizhou<sup>41</sup>, weiyuanmen<sup>320</sup> dou<sup>1</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> lengjun<sup>34</sup> de<sup>0</sup> biaoqing<sup>32</sup>  
 環視 四周 委員們 都 被 他 冷峻 的 表情  
 zhenzhu<sup>44</sup> le<sup>0</sup>, huichangshang<sup>430</sup> dunshi<sup>42</sup> yaque<sup>14</sup> wu<sup>2</sup> sheng<sup>1</sup>. (QH17)  
 鎮住 了 會場上 頓時 鴉雀 無聲

In 7, "-zhe<sup>0</sup>" in "baochizhe<sup>320</sup> (keep)" is a "DURATIVE" or a "PROGRESSIVE" aspect marker (\*<sup>9</sup>), so "baochizhe<sup>320</sup>" expresses a "DURATIVE" aspect. "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> (stood up)" expresses a "PERFECTIVE" aspect. But "baochizhe<sup>320</sup>" is included in the modifier of the noun phrase "Shi<sup>2</sup> Gan<sup>3</sup> (name)". From a syntactic point of view, there will be no way of explaining the relationship between these two verb phrases. If we are asked to explain the usages of "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>", we have to refer to the preceding VP "baochizhe<sup>320</sup>". So we change our point of view from a syntactic one to a semantic or discourse one. From a semantic point of view, we can apply a notion—a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST"—to explain the relationship between "baochizhe<sup>320</sup>" and "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>".

The second type of this case is the one in which the conversational sentence occurs in front of the sentence which is ending in a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction. The examples are always followed by other conversational sentences. Look at the following examples:

8. "...! Ni<sup>3</sup> jing<sup>4</sup> yizhi<sup>42</sup> meiyou<sup>20</sup> kanchu<sup>40</sup> majiao<sup>33</sup> lai<sup>0</sup> ma<sup>0</sup>?" Mengtai-  
 你 竟 一 直 没 有 看 出 馬 脚 來 嗎 蒙 太  
 nili<sup>2423</sup> zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>. "Name<sup>40</sup>, Liewaleishi<sup>4324</sup> xiansheng<sup>10</sup>, lun-  
 尼 里 站 了 起 來 那 麼 列 瓦 雷 士 先 生 論  
 zhan<sup>44</sup> shuangfang<sup>11</sup> de<sup>0</sup> wenzhang<sup>21</sup> dou<sup>1</sup> shi<sup>0</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> yige<sup>20</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> xie<sup>3</sup> de<sup>0</sup>  
 戰 雙 方 的 文 章 都 是 你 一 個 人 寫 的  
 le<sup>0</sup>, shi<sup>4</sup> bushi<sup>00</sup>? (N265)  
 了 是 不 是

(...! You n-never saw the cloven hoof?" Montanelli stood up. "Am I to understand, signor Rivarez, that you wrote both sides of the controversy yourself?" (p. 329)

In 8, the sentence which precedes "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" is Niumeng's (Gadfly's) speech. If we expand the limit of the application of the discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the covert linguistic form, we can interpret "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" as the overt form of "tingwan<sup>12</sup> Niumeng<sup>22</sup> de<sup>0</sup> hua<sup>4</sup> zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> (heard Gadfly's words and stood up)". In this covert form,

"wan<sup>2</sup>" in "tingwan<sup>12</sup>" is a "RESULTATIVE" phase marker, so "tingwan<sup>12</sup>" expresses a "RESULTATIVE" aspect (\*10). "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" is "PERFECTIVE". So "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" plays a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST". This covert form is indispensable to the discourse analysis of this sentence. The following example can be analyzed in a similar way.

9. "Wei<sup>4</sup> shenme<sup>20</sup> ?" [Ta<sup>1</sup>->Niumeng<sup>22</sup>] you<sup>4</sup> jicu<sup>24</sup> er<sup>2</sup> culu<sup>13</sup> de<sup>0</sup> xiaole-  
 為 什 麼 他 牛 虻 又 急 促 而 粗 魯 地 笑 了  
 qilai<sup>4000</sup>. "Wei<sup>4</sup> shenme<sup>20</sup> ? < Wo<sup>3</sup> xiang<sup>3</sup> > Yinwei<sup>10</sup> dangshi<sup>12</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> shi<sup>0</sup>  
 起 來 為 什 麼 我 想 因 為 當 時 我 是  
 yitou<sup>42</sup> ziming<sup>44</sup> bu<sup>4</sup> fan<sup>2</sup> de<sup>0</sup> xiao<sup>3</sup> yeshou<sup>34</sup>. . . . ." (N 173)  
 一 頭 自 命 不 凡 的 小 野 獸  
 ("Why?" He laughed again in his quick, harsh way. "Why? Because I was  
 a priggish young cub, I suppose. (p. 217))

10. "Zhujiào<sup>34</sup> daren<sup>42</sup>, wo<sup>3</sup> shi<sup>0</sup> yige<sup>20</sup> jidu<sup>11</sup><jiao<sup>4</sup>>tu<sup>2</sup>, erqie<sup>23</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> xiang<sup>4</sup>  
 主 教 大 人 我 是 一 個 基 督 教 徒 而 且 我 向  
 Shangdi<sup>44</sup> qingqiu<sup>32</sup> mianzui<sup>34</sup> shi<sup>2</sup> conglai<sup>22</sup> bu<sup>2</sup> bei<sup>4</sup> jujue<sup>42</sup> de<sup>0</sup>. "Meng-  
 上 帝 請 求 免 罪 時 從 來 不 被 拒 絕 的 蒙  
 tainili<sup>2423</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> xiong<sup>1</sup> qian<sup>2</sup> de<sup>0</sup> shizijia<sup>244</sup> juleqilai<sup>3000</sup>. "Name<sup>40</sup>  
 太 尼 里 把 他 胸 前 的 十 字 架 舉 了 起 來 那 麼  
 ni<sup>3</sup> dei<sup>3</sup> zai<sup>4</sup> wei<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> xisheng<sup>11</sup> de<sup>0</sup> jiuzhu<sup>43</sup> de<sup>0</sup> shizijia<sup>244</sup> qian<sup>2</sup>  
 你 得 在 為 你 犧 牲 的 救 主 的 十 字 架 前  
 (mian<sup>4</sup>) fashi<sup>14</sup>, biao ming<sup>32</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> gangcai<sup>12</sup> dui<sup>4</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> shuo<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> yiqie<sup>12</sup> dou<sup>1</sup>  
 面 發 誓 表 明 你 剛 才 對 我 說 的 一 切 都  
 shi<sup>0</sup> shizai<sup>24</sup> de<sup>0</sup>." (N 287)  
 是 實 在 的  
 (Your eminence I am a Christian man, and I have never yet been refused  
 absolution." Montanelli lifted the cross from his breast. "Then swear  
 on the cross of the Redeemer who died for you that you have been speak-  
 ing the truth to me." (p. 355))

### 1.1.2 SENTENCES NOT ENDING IN "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

When "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions are followed by sentences, "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>"-constructions indicate "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the verb phrases contained in the following sentences. Look at the following examples:

11. Dang<sup>1</sup> (ta<sup>1</sup> → Niumeng<sup>22</sup>) jinlai<sup>42</sup> de<sup>0</sup> shihou<sup>20</sup>, [ ta<sup>1</sup> → laotaipo<sup>342</sup> ]  
 当 他 牛虻 進來 的 時候 她 老太婆  
zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>, na<sup>2</sup> ruili<sup>44</sup>de<sup>0</sup> heise<sup>14</sup> yanjing<sup>30</sup> dui<sup>4</sup> [ta<sup>1</sup>→Niumeng<sup>22</sup>]  
 站了起來 拿 銳利 的 黑色 眼睛 對 他 牛虻  
zhushizhe<sup>440</sup>. (N 224)

注視着

(As he came in, she rose and looked at him with keen black eyes. (p. 277))

12. (2) "Ta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>3</sup>-le<sup>0</sup> ma<sup>0</sup>?" (1) Shangjiao<sup>44</sup> bu<sup>4</sup> gan<sup>3</sup> chu<sup>1</sup> sheng<sup>1</sup> de<sup>0</sup> wen<sup>4</sup>;  
 他 死了 嗎 上校 不 敢 出 聲 地 問  
 Yisheng<sup>11</sup> guilexiaqu<sup>4000</sup>, shen<sup>1</sup> shou<sup>3</sup> momo<sup>10</sup> na<sup>4</sup> xuelinlin<sup>422</sup> de<sup>0</sup>  
 醫生 跪了 下去 伸 手 摸 摸 那 血 淋 淋 的  
 chenshan<sup>41</sup> qingsheng<sup>11</sup> <de<sup>0</sup>> huida<sup>22</sup> shuo<sup>1</sup>: "... (N 316)  
 襯衫 輕聲 的 回 答 說

