

# 前 言

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乔姆斯基于上世纪八十年代初提出《原则与参数》理论(1981, 1982)后,语言学界对从功能语类角度解释语言现象产生了浓厚的兴趣,纷纷著书立说以支持功能语类引导自己独立映射之假说。例如,以前一直被当作屈折形态组成部分的时态和体从此分离开来,各自引导自己的映射 TP(时态短语)(Moro 1987, Pollock 1989, Haegeman 1994, Radford 1998)和 AspP(体短语)(Kinyalolo and Carstens 1988, Chiu 1993, Ernst 1995)。于是,人们开始假设否定也有自己单独的映射 NegP(否定短语)(Kayne 1989, Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989, Belletti 1990, Ouhalla 1990, Laka 1990, Haegeman 1995, Zanuttini 1997, Rowlett 1998)。此种假设主要依据有丰富屈折变化的日尔曼语和罗曼语。面对这种研究趋势人们不禁要问:功能语类可以适用于具有丰富屈折变化的印欧语系语言,它们也能适用于缺乏屈折变化的语言吗?带着这样的疑问,作者将研究目标对准了否定功能语类,并将之置于缺少屈折形态的现代汉语中进行观察。

本书旨在建立一种分析方法,为由否定引起的现代汉语中表面上似不关联的现象找出内在联系。书中着重探讨了否定与动词前和动词后附加语以及否定与体之间的相互联系,涉及到否定标记“不”与动词后附加语及与完成体“了”之间的相互排斥性以及否定标记“没”与完成体“了”之间的所谓互补性等热点问题。大量语料证明建立否定功能语类并不能有效解释现代汉语中否定现象。在建立功能语类话题、时态、体和谓语的现代汉语句法结构框架下,作者认为具副词性质的“不”一般附加在谓语中心词的 Pr'层上;特殊情况下附加在其他中心词上。而性质为前缀的“没”则原生于功能短语体的中心词“有”。

书中阐明单纯从句法结构角度不能够解释现代汉语否定现象,必需考虑现代汉语否定标记独特的体特征。针对“不”和“没”这两个本质相关的否定标记具有区别性特征(feature sets)并对其出现的环境有不同体要求的这些现象,书中分别提出了“B原则”和“M原则”。在书中所展开的体系统分析下,这两个原则不仅充分解释了否定与体及否定与动词后附加语之间的关系,而且对探讨诸如否定与情态间关系等问题也具深远影响。本书也论述并揭示了一些现代汉语研究中处于核心地位的如词序,话题结构,时态,动词前附加语的句法限制等理论问题。

本书的讨论在传统的生成语法,尤其是乔姆斯基(参见1981, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1995)的《原则与参数》理论框架中进行。其中,大部分讨论应用的是发展较为成熟的《管辖与制约理论》,也时有参考近年来逐步发展起来的《最简方案》(参见Chomsky 1991, 1995, Radford 1998)。在全书讨论中,我们采纳了《管辖与制约》理论和《最简方案》的一些基本原理,如X-杠理论及其向功能语类的延伸(参见Chomsky 1986, Pollock 1989, Bowers 1993, Haegeman 1995, Radford 1998),双向分叉(Kayne 1984),相对最简论(Relativised Minimality)(Rizzi, 1990)以及核查理论(Chomsky 1991, 1995)等等。

本书的结构如下:

在第一章中,我们通过建立功能语类对现代汉语的句法结构进行了详尽的分析。作者建议建立话题、时态、体和谓语等四个功能语类,并从理论和实践角度论证了建立这四个功能语类的合理性。它们之间在现代汉语句法中的关系依次为话题 > 时态 > 体 > 谓语。值得一提的是书中时态和谓语功能语类的建立。它们的存在使汉语中一些难以解释的语言现象有了合理的解释。

第二章考察了建立否定功能语类之假设及其在现代汉语中的延伸。尽管否定假说可以用来成功地分析许多印欧语系语言的否定现象,但它却受到现代汉语大量否定现象的挑战。如它无法解释否定与体标记间的相互关系,否定与附加语间关系以及否定与倒装句结构的关系。这便提出了一个严肃的问题,即否定假设是否能延伸到现代汉语?