("Is he dead?" the colonel asked under his breath; and the doctor, kneel-  
 ing down with a hand on the bloody shirt, answered softly: "... (p. 389))

13. Niumeng<sup>22</sup> bujue<sup>42</sup> jingluan<sup>42</sup> de<sup>0</sup> xia<sup>4</sup><le<sup>0</sup>>yi<sup>2</sup> tiao<sup>4</sup>, like<sup>44</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> shenzi<sup>10</sup>  
 牛虻 不 覺 痙攣 地 嚇 了 一 跳 立 刻 把 身 子  
suolexiaqu<sup>1000</sup>, zai<sup>4</sup> pidai<sup>24</sup> de<sup>0</sup> ciya<sup>41</sup> xia<sup>4</sup> bingzhule<sup>300</sup> huxi<sup>11</sup>. (N 289)  
 縮 了 下 去 在 皮 帶 的 刺 壓 下 屏 住 了 呼 吸

(He started convulsively, and then shrank down, catching his breath under the stinging pressure of the straps. (p. 358))

In 11, "-zhe<sup>0</sup>" in "zhushizhe<sup>440</sup> (gaze at)" is a "DURATIVE" or "PROGRESSIVE" aspect marker, so "zhushizhe<sup>440</sup>" gives an aspectual contrast with the preceding VP "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>". "zhushizhe<sup>440</sup>" expresses a "DURATIVE" aspect.

In 12, a reduplication of the verb, "momo<sup>10</sup> (touch)" expresses a "TENTATIVE" or "DELIMITATIVE" aspect. In 13, "zhu<sup>4</sup>" in "bingzhule (held one's breath)" is a "RESULTATIVE" complement (\*11). So each "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" in these sentences plays a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST", though their contrastive pairs have different aspectual meanings respectively.

## 1.2 DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC CONDITIONS OF "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" CONSTRUCTIONS

These constructions have three noticeable characteristics. The first one is that they often occur together with some adverbials like "jiu<sup>4</sup>, yijing<sup>31</sup>, jiuyao<sup>44</sup>, jihu<sup>11</sup>," etc. The second one is that although they do not occur with the adverbials mentioned above, "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions still accomplish a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS". The third one is that both motion and non-motion verbs occur, though non-motion verbs rarely occur

in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions.

1.2.1 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" CONSTRUCTIONS OCCURRING WITH SUCH ADVERBIALS AS "jiu<sup>4</sup>(as soon as)", "bian<sup>4</sup>(as soon as)", "you<sup>4</sup>(again)", "yijing<sup>31</sup>(already)", etc.

14. <那麼> 听大人的便 <吧>, " 統領 悻悻地 恭恭敬敬 回答了一聲, 就 退出来了, (并)<他> 自言自語地 喃喃說: "他們簡直是一對, 都是一對牛脾氣。" (N 260)  
(*"As your eminence pleases," the Governor replied with sulky respectfulness, and went away, grumbling to himself: "They are about a pair, as far as obstinacy goes."* (p. 323))
15. "這儿来, 弟兄們!" [ 他 → 指揮員 ] 在馬鞍上 摇晃了几下, 身体便 沈下去了; 原来 牛虻 已經 又一彈 將他 命中。 (N 249)  
(*"This way, men!" He swayed in the saddle and sank back; the Gadfly had fired again with his deadly aim. (p. 308))*
16. [ 他們 → 琮瑪和牛虻 ] 的眼睛 接觸了一下, 又都 低下去了; 誰都沒有說出那个彼此都已心照的名字来。 (N 232)  
(*Their eyes met for an instant, and dropped; and neither of them uttered the name that was in both their minds. (p. 287)*
17. "啊, 你們這些毒蛇的子孫啊, 我已經為了你們把他交出去了! 把你們救主的遗体 拿去吧, ……." (N 330)  
(*"Oh, generation of vipers, I have given him up for you! Take your salvation, since it is yours!" (p. 409))*

In these sentences, "jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "bian<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "you<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "yijing<sup>31</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>" are making a "MODAL FRAME" expressing the speaker's mental attitude, to which we postulate a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS" (\*<sup>12</sup>). It should be noted clearly that this discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS" has overt syntactic forms like "jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>". This discourse decision role is also prominent in the following examples:

18. 无非 <是> 要馬上斬斷那次會見, 因為再談五分鐘, 他可能就要哭出来了。当天下午 (他 → 牛虻) 被…… (N 268)  
(*... merely to cut short an interview which, in another five minutes, would have ended in tears. Called up for interrogation in the afternoon on the same day, ... (p. 333)*)

19. [她-> 琼瑪] 放下了 杯子。几乎 抽咽起来了。她說: "不要 這樣!"  
(N 242)  
(She put down the glass. "Don't!" she said, with almost a sob. (p. 299)
20. 蒙太尼里 連 嘴唇 都 變白了, 急忙 回 [轉-> 過] 身子 去 打 鈴。② "你  
們 可 以 把 犯 人 押 回 去 了。" ① (他) 等 衛 兵 進 來 <的> 時 <候> 說。(N 267)  
(Montanelli, white to the very lips, turned away and rang the bell. "you  
can take back the prisoner," he said, when the guards came in. (p. 331)
21. "<哦,> 十一 點 半 了, 我 們 不 能 再 耽 下 去 了, 否 則 巡 夜 的 人 會 發 現 我 們  
的。(N 217)  
(Half-past eleven; we mustn't stop any longer or the night-watchman may  
see us." (p. 271)

In 18 and 19, "jiuyao<sup>44</sup>...le<sup>0</sup>(be about to)" and "jihu<sup>11</sup>...le<sup>0</sup>(almost)" express a "POSSIBILITY IN THE NEAR FUTURE" which seems to belong to a discourse decision role "NATURAL PROGRESS". But we do not find that role between "keyi<sup>20</sup>可以" and "le<sup>0</sup>了" in 20 and "buneng<sup>42</sup>不能" and "le<sup>0</sup>了" in 21. As for examples 20 and 21, discourse meanings should be considered. In 20, we find a verb phrase "da<sup>3</sup> ling<sup>2</sup> 打鈴(rang the bell)" in the preceding sentence. So we find a "NATURAL PROGRESS" between the VP "打鈴" and the VP "可以把犯人押回去了". Here we conclude that "le<sup>0</sup>了" in "yahuiqule<sup>1000</sup>押回去了" still has a discourse decision role "NATURAL PROGRESS". In 21, we find a VP "shiyi<sup>21</sup> dian<sup>3</sup> ban<sup>4</sup> le<sup>0</sup> 十一點半了" in the preceding sentence. We find a "NATURAL PROGRESS" between the VP "十一點半了" and the VP "bu<sup>4</sup> neng<sup>2</sup> zai<sup>4</sup> danxiaqule<sup>1000</sup> 不能再耽下去了". So "le<sup>0</sup>了" in "耽下去了" has a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS"

In the examples above, most of the verbs are motional. But we can also find non-motion verb phrases as in the following examples:

22. 因 為 我 照 顧 到 你 們 的 懦 弱 和 愁 苦, 照 顧 到 你 們 膝 下 的 小 孩 兒, 眼 看 到  
他 們 不 得 不 死, 我 心 里 就 不 忍 起 來 了。我 看 着 我 那 ……(N 329)  
(For I looked upon your weakness and your sorrow, and upon the little  
children about your feet; and my heart was moved to compassion for  
their sake, that they must die. Then I looked into my dear. …(p. 408)

23. "那麼,照你的意思,如果活是我的任務,我就不得不活下去了。你真是個幸運兒,列瓦雷士。"(N 239)

(And if it's my business to live, I have got to do that, I suppose. You are the lucky one, Rivarez." (N 239)

In 22, the adverbial "jiu<sup>4</sup>" not only takes the syntactic form "jiu<sup>4</sup> ...le<sup>0</sup>" which constitutes a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS", but also establishes a logical relationship with the conjunction "yinwei<sup>10</sup>(because)" which is put at the beginning of this sentence. "yinwei<sup>10</sup>...jiu<sup>4</sup>..." establishes a "CAUSE AND EFFECT" relation. Similarly in 23, "Ruguo<sup>23</sup> ... jiu<sup>4</sup> ..." establishes an "ASSUMPTION AND RESULT" relation. As a matter of fact these syntactic relations are considered supporting devices of a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS". So in 22 and 23, the syntactic forms "jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>" express "NATURAL PROGRESS".

1.2.2 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" CONSTRUCTIONS NOT OCCURRING WITH ADVERBIALS SUCH AS "jiu<sup>4</sup>, bian<sup>4</sup>, you<sup>4</sup>, yijing<sup>31</sup>, etc"

In the following examples, there are no adverbials like "jiu<sup>4</sup>". We can find adverbials like "dou<sup>1</sup>, ye<sup>3</sup>" in these sentences, but they do not make "MODAL FRAMES" with "le".

24. 我可還一直不肯去死!我把這一切都忍受下來了,我拼命忍耐着,等待着,因為……(N 305)  
(And yet I would not die! I have endured it all, and have possessed my soul in patience, because I would come back and fight this God of yours. (p. 375-6)
25. 李干見「長這副樣子,象[吞→吃]了定心丸,緊張的情緒也緩和下來了。(說:) "<「長,>服務大隊有人鬧事。"(Q 40)  
(...be reassured...), (...relaxed...)
26. 王冠雄大聲為自己弁解着。他是有苦說不出,只好硬着頭皮頂下去了。喬光朴推門進去,一眼從嘈雜的人群里看到杜兵。  
(QH 16) (...have pain but cannot speak...) (...continued to endure...)
27. "沒有,他本來準備第二天早晨和我在這兒會面的。" "對了,我想起來了。現在他在哪兒?" "閃在那個堡壘里,看守<看得非常嚴密,扼說還上了鎖鑰。"(N 252)  
(No; he was to have met me here the next morning." "Yes, I remember. Where is he?" "In the fortress; very strictly

guarded, and, they say, in chains." (p. 312)

In the sentences above, we cannot find any explicit syntactic forms like "jiu<sup>4</sup>...le<sup>0</sup>". So from a syntactic point of view (= a sentence grammar), we have no way to give a more detailed analysis. But from a discourse point of view, we can find "a uniformity of meaning" in each sentence. In 24, we discover "a uniformity of meaning" between "bu<sup>4</sup> ken<sup>3</sup> qu<sup>4</sup> si<sup>3</sup> (would not die)" and "ren-shouxialaile<sup>34000</sup> (have possessed my soul in patience)". Both phrases contain the semantic feature "+(difficulty in realization)", which composes a uniformity of meaning between these two phrases. This uniformity of meaning seems to be a subcategory of the discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS". So we find the discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS" between these two phrases. Similarly in 25, 26, and 27, we can find the same "uniformity of meaning" between the underlined parts. According to the descriptions in 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions always indicate "NATURAL PROGRESS", whether they occur with some adverbials like "jiu<sup>4</sup>" or not.

In short "rugu<sup>23</sup>...jiu<sup>4</sup>...V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le", "...jiu<sup>4</sup>...V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le", and "...V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" equally constitute a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS".

## 2. REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-<le>-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" AND REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-<le>" CONSTRUCTIONS

### 2.1 REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-<le>-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 2.1.1 SENTENCES ENDING IN "V-<le>-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS AT THE AUDIBLE LEVEL OF LANGUAGE DATA

Look at the following examples:

28. "不要講了! 我再也听不下去了! 停止吧, 看上帝的分上! <不要再講下去>" [她 → 琼瑪] 用兩手 掩着耳朵 站<了>起来。  
[他 → 牛虻] 把話截住了, <他>抬起頭, 看見 [她 → 琼瑪] 眼睛里含着晶瑩的(眼)泪, <珠>。(N 176)  
("Don't! I can't bear any more! Stop, for God's sake!" She was standing up with both hands over her ears. He broke off, and looking up saw the glitter of tears in her eyes. (p. 221)

In 28, "zhanqilai<sup>400</sup> (站起来)" in the visible level data is revised to "zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup> (站了起来)" at the audible level. The announcer unconsciously inserts an aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>" to the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>"-construction "zhanqilai<sup>400</sup>". Why does the announcer add a "le<sup>0</sup>"? When

we discussed "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions in 1.1.1, it was pointed out that the first type of sentences ending in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions express an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the verb phrases which precede them. Turning back to the sentence 28, "zhe<sup>0</sup>" in the preceding verb phrase "yanzhe<sup>30</sup> (掩着: be covering)" is a "DURATIVE" or a "PROGRESSIVE" aspect marker, so the announcer considered that the following "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>"-construction should be attached some aspectual meaning in order to make an aspectual contrast clear, so an aspect marker "-le<sup>0</sup>" was put in the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>"-constructions. Then it was revised to a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction. Here "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" expresses a "PERFECTIVE" aspect. That is the reason why the announcer adds an aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>" to this sentence. This fact conversely shows that the analyses of the "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions in 1.1.1 are proved to be true by the announcer's unconscious linguistic intuition. Notice that the addition of "le" in 28 supplies us with strong evidence for the existence of a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST".

If we expand our point of view from a syntactic one to a discourse one, we will also discover the following type of example.

29. Mikailai<sup>432</sup> chuizhe<sup>10</sup> koushao<sup>34</sup> zouguolai<sup>300</sup>, na<sup>4</sup> jiaohuazi<sup>410</sup>  
 密凱萊 吹着 口哨 走過來 那 叫化子  
 shunbian<sup>44</sup> gei<sup>3</sup>(le<sup>0</sup>) ta<sup>1</sup> yige<sup>20</sup> jinggao<sup>34</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> jiu<sup>4</sup> congong<sup>12</sup>  
 順便 給了他一個 警告 他就 從容  
 bu<sup>2</sup> po<sup>4</sup> de<sup>0</sup> ba<sup>3</sup> zhe<sup>4</sup> xiaoxi<sup>10</sup> daigei<sup>43</sup> na<sup>4</sup> sange<sup>10</sup> zhengzai<sup>44</sup>  
 不 迫地 把這 消息 帶給 那 三個 正在  
 yike<sup>41</sup> shu<sup>4</sup> xia<sup>4</sup> jiao<sup>3</sup> <zhe<sup>0</sup>> shengcong<sup>11</sup> de<sup>0</sup> xiangxiaren<sup>142</sup>.  
 一棵 樹 下 曬 着 生葱 的 鄉下人  
 Tamen<sup>10</sup> like<sup>44</sup> zhan <le> qilai<sup>4000</sup>, genzai<sup>14</sup> ( ta<sup>1</sup> -> Mikailai<sup>432</sup> )  
 他們 立刻 站 了 起來 跟在 他 密凱萊  
 hounian<sup>44</sup> <zou<sup>3</sup>> laile<sup>00</sup>. Yushi<sup>24</sup> ..... (N 248)  
 后面 走 來了 于是

(Michele came up whistling; the beggar had warned him in passing, and he quietly handed on the news to three countrymen who were eating raw onions under a tree. They immediately rose and followed him; and before ..... (p. 306)

In 29, the aspect markers "zhe<sup>0</sup> (DURATIVE)" and "le<sup>0</sup> (PERFECTIVE)" are added at the audible level. Why does the announcer add these markers? Because the announcer unconsciously asserts an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" between the action of "jiao<sup>3</sup> (eat)" and that of "zhan<sup>4</sup> (rise)." These two actions are the three countrymen's (= sange<sup>30</sup> xiangxiaren<sup>142</sup> 三個鄉下人).

So it seems to be very natural for a native speaker to feel an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST."

Recall the previous analysis of sentence 28; in that case, the announcer only adds the aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>", because the aspect marker "zhe<sup>0</sup>" has already been added to the preceding verb. From these facts, we can recognize that native speakers are apt to make discourse decision roles clear. If we assume the existence of a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" only in one sentence, we can only interpret the addition of "le<sup>0</sup>" in 28, but cannot interpret simultaneous additions of "zhe<sup>0</sup>" and "le<sup>0</sup>" in 29. Here, if we expand our points of view from a syntactic one to a discourse one, we can explain the simultaneous additions of "zhe<sup>0</sup>" and "le<sup>0</sup>" in 29 by means of a discourse decision role "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST," which is assumed in 28. In fact, sentence 28 shall be explained in the following section, for the sentence in question does not end in a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction. We merely take the importance of discourse analysis into consideration.

The additions of an aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>" in the following examples are also considered to give us strong evidence for the existence of a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST."