第三章讨论了否定与动词前附加语的相互作用。作者在这里将动词前附加语分为三类。第一类位于句首,第二类紧随主语之后,第三类出现在谓语之前。作者提出“生成附加语限制”原则,假设现代汉语动词前附加语通过附加到不同中心词的 X'层而生成。按照“生成附加语限制”原则,第一类附加语附加到 Top'(Top 为话题)层上,第二类附加语附加到 T'(T 为时态)层上,第三类附加语附加到 Pr'(Pr 为谓语)层上。我们认为否定标记“不”属于第三类附加语,生成于 Pr'上。这样的“不”分析自然地抓住了不与第三类附加语间词序自由以及它与第二类及第一类附加语间词序固定的特征。

第四章探讨了否定与传统上当作动词后附加语成分的相互关系,并分析了动词后附加语的句法结构。目前较流行的观点认为动词前和动词后的附加语由动词往相反方向配准(licensed)。与之相反,我们假设动词前附加语在 Pr'层上由中心词 Pr 配准,而动词后附加语在动词的不同层次上由动词配准。频率和期间表达法与动词前附加语一样,在动词前位置上附加到 V'上产生,是 V 到 Pr 的强制移动把他们留在了动词后的位置上。相反,描述和结果表达法原生为动词补语(complements),这便自然使他们置于动词后。动词后介词短语在这里被分析为[[V P]NP],其中的 NP(名词短语)归为复合体[V P]的宾语,处于 VP 的标志语位置(Spec),由于 V 到 Pr 的强制移动留在了动词后的位置上。书中还讨论了动词后附加语<sup>[1]</sup>和否定标记“不”的关系,我们看到带有动词后附加语的句子在被“不”否定时句子便不成立了。我们认为不和动词后附加语表面上的不匹配其实不是与[V + Adt](动词+附加语)复合体间的不匹配,即不存在结构缺失,而是与复合体的语义相左,而这一事实则是因为“不”自身具有体区别特征。此种分析表明了语义在解释现代汉语否定现象中的重要作用。

第五章主要审视了现代汉语中由体情景和体视角构成的双成分体系统(two-component system),为第六章展开的否定与体关系的讨

[1] 动词后附加语这里用来泛指频率和期间表达法、描述和结果表达法以及动词后介词短语,尽管一些附加语在我们的分析中并不被当作真正的附加语。

论打下基础。根据 Vendler(1967)和 Smith(1991)的观点,我们假设现代汉语中有四种情景:状态(states)、活动(activities)、完成(accomplishments)和成果(achievements)。其中,完成情景表现出汉语所独有的特性,即完成的概念可以与事件的终止截然分开。汉语中同样存在四种视角:完成体“了”,完成体“过”,未完成进行体“在”和未完成结果体“着”。在这四种视角标记中,“过”和“着”表现出汉语独有的特征。书中演示了体标记可以用区别性特征矩阵来分析,这种方法在分析否定标记与体的相互作用时起着至关重要的作用。在否定被引入了体的全景讨论中,我们看到在带有体标记的句子被“不”否定时,所生成的否定句子皆不可接受。否定与体之间如此严重的不匹配领我们进入下章中全面展开的否定与体之间关系的讨论。

第六章的讨论沿两条主线展开:“不”与体及“没”与体的关系。我们以长期以来一直处于争论焦点的“不”和“了”的不匹配开始了讨论。对“不”和体与四种情景的关系的考察引导我们提出了“B原则”。这一原则以体区别特征说明了“不”与情景的匹配与不相匹配的原理。如果“不”自身的体区别特征与情景中所含的体区别特征相匹配,则生成的否定句可以接受。否则,所生成的否定句不可接受。在这种思路指引下,我们将“B原则”延伸到四个体标记中。对“不”和体标记关系的进一步研究表明“B原则”的假设为阐明“不”与体的相互关系提供最佳方法。书中对“没(有)”与“了”之间所谓的互补性分布的分析表明此种互补性并不存在。通过考察“没”出现的不同情景,我们又提出了“M原则”的设想。与“B原则”一样,“M原则”也以区别性特征抓住了“没”与情景间的关系,不过这些区别性特征与和“不”相关的区别性特征不同。这一原则延伸至四个体标记后的结果表明,它为自然地解释有关“没”与体关系的预测提供了坚实的基础。因此,我们认为这两个原则的提出意义深远,因为它们不仅能为否定和体的相互作用提供统一的分析,而且还可以用来解释其他一些与否定有关的问题,如“不”的情愿诠释,否定与情态之间的关系等。