30. 亞瑟不由起了一種畏懼的感覺，詫異地急忙把頭轉<了>過去。  
(他彷彿是無意之中闖進聖地了。) (N 5)  
(Arthur looked away with a sense of awestruck wonder. It was as though he had stepped unwittingly onto holy ground. (p. 6)
31. 石敢又搖搖頭。剛想說什麼，門忽然開了，喬光朴走<了>進來。霍大道突然哈哈大笑，使勁<地>拍了一下石敢的肩膀。(Q 45)  
(...opened...) (...ran into...)
32. 當牛虻打開書房的<房>門(時)，綺達從屋角(里)的椅子上跳起<來>向他跑<了>過來。"欸呀，[範里斯 → 列瓦雷士]我當是你永遠不<會>回來了<呢>!" (N 200)  
(As he opened the study door, Zita started up from a chair in the corner and ran towards him. "Oh, Felice; I thought you were never coming!" (p. 250)

An aspect marker "-le<sup>0</sup>" in the preceding verb phrases "qile<sup>30</sup> 起了"(in 30) and "kaile<sup>10</sup> 開了"(in 31) expresses a "PERFECTIVE" aspect, and the directional complement "qilai<sup>00</sup>" in the preceding verb phrase "tiaoilai<sup>400</sup> 跳起來"(in 32) expresses an "INCHOATIVE" aspect(\*13). So each "V-<le>-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" in these three sentences accomplishes an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding

verb phrases.

The second type of sentence ending in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" is the one that is preceded by a conversational sentence. Examine the following examples:

33. "怎麼啦, <列瓦雷士> 我一提起他的名字, 你就抖得象一片樹葉子 <啦>!" 牛虻 站<了>起來。"你不知道你自己在說什麼, …… (N 207)  
( "...! Why, you're shaking like a leaf now, because I mentioned his name!" He stood up. "You don't know what you are talking about," ... (p. 258)
34. 他 (=石敢) (的) 双唇閉得鉄緊, 好象生怕从里邊發出声音來。(他沒有在霍大道指給他的位子上坐下), [好象不明白 → 他不知道] 局党委 <正在> 開會 (為什麼把他找來), (隨時) <就> 準備離開這儿。喬光朴 站<了>起來: " <老> 霍 (局長), 我先和老石談一談。" (Q 5)  
(...stood up...)

Why does the announcer add an aspect marker, "le<sup>0</sup> 了," to the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions? Recall the interpretation of the sentence 8 in 1.1.1, where we postulated that the linguistic form "tingwan<sup>12</sup> Niumeng<sup>22</sup> de<sup>0</sup> hua<sup>4</sup> zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 听完牛虻的話站了起來" is the covert form of "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 站了起來". This postulation is based on our discourse analysis. "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" in 8 constitutes an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST". Similarly in 33, we can postulate that the form "tingwan<sup>12</sup> Qida<sup>32</sup> de<sup>0</sup> hua<sup>4</sup> zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup> 听完綺達的話站了起來" is the covert form of "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 站了起來". Then the "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" between "tingwan<sup>12</sup>" (RESULTATIVE) and "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup>" (PERFECTIVE) becomes clear. In 34, we need a little different analysis. Here the sentence ending in a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction is not preceded by another utterance which would allow us to make the same kind of postulation as in 8. However from a discourse point of view, we can also postulate the form "kankan<sup>40</sup> Shi<sup>2</sup> Gan<sup>3</sup> de<sup>0</sup> yangzi<sup>40</sup> zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup> 看看石敢的樣子站<了>起來" as the covert form of "zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup>". In this form "kankan<sup>40</sup>" is a "TENTATIVE" aspect, "zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup>" is a "PERFECTIVE" aspect. So "zhan<le>qilai<sup>4000</sup>" plays a discourse decision role "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST".

In short, we have postulated the covert form "Verb + Aspect Marker + NP1 + de<sup>0</sup> + NP2" in front of the "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction. Notice that there are selectional restrictions between the verb and NP2. If the

verb is "ting<sup>1</sup>(hear)", NP2 should be "hua<sup>4</sup>(words)". If the verb is "kan<sup>4</sup>(see)", NP2 should be "yangzi<sup>40</sup>(appearance)", etc.

## 2.1.2 SENTENCES NOT ENDING IN "V-<le>-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS AT THE AUDIBLE LEVEL

Look at the following examples:

35. "噓!" [他->琼瑪] 从 [他->牛虻] <的> 膝盖上把那黑猫 捧<了> 下来, 放在一张矮凳上。"好了, 列瓦雷士, 这些事情是你我以后尽有时间讨论的。" (N 232)

"Hush!" She took the cat off his knee and put it down on a foot-stool. "You and I will have time for thinking about those things later on." (p. 288)

36. <牛虻正想到这里> (最後) 蒙太尼里 站<了> 起来, 劃了 十字, 轉身離開祭壇。牛虻再往陰影里後退一步, 嚇得…… (N 220)

Montanelli rose at last, made the sign of the cross, and turned away from the altar. The Gadfly shrank further back into the shadow, ... (p. 274)

37. 他們立刻 站<了> 起来, 跟在 [他->密凱萊] 后面 <走> 来了。于是… (N 248)

(They immediately rose and followed him; and before ... (p. 306)

In the above three sentences, the aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>" is added to each of the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, making "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions.

Why does the announcer add the aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>" to these sentences? Recall the interpretations of sentences 11, 12 and 13 in 1.1.2. There it was pointed out that "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions followed by sentences play a role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the verb phrases contained in the following sentences.

Turning back to the sentences in question, we can find the same conditions as those pointed out in 1.1.2. In 35, the verb phrase "fangzai<sup>44</sup> 放在(put on)" is a kind of "RESULTATIVE" aspect. In 36 and 37, "hual<sup>40</sup> 劃了(made the sign of)" and "<zou>laile<sup>300</sup> 走来了(followed)" are "PERFECTIVE".

Here we can see that the addition of "le<sup>0</sup>" by the announcer coincides with the results of the analyses given in 1.1.2. From this fact we can conclude that the analyses given in 1.1.2 are justified by the native speaker's unconscious linguistic intuition.

In 1.1.1, we pointed out that sentences ending in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" always

express an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST." However, not all sentences containing verb phrases which constitute an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" end in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions. For example:

38. "陀米尼欽諾 被捕,速來。" [他 → 琼瑪] 拿着那張紙坐<了>下來,對牛虻絕望地瞪視着。"怎...怎麼樣?" [他 → 牛虻] 終於用(他)那種... (N 233)

("Domenichino has been arrested. Come at once." She sat down with the paper in her hand and stared hopelessly at the Gadfly. "W-well?" ... he said at last, ... (p. 289)

In 38, although "zuo<le>xialai<sup>4000</sup> (sat down with)" expresses "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding verb phrase "nazhe<sup>20</sup> (be having)," the sentence does not end in a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction.

In fact, "zuo<le>xialai<sup>4000</sup>" also gives an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the following verb phrase "chengshizhe<sup>140</sup> 瞪視着 (be staring)". We can sub-categorize a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" into a "PROGRESSIVE ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" and a "REGRESSIVE ASPECTUAL CONTRAST." So in 38, these two roles appear within one sentence.

## 2.2 REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub><le>" CONSTRUCTIONS

### 2.2.1 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub><le>" CONSTRUCTIONS OCCURRING WITH ADVERBIALS SUCH AS "jiu<sup>4</sup>, yijing<sup>31</sup>," etc.

Look at the following examples:

39. "可是怎麼會有這種事(的)呢? 什麼都準備好了,他也已經到門口了,怎麼會一下子<就>暈過去<了>呢! 這個玩笑可真開得利害啊!" (N 279)

("but how can it have happened? To faint away at the last moment, when everything was ready, when he was at the very gate! It's like some hideous joke." (p. 345)

40. "行。" 喬光朴毫不客氣,喝了一口水,把臉稍微一側,用很有點褻派的味道<就>唱起來<了>:(包龍圖,打坐在開封府!) (Q 47)

(...tilted...) (...began to sing...)

41. 牛虻急忙退到陰影里去。他是不是應該不等蒙太尼里看見就溜出去<了>呢? 這無疑是最聰明的辦法... 也許是最

仁慈的辦法。(N 219)

(The Gadfly drew back into the shadow. Should he slip away before Montanelli saw him? That, no doubt, would be the wisest thing to do ... perhaps the most merciful. (p. 273))

42. <當時> 他忍住疼沒吭聲，血灌滿了嘴就<把那斷舌頭>咽下去<了>。(等到被人發現時已無法再找回那半個舌頭。) 從那天起…… (Q 6)  
(...have all been filled...) (...swallowed...)

In 39 and 40, the announcer not only adds "le<sup>0</sup> 了", but also adds the adverb "jiu<sup>4</sup> 就" in front of "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions. In 41 and 42, the announcer only adds a "le<sup>0</sup>". Why does the announcer add these words?

Recall the analysis of the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions given in 1.2.1. In the interpretations of sentences 14, 15, 16 and 17, it was pointed out that "jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "yijing<sup>31</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", etc. indicated "NATURAL PROGRESS". In the interpretation of sentences 22 and 23, it was also pointed out that "yinwei<sup>10</sup> ... jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "ruguo<sup>23</sup> ... jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>" also constitute "NATURAL PROGRESS".

Turning back to the sentences in question, we can also uncover the explicit syntactic forms of each sentence above.

- ... yixiazi<sup>240</sup> (all at once) ... <jiu<sup>4</sup>> ... <le> (39)  
... yi<sup>2</sup> ce<sup>4</sup> (once incline) ... <jiu<sup>4</sup>> ... <le> (40)  
... bu<sup>4</sup> deng<sup>3</sup> (before) ... jiu<sup>4</sup> ... <le> (41)  
... guanmanle<sup>430</sup> (after) ... jiu<sup>4</sup> ... <le> (42)

These syntactic forms constitute a "NATURAL PROGRESS" like those in 22 and 23.

This fact shows that the announcer's additions of "jiu<sup>4</sup>" and "le<sup>0</sup>" are based on the analyses for "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions given in 1.2.1.

Here we can conversely recognize that the analyses given in 1.2.1 are justified by the native speaker's unconscious linguistic intuition. The following sentence provides a similar example.

43. 石敢掃<了>一眼喬光朴(說):現在你可以離開這個廠了,今年的任務肯定能完成,你完全可以回局交令。我一個人風波不平我不走。"喬光朴<已經都>吼起來<了>:"你說什麼?叫我溜?電機廠還要不要?"(Q 46)  
(began to roar)

In 43, "yijing<sup>31</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>" added by the announcer, can also take on

a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS".

2.2.2 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-<le>" CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH DO NOT OCCUR WITH  
ADVERBIALS SUCH AS "jiu<sup>4</sup>, yijing<sup>31</sup>, etc"

Look at the following examples:

44. "... .假如我做你那个已死的朋友,那我還是死...死了的好。還魂的鬼是丑惡的。" 琮瑪把那<張>照片放回抽屜里,鎖起來<了>。"<列瓦雷士!>這是一種冷酷的理論。

(N 189)

"... . And if I were in the place of your dead friend, I would s-s-stay dead. The revenant is an ugly spectre." She put the portrait back into its drawer and locked the desk.

"This is hard doctrine," she said. (p. 235)

45. "屠科長說得對。" 冀申借題發揮, "石敢是個非常好的同志, ..., 李干事件不是偶然的,我們要認真扭辦廠方針。" 喬光朴把話接過來<了>: "既然你們盯的是我,為什麼要拿李干做替罪羊?要處分就處分我好了!"

(QH 17) (...took over...)

In 44 and 45, the announcer only adds "le<sup>0</sup>" at the end of "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions. Why does the announcer add "le<sup>0</sup>" in these sentences?

Recall the interpretations of the sentences 24, 25, 26 and 27 in 1.2.2. Then it was pointed out that from a discourse point of view, we could find "a uniformity of meaning", which we called a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS", though there were no such syntactic forms as "jiu<sup>4</sup> ...le<sup>0</sup>", etc.

Turning back to the sentences in question, in 44, we can also discover "a uniformity of meaning" between "fanghui<sup>42</sup> choutili<sup>100</sup> (put back into its drawer)" and "suoqilai<le><sup>3000</sup> (locked)". We can call it "A NATURAL TIME SEQUENCE OF ACTIONS", which is also a subcategory of "NATURAL PROGRESS".

In 45, we need a little different explanation. We can find no proper words to compose "a uniformity of meaning" with "jiegualai<le><sup>1000</sup> (take over)". So we will have to explain only from a discourse point of view. The announcer thought that Qiao<sup>2</sup> Guangpu<sup>13</sup> did not prevent "Ji<sup>4</sup> Shen<sup>1</sup> from speaking; Qiao<sup>2</sup> Guangpu<sup>13</sup> NATURALLY took over Ji<sup>4</sup> Shen<sup>1</sup>'s words and directly pointed out Ji<sup>4</sup> Shen<sup>1</sup>'s intention. So the announcer added "le<sup>0</sup>" in order to make the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction express a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS".

Here we can understand that the additions of "le<sup>0</sup>" in 44 and 45 do not

contradict the results of the analyses given in 1.2.2. From this fact, we can conversely recognize that the analyses given in 1.2.2 are shown to be true by the native speaker's unconscious linguistic intuition.

3. REVISIONS FROM "V-(le)-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" AND REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 REVISIONS FROM "V-(le)-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section we deal with the deletion of "le<sup>0</sup>" from a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction. The examples given here do not end in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions. The remarkable characteristic of the following sentences is that all of them have adverbials of manner or adverbials of place in front of the "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions.

As for the deletions of "le<sup>0</sup>" in these constructions, it may be considered that the "FOCUSES OF DESCRIPTIONS" are moved from "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions to the preceding adverbials. It should be noted that a discourse decision role like "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" composes a part of the "FOCUSES OF DESCRIPTIONS".

Look at the following examples:

46. 祝福之后,他又在祭壇前跪下来,双手掩住他的臉;接着一个教士高声誦讀免罪表的声音一揚一頓地響(了)起来,好象是从另一个世界遠遠<地>伝来的一種模胡<的>声(響)<音>,而那个…… (N 327)

(Then, after the benediction, he knelt down again before the altar and covered his face; and the voice of the priest reading aloud the list of indulgences swelled and sank like a far-off murmur from a world to which he belonged no more. (p. 406)

47. 他默默地跪(了)下去,蒙太尼里也默默地把手放在他那弯下去的頭上。(N 11)

(He knelt down in silence, and in silence Montanelli laid his hand on the bent head. (p. 13)

48. 他已經坐(了)下来,把小女孩[子→儿]放在他的膝上,幫她把花整理好。(N 15)

(He had sat down with the child on his knee, and was helping her to put the flowers in order. (p. 22)

49. 詹姆斯 同一个 拘謹 的 上了 年紀 的 輪船 公司 經理 神氣 儼然 地 走 (了) 進來 的 時候, 這個 生硬 局面 并 沒有 好轉. (N 43)  
(The arrival of James, in his most pompous mood and accompanied by a stiff, elderly shipping-agent, did not improve matters; and then ... (p. 57)
50. "等一等, 我的 孩子," 安里柯 在 通到 訊問室 的 那條 走廊上 停 (了) 下來. 溫和 地 說: "我 相信 你 了; 可是 我 只要 你 告訴 我 一 件 事. (N 60)  
(“Wait a minute, my lad”. Enrico stopped in the corridor leading to the interrogation room, and spoke softly. “I believe you; but just tell me one thing.” (p. 79)
51. "列瓦雷士先生", 蒙太尼里 終於 在 [他的 → 牛虻] 面前 停 (了) 下來, "你 對 我 做 的 這 (一) 樁 事情, 是 所有 的 娘 肚皮 出來 的 人 連 對 他 最 最 深 恨 的 仇 敵 都 不 肯 做 的. (N 266 - 267)  
(“Signor Rivarez”, said Montanelli, stopping at last in front of him, “you have done a thing to me that a man who was born of a woman should hesitate to do to his worst enemy.” (p. 330)

The underlined adverbials in 46, 47, 48 and 49 are manner adverbials, and those in 50 and 51 are place adverbials. To justify the deletions of "le<sup>0</sup>" by the announcer, we can give some examples where the audible level language data coincide with the visible level language data.

52. [他 → 牛虻] 將 頭 靠 在 [她 → 琮瑪] 的 膝 蓋 上, 用 手 把 臉 遮 蓋 起 來. 在 寂 靜 中, [她 → 琮瑪] 向 [他 → 牛虻] 俯 下 身 子, 把 手 放 在 [他 → 牛虻] 的 黑 髮 上. (N 242)  
(He laid his head down against her knee and covered his face. In the silence he bent over him, her hand on the black head. (p. 299)
53. 人 群 驚 慌 而 惶 惑 地 紛 紛 后 退, 那 隊 士 兵 就 向 那 站 在 宮 殿 台 階 旁 的 一 小 群 人 冲 過 來. 牛 虻 從 懷 里 拔 出 手 槍, ... (N 249)  
(The crowd had drawn back, startled and wondering; and the soldiers made a quick dash towards the little group standing by the palace steps. The Gadfly drew a pistol from his blouse ... (p. 307)
54. 密 凱 萊 同 季 諾 從 走 廊 上 走 進 來. "我 已 經 準 備 好 了, 只 (是) 要 問 問 波 拉 太 太 ... .." (N 281)  
(Michele, followed by Gino, came in from the veranda. "I am ready now," he said. "I only want to ask the Signora ..." (p. 247)

In these sentences, neither the visible nor the audible level data contain "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions; they use "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions after a manner adverbial ("yong<sup>4</sup> shou<sup>3</sup> (with hands)" ..... in 52) and place adverbials ("xiang<sup>4</sup> na<sup>4</sup> zhanzai<sup>44</sup> gongdian<sup>14</sup> taijiepang<sup>212</sup> de<sup>0</sup> yi<sup>4</sup> xiao<sup>3</sup> qun<sup>2</sup> ren<sup>2</sup>" ... .. in 53, "cong<sup>2</sup> zoulangshang<sup>320</sup>" ..... in 54).

Now we also deal with the deletion of "le" in the following sentence. In this sentence, not only "le" is deleted, but also the preceding verb phrase "shuo<sup>zhe</sup><sup>10</sup> (be speaking)" is deleted. We can regard these deletions of "le" and "shuo<sup>zhe</sup><sup>10</sup>" at the same time as strong supporting evidence for the existence of a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST".

55. ②"就因為出了小冊子要引起政府的惡感,那(它)就不会接受我們的請願了。" ①格拉西尼說。②"不管出不出小冊子,政府反正都不会接受的。" ①那个那不勒斯人(說着)站(了)起来,走到桌旁<說>。"各位先生,你們走錯了路了...。" (N 85)

①Simply because the pamphlets will put the government into a state of mind in which it won't grant the petitions", said Grassini. "It won't do that anyhow". The Neapolitan rose and came across to the table. "Gentleman, you're on the wrong tack, ..." (pp. 109-110)

Why does the announcer delete the verb phrase "shuo<sup>zhe</sup><sup>10</sup>說着" and the aspect marker "le<sup>0</sup>了" at the same time?

Recall the analyses of the conditions of "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions shown in 1.1 and the interpretations of the additions of "le" to the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions shown in 2.1.

In the interpretation of example 28, "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" (zhan<le>qilai 站了起来) expresses "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding verb phrase "yanzhe<sup>30</sup> 掩着."

Turning back to sentence 55, we can find the same condition as that in 28. Namely "zhan(le)qilai<sup>4000</sup> 站了起来" in 55 also expresses "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding verb phrase "shuo<sup>zhe</sup><sup>10</sup>說着". So if "le" is deleted, it is not necessary for the preceding verb phrase "shuo<sup>zhe</sup><sup>10</sup>說着" to be retained.

This fact conversely shows that the analyses in 1.1 and the interpretations in 2.1 are correct.

### 3.2 REVISIONS FROM "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" TO "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section we discuss the deletion of "le 了" from "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions.

3.2.1 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" CONSTRUCTIONS PRECEDED BY ADVERBIALS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE "NATURAL PROGRESS"

Look at the following example:

56. 以及要隨時逃避偵查所接連發生(的)阻礙和耽擱。陀米尼欽諾漸漸着急起來(了)。(2)"我已處在西拉礁石和卡列布第斯漩渦之間了", (1)他<在>信上写着。(3)"為了避免偵查,..." (N 229)

(and the endless hindrances and delays caused by the necessity of continually evading observation, Domenichino was growing desperate. "I am between Scylla and Charybdis," he wrote. "I dare not work quickly, for fear of detection, ..." (p. 284)

57. 草地上那堆鮮血淋漓的東西又重新掙扎、呻吟起來(了)。醫生急忙撲下去,把他的頭捧起來放在自己的膝蓋上。(N 318)

(The blood-stained heap on the grass had once more begun to struggle and moan. The doctor flung himself down and lifted the head upon his knee. (p. 390)

In 56 and 57, "le 了" is deleted from the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions.

Why does the announcer delete the "le 了"?

Recall the analyses of the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions given in 1.2.1 and the interpretations of the additions of "le 了" to "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" shown in 2.2.1. There it was pointed out that some adverbials like "jiu<sup>4</sup> 就, bian<sup>4</sup> 便, yijing<sup>31</sup> 已經, etc" contributed to signaling "NATURAL PROGRESS".

Now turning back to the sentences in question, we can find various kinds of adverbials such as "jianjian<sup>44</sup> (gradually)" in 57 and "chongxin<sup>21</sup> (once more)" in 57. These adverbials, from a semantic point of view, are considered to contradict "NATURAL PROGRESS". So the announcer deletes "le 了" in the sentences above.

To make sure of the above interpretations, we can discover some examples where the audible level data are identical to the visible level data. In the following examples, we can find adverbials such as "manman<sup>44</sup> (slowly)" and "chongxin<sup>21</sup>", etc, so the following verb phrases are not "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le", but "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>".

58. 在那鴉雀無聲的一片寂靜中, [他 -> 牛虻] 慢慢舉起那只打斷了的右手,把十字架推開去。十字架上的爺蘇就被塗上了滿臉的鮮血。(N 318)

(Slowly, amid hushed and frozen stillness, he lifted the broken right

hand and pushed away the image. There was a red smear across its face. (p. 390)

59. “你到底愛哪一個，我呢，還是那個東西？”蒙太尼里慢慢站起來。連他的靈魂都嚇得干枯了，肉體也似乎在萎縮，象一片經霜的樹葉，變得衰弱，老邁，彫謝了。(N 304)

(“Which do you love best, me or that thing?” Montanelli slowly rose. The very soul in him withered with dread, and he seemed to shrivel up bodily, and to grow feeble, and old, and wilted, like a leaf that the frost has touched. (p. 374)

60. 蒙太尼里咬着嘴唇重新坐下去。他一開頭就看出了牛虻是要激怒他，…(N 265)

(Montanelli bit his lip and sat down again. He had realized from the first that the Gadfly was trying to make him lose his temper, … (p. 239)

61. 那斷〈斷〉統〈統〉的低語里充滿着無窮的絕望，牛虻不由自主地顫抖起來。接着是一陣深沈而慘痛的，無淚的嗚咽，…(N 219)

(The broken whisper was full of such endless despair that the Gadfly shuddered in spite of himself. Then came deep, heavy, tearless sobs; … (p. 274)

62. 他一想起那一連串的五個夜晚就不禁顫抖起來。但那一次的發作，並不象現在這樣(的)突兀；…(N 274)

(… and he shuddered as he remembered those five nights. But that time it had not come on so suddenly; he had never known it so sudden. (p. 340)

63. 我怎〈麼〉能够象您主教大人，可以在上帝的神座面前奉上自己聖潔的一生——奉上一個毫無瑕疵和隱私的靈魂……”蒙太尼里突然轉過身子走開去。“我只有一樣是可以奉上的(，”他說，)就是一顆破碎的心。(N 223)

(If I could bring to His throne, as Your Eminence can, the offering of a holy life — of a soul without spot or secret shame —” Montanelli turned abruptly away. “I have only one offering to give.” he said, “a broken heart.” (p. 276)

64. 他對蒙太尼里這種態度非常生氣，却用格外恭敬的禮貌表現出來。  
"主教大人，〈您〉準備什麼時候去看那(個)犯人？(N 289)

(He was deeply offended at Montanelli's treatment of him, and showed it by unusual ceremoniousness "At what time does Your Eminence wish to visit the prisoner?" he asked. (p. 357)

We can find adverbials such as "manman<sup>44</sup> (slowly)" in 58 and 59, "chong-xin<sup>21</sup> (again)" in 60, "bu<sup>4</sup> you<sup>2</sup> zizhu<sup>43</sup> de<sup>0</sup> (can not help -ing)" in 61, "bujin<sup>41</sup> (can not help -ing)" in 62, "turan<sup>12</sup> (abruptly)" in 63 and "que<sup>4</sup> (yet)" in 64.

It should be noted that in 62, a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction is not used, although it has the syntactic form "…… yi<sup>1</sup> …… jiu<sup>4</sup> …… (as soon as)". This form is only a necessary condition for indicating a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS". So we analyzed it as a supporting device in 1.2.1.

Here we should make an additional remark. Adverbials used in the sentences above do not always appear in the sentences. In such cases the speaker must decide, from a discourse point of view, whether the sentence indicates "NATURAL PROGRESS" or not. Look at the following examples:

65. …… 看得出牛虻獨坐在那兒，把頭垂在胸口上，躺在他跟前的狗已經睡着了。"〈列瓦雷士〉，是我，" (她說)。[他 → 牛虻] 驚醒過來。"瓊瑪 …… 瓊瑪！啊，我 …… " (N 227)

(… and she saw the Gadfly sitting alone, his head sunk down on his breast, and the dog asleep at his feet. "It is I," she said. He started up. "Gemma… Gemma! Oh, I…" (p. 281)

66. 但才走到門口，他又停下來。"我忘記了，上校，我想請求你一件事。明天不要讓他們 …… " (N 312)

(At the door he stopped again. "I forgot, colonel; there is a favor I wanted to ask. Don't let them… (p. 384)

In 65, "Niumeng<sup>22</sup> (the Gadfly)" was surprised at Gemma's voice, and then woke up. His waking up was not NATURAL. So both the translator and the announcer use a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction.

In 66, he came to the door, so it was NATURAL for him to go out. But he stopped. So the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction is not used.

Now let us summarize our discussion of a "NATURAL PROGRESS".

- i) A "NATURAL PROGRESS" was introduced in 1.2.1 as a discourse decision role constituted by the explicit syntactic forms like "jiu<sup>4</sup> …

le<sup>0</sup>, "bian<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "you<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", "yijing<sup>31</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", etc.

- ii) Although there are no such explicit syntactic forms as "jiu<sup>4</sup> ... le<sup>0</sup>", etc, "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions can also signal the discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS". The existence of this role is confirmed by the discourse analysis in 1.2.2.
- iii) A "NATURAL PROGRESS" can explain the reason why "le" is added to the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.
- iv) "NATURAL PROGRESS" also can explain the reason why "le" is deleted from the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions in 3.2.1.

### 3.2.2 "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" CONSTRUCTIONS NOT PRECEDED BY ADVERBIALS SUCH AS "jianjian<sup>44</sup>, manman<sup>44</sup>," etc., BUT FOLLOWED BY CONTINUATIONS OF THE SENTENCES

In the following examples, we cannot find adverbials like "jianjian<sup>44</sup>, manman<sup>44</sup>, chongxin<sup>21</sup>, etc" which contradict "NATURAL PROGRESS". But "le" is deleted from these "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions.

Why does the announcer delete them? All of the examples given in 3.2.1 end in "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" constructions. Examples given here do not end in "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-(le)" constructions, but are followed by other sentences. All of the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions shown in this paper end in "le." "le" is a sentence final particle. Its syntactic role is to get sentences completed. However, in 67 and 68, the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions do not end sentences. That is the reason why the announcer deletes "le" from the following examples.

67. 有時候他似乎和那些喧鬧離得稍遠一些,也找到一個地方躺下來(了),時而是一片草地,時而是一條木凳,時而是一塊石板。(N 275)

(Sometimes he would get away to a little distance from the noise, and would lie down, now on the grass, now on a wooden bench, now on some slab of stone. (p. 341))

68. 那一只手燒痛得多麼利害啊!而且所有的旧創都開始痛起來(了),一種麻木而持續的隱隱作痛。(N 272)

(How it burned and throbbed! And all the old wounds were beginning to ache, with a dull, faint persistence. (p. 338))

Generally speaking, there are many examples which are not ended by the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, but are followed by continuations of the

sentences. Look at the following examples:

69. 但 [它 → 這只小狗] 很快就 [看出来 → 感覺到] [已出了岔子 → 氣味不對頭], 便在 [他 → 牛虻] 身邊的地毯上躺下來, 將一個冷冰冰的鼻子伸到 [他 → 牛虻] 那漫不經心的手里去。 (N 226)  
(...but soon understanding that something was wrong, lay down on the rug beside him, and thrust a cold nose into the listless hand. (p. 280))
70. 一時什麼都在靜寂中死過去, 然後蒙太尼里跪下來, 把臉仆在牛虻的胸脯上。 (N 301)  
(For a moment everything was dead with silence, and then Montanelli knelt down and put his face on the Gadfly's breast. (p. 372))
71. [她 → 琮瑪] 呆了一會兒, 等 [他 → 牛虻] 說下去, 這才走過去, 站在 [他 → 牛虻] 身邊。 (N 243)  
(She waited a moment for him to speak and then crossed the room and stood beside him. (p. 300))

In the following examples, we not only find adverbials "bujue<sup>42</sup> (involuntarily)" and "buyoude<sup>420</sup> (can not help -ing)" which contradict the discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS", but also find that these sentences do not end with the "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, but continue.

72. 他不覺笑起來, 想想自己有點傻; 既然這是一個很好的計劃, 是不是 [她 → 琮瑪] 想出來的又有什麼關係呢! (N 270)  
(He laughed a little to himself at his own foolishness; as if it mattered whether the plan was hers or not, once it was a good one! (p. 336))
73. 不知怎麼一來而把皮帶抽得更緊 <了>, 以至牛虻不由得哆嗦起來, 咬住了嘴唇, 不管他有多大的自制力也受不了。 (N 290)  
(and he jerked the strap tighter with an awkward movement, so that the Gadfly wincing and bit his lip in spite of all his self-control. (p. 360))

From sentences 72, 73 and the examples shown in 3.2.1, we can see that if such adverbials as "jianjian<sup>44</sup>, bujue<sup>42</sup>," etc. occur, either the

sentences may end in "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" constructions, or they can be followed by other sentences.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In sections 1, 2 and 3, we have attempted to explain the motivations of the radio announcer's revisions from the written text. Here let us turn back to the revisions shown in 0.3.

In 1, we cannot find any verb phrases which express "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" in the discourse, so it is not appropriate to use a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction ("jiaoleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 叫了起来"). But we can find a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS" between the verb phrases "fa<sup>1</sup> jingbao<sup>34</sup> 發警報 (raised an alarm)" and "jiaoqilaile<sup>4000</sup> 叫起来了 (called up)". So it is appropriate to use a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction in this example.

In 2 also, we can not find any verb phrases which can constitute an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" in the discourse, so it is not appropriate to use a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction ("shilechulai<sup>3000</sup> 使了出来"). But we can find a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS" between the verb phrases "pinming<sup>14</sup> de<sup>0</sup> zhengzha<sup>12</sup> 拼命地 掙扎 (struggle desperately)" and "shichulaile<sup>3000</sup> 使出来了 (exhausted)". So it is appropriate to use a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction.

In 3, we cannot find any verb phrases which can suggest "NATURAL PROGRESS", so it is not appropriate to use a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction ("zhanqilaile<sup>4000</sup> 站起来了"). We also cannot find verb phrases which explicitly constitute "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" in the discourse. Recall the interpretations of examples 8, 9, and 10 shown in 1.1.1 and the interpretations of examples 33 and 34. We can find the same conditions in 3. So we can postulate the form "tingwan<sup>12</sup> Niumeng<sup>22</sup> de<sup>0</sup> hua<sup>4</sup> zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 听完牛虻的話 站了起来 (heard Gadfly's words and stood up)" as the covert form of "zhanleqilai<sup>4000</sup> 站了起来". Therefore it is appropriate to use a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction, although we cannot find an explicit "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" in the surface sentence.

In 4, it seems to be appropriate to use "chuxiaque<sup>2000</sup> 垂下去了 (V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le)", because of the presence of the syntactic form "..... yi<sup>1</sup> ... .. jiu<sup>4</sup> ..... V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le". This form seems to express "NATURAL PROGRESS". However, we can also find adverbials such as "shui<sup>2</sup> zhi<sup>1</sup> 誰知 (who would have thought)" and "turan<sup>12</sup> (suddenly)", which are not appropriate to "NATURAL PROGRESS". Recall the interpretations of examples 56, 57 and 63. In 56 and 57, adverbials such as "jianjian<sup>44</sup> 漸漸 (gradually)", "chongxin<sup>21</sup> 重新 (once more)" are not appropriate

to "NATURAL PROGRESS", so the announcer deleted "le" from "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions. In 63, an adverbial "turan<sup>12</sup>突然(abruptly)" did not occur with a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction, but occurred together with "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>(zoukaiqu<sup>300</sup>走開去)". Thus it is not appropriate to use a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction in example 4. As for the "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction, we can find an "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" between "yaohuang<le>qilai<sup>24000</sup> 摇晃了起来 (wavered)" and "chuilixiaqu<sup>2000</sup> 垂了下去 (sank down)". Both verb phrases are "PERFECTIVE." So it is appropriate to use a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction in example 4.

\* NOTES (1)

1. "-le" in a "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" construction is a 'word -le', that is, a suffix. Chao (1968:246-8) describes the "word" -le了 as a verbal suffix expressing the perfective aspect. Li & Thompson (1981:184-216) say that the verbal aspect suffix "-le" expresses perfectivity.
2. "le" in a "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" construction is a 'sentence le', that is, a sentence particle. Chao (1968:798-800) describes seven subcategories of the sentence particle "le 了". Subcategory (3) Progress in Story, and subcategory (6) Consequent Clause to Indicate Situation, are especially suggestive of the analysis in this paper. Li & Thompson (1981:240) define the communicative functions of a sentence final particle "le 了" as follows:

The basic communicative function of "le 了" is to signal a 'Currently Relevant State' (abbreviated as CRS). What this means is that "le" claims that a state of affairs has special current relevance with respect to some particular situation.

- Subcategory A. Change of State (pp. 244-263) and subcategory C. Progress so far (pp. 270-278) are suggestive, too.
3. As for "-le" and "le", Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981) give us detailed explanations. However, since they do not primarily discuss "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" or "V-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-le" constructions, we do not go into detail here.
  4. Considering the following revisions, we judge that audible level language data (radio broadcasts) to be more acceptable than the visible level language data (written texts) as Spoken Modern Standard Chinese.
    - (1) Revisions from Dialects to Modern Standard Chinese
 

huanxi <sup>13</sup> 歡喜	(to like)	->	xihuan <sup>31</sup> 喜歡	(to like)
yanjiang <sup>33</sup> 演講	(to lecture)	->	jiangyan <sup>33</sup> 講演	(to lecture)
    - (2) Revisions from the Written Language to the Spoken Language
 

xianwu <sup>24</sup> 嫌惡	(to detest)	->	yanwu <sup>44</sup> 厭惡	(to detest)
xiaoshi <sup>14</sup> 消釈	(to disappear)	->	xiaosan <sup>14</sup> 消散	(to disappear)

- (3) Revisions originated in Relaxations of Selectional Restrictions  
 xi'ai<sup>34</sup> 喜愛 (to like) → xihuan<sup>31</sup> 喜歡 (to like)  
 ganjue<sup>32</sup> 感覺 (to feel that) → ganjuedao<sup>324</sup> 感覺到 (to feel that)

- (4) Revisions originated in Expansions and Reductions of Lexical Meanings

[ Expansions ]

fanghai<sup>24</sup> 妨害 (to impair) → yingxiang<sup>33</sup> 影響 (to influence)

lianmin<sup>23</sup> 憐憫 (to pity) → kelian<sup>32</sup> 可憐 (to pity)

[ Reductions ]

xiuyang<sup>13</sup> 休養 (to rest) → liaoyang<sup>23</sup> 療養 (to convalesce)

xiu<sup>4</sup> 嗅 (to smell) → wen<sup>2</sup> 聞 (to smell)

- (5) Revisions caused by Frequencies in Use

[ Written language ]

gouliu<sup>12</sup> 勾留 (to stop over) → douliu<sup>42</sup> 逗留 (to stay)

jingzhi<sup>34</sup> 景致 (scenery) → jingse<sup>34</sup> 景色 (scenery)

[ Spoken language ]

fengkuang<sup>12</sup> 瘋狂 (to go mad) → fafeng<sup>11</sup> 發瘋 (to go mad)

zhuangban<sup>14</sup> 裝扮 (to dress up) → daban<sup>34</sup> 打扮 (to dress up)

- (6) Revisions coming from Additions of verb phrases

Following verb phrases are inserted among sentences in order that the listener can understand meanings clearly.

kanjian<sup>40</sup> 看見 (to look at), xinxiang<sup>13</sup> 心想 (to think),

shuozhe<sup>10</sup> 說着 (be speaking), shuodao<sup>14</sup> zher<sup>4</sup> 說到這儿 (speak so far)

As for other examples, see Matsumura (1983:345-369).

5. "C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" in these constructions are directional complements.
6. The numbers after the Chinese express the tones of their respective syllables. In "N278", N stands for "Niumeng<sup>22</sup>牛虻" (1979:中国青年出版社), 278 is the page number of the cited example. "p.344" is the page number of the cited example from "The Gadfly" (1981:上海譯文出版社). In "Q31", Q means "Qiao<sup>1</sup> changzhang<sup>33</sup> shangrenji<sup>444</sup> 喬廠長上任記" (1980:桂林). QH stands for "Qiao<sup>2</sup> changzhang<sup>33</sup> houzhuan<sup>444</sup> 喬廠長后傳" (1980:人民文學).
7. "jin<sup>4</sup> 近" is a common resultative complement (Chao 1968:444).
8. On "-le 了" as a verbal suffix which expresses the perfective aspect, see (Chao 1968:968). A "Reduplication of a verb" is a tentative aspect (Chao 1968:252).

The "-le 了" in "V-le-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>" expresses perfective aspect from a syntactic point of view. From a discourse point of view, we need this discourse decision role of "aspectual contrast". Though this role seems to have too strong an explanatory power, it is still useful in interpreting the addition of "-le" in 28 and simultaneous additions of "-zhe<sup>0</sup> 着 (pro-

gressive)" and "-le<sup>0</sup>" in 29. Particularly that role is useful in interpreting the additions of "-le<sup>0</sup>" in 2.1 and the deletions of "-le<sup>0</sup>" in 3.1 in general.

9. A "-zhe<sup>0</sup> 着" is a progressive aspect marker. So "baochizhe<sup>320</sup>保持着" expresses a progressive aspect.
10. "wan<sup>2</sup> 完" is a phase complement (Chao 1968:449). In this paper phase complements are included in the elements which express an aspectual meaning.
11. "zhu<sup>4</sup> 住" is a compound directional complement (Chao 1968:461). It (=the word "zhu<sup>4</sup>住") indicates a state of holding fast, somewhat like the progressive-aspect suffix -j (=zhe<sup>0</sup> 着) (Chao 1968:464). So we regard "zhu<sup>4</sup>" as a 'resultative' aspect.
12. Li & Thompson (1981:238-300) state that the sentence final particle "le<sup>0</sup>了" has many communicative functions. So if we only observe "le<sup>0</sup>了", it is not easy to decide its communicative function. When "le<sup>0</sup>" occurs with an adverbial "jiu<sup>4</sup> 就", its communicative function becomes clear. We call this communicative function "NATURAL PROGRESS". This "NATURAL PROGRESS" is a subcategory of a discourse decision role. Why do we need a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS"? The reason is the following: If we postulate a discourse decision role of "NATURAL PROGRESS", we can explain the fact that the adverb "jiu<sup>4</sup> 就" co-occurs with the sentence particle "le<sup>0</sup>了", but the adverb "cai<sup>2</sup> 才" does not. The adverb "jiu<sup>4</sup> 就" has many meanings. Its basic implicational meaning is "easy occurrence" (R. L. Cheng 1984:107). From a semantic point of view, there is no conflict between "easy occurrence" (jiu<sup>4</sup> 就) and "NATURAL PROGRESS" (le<sup>0</sup>了). The adverb "cai<sup>2</sup> 才" expresses "difficult occurrence" as its basic implicational meaning (R. L. Cheng 1984:107). There is a conflict of meaning between "difficult occurrence" (cai<sup>2</sup> 才) and "NATURAL PROGRESS" (le<sup>0</sup>了). The adverb "cai<sup>2</sup> 才" occurs together with the sentence final particle "ne<sup>0</sup> 呢".
13. The "perfective" aspect marker "-le<sup>0</sup>了" plays a discourse decision role of "ASPECTUAL CONTRAST" to the preceding aspect marker "-le<sup>0</sup>了" in this paper.

#### NOTES (2)

- I. I am indebted to Robert L. Cheng for his many valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and also to Gerald B. Mathias for his kind remarks on the last draft of this paper. An early version of this paper was presented to the 16th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan

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## II. Conventions Used in Collected Examples

- i) < > denotes "additions at the audible level of language data."
- ii) ( ) denotes "deletions at the audible level of language data."
- iii) [ ] denotes "substitutions at the audible level of language data."
- iv) (1), (2), ... denote "sentence order changes at the audible level of language data."

The conventions are also found in Matsumura (1983).

## III. Abbreviations to Collected Examples

- i) N is "Niumeng<sup>22</sup> 牛虻".
  - ii) Q is "Qiao<sup>2</sup> Changzhang<sup>33</sup> Shangrenji<sup>444</sup> 喬廠長上任記".
  - iii) QH is "Qiao<sup>2</sup> Changzhang<sup>33</sup> Houzhuan<sup>22</sup> 喬廠長后傳".
- IV. (\*<sup>1</sup>), (\*<sup>2</sup>), .....are numbers to the NOTES (1).

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