现代汉语中否定结构的句法分析在第七章有较深入的讨论。作

者例举了包括否定与动词前附加语、与情态、与 SOV 倒装句、与否定极项 (the licensing of negative polarity items) 的配准、与否定量词 (negative quantifiers) 的配准、以及两个否定词同时出现等大量否定语料重新对否定语类假设进行了分析。大量的语料分析得出了建立否定功能短语不能适当地解释所讨论的否定现象。我们因此采用主张在前面章节中所展开的对“不”和“没”的分析基础上的非否定短语法分析,这种方法可以自然优雅地解释通过建立否定语类而不能解释的否定现象。

本书系在作者于英国曼彻斯特大学语言学系完成的博士学位论文的基础上修改而成。在博士学位论文的撰写过程中我得到了许多人的帮助,在此我表示衷心的感谢。首先,我要感激我的导师约翰·佩恩 (John Payne) 先生给予我的大力帮助。佩恩先生早在上世纪八十年代便开始了对否定问题的研究,他那篇题为“否定”的力作已成为语言学该领域研究的一个重要标杆。在整个研究过程中,他从不对我进行规定性指导,也极少催促我奔向某个时间节点,这使我能够真正独立地完成研究。他永远那么富有耐心地仔细阅读我每章节完成的初稿,他那娓娓道来的深入浅出的分析令我叹服他广博的语言学底蕴,而他富有洞察力的建议常常使困惑的我茅塞顿开。他为人低调谦逊,在我写作顺畅时,他便没了踪影;在我需要帮助时总有他的出现。是他的不断鼓励和期望鞭策着我继续着时而令人着迷时而又令人沮丧的语言学研究。他默默地不是用言语而是用自己的行为向我展示了一位导师可以传递给学生的巨大力量。本书中一些有价值的重大发现与分析无不与他的启发与指引有关。话说至此,书中如有任何重大失误或不妥处皆应由作者本人承担责任。

我深深地得益于英国曼彻斯特大学语言学系那得天独厚的学术环境。这里有着世界一流的师资:如句法学研究领域德高望重的 Nigel Vincent 教授,类型学研究代表性人物 William Croft 教授,对语义学研究做出里程碑贡献的 Alan Cruse 先生和在语音学研究占有重要地位的 Alan Cruttenden 先生,他们的著作近年来已先后被引入我国。我在该系攻读硕士学位时分别修了他们的课程,从而了解了他们理论的起源、发展及最新研究成果,也使我对语言学研究有了一个

全方位的认识,为我接下来从事的博士学位研究打下了良好的基础。在博士研究期间,我不仅参与每周一次系里组织的学术讲座,了解了语言学诸多领域的前沿性研究,认识了国际上许多知名学者,而且就自己的研究开设讲座与教师们交流。教师们从各自不同研究领域提出的问题和建议犹如它山之石启发我换个角度审视自己的研究。我对 Nigel Vincent 教授充满感激之情,是他帮助我最终选定了博士学位研究的课题——否定。说实话,我当初决定从事该课题研究多半是由于直觉,不知何故我觉得这是个适合女性研究的课题。随着研究的一步深入,我越来越被否定与其他语言成分间存在的微妙关系着迷,否定现象所展现的那种类似牵一发而动千钧的势态常使我庆幸自己的选择,也更加感激 Vincent 教授关键时刻的指点乾坤。

早在儿提时我便接受大人“学海无涯”的教诲,牢记要多读书,读好书。然而让我彻悟它真正含义的是我在英国的学习。那长长的阅读清单带我走入一家家图书馆,沉没在永无岸边的书海中。在此我要郑重感谢曼彻斯特大学约翰莱仑图书馆(John Rylands Library)和伦敦大学亚非学院的图书馆。前者的全球馆际借阅系统使我在大多情况下,只要付上两英镑便可在两周内看到世界各地的相关中英文研究资料(可惜当时中国内地的研究资料在海外大多难以获取),该服务之便捷方便至今仍让我难以忘怀。而伦敦大学亚非学院的图书馆的馆藏让我大开眼界,在那里我看到了在国内也难以寻觅的珍贵历史收藏。

那些从未谋面的朋友的热情相助使我体会到共同从事学术研究的快乐。他们无私地将自己的最新研究与我分享,不厌其烦地和我进行着网上交流。我为置身于这样的学术团体感到自豪。这里只略提二位学者作为这群人中的代表:Marie-Thereses Vinet 从加拿大给我邮寄来她尚未发表的文章;美国的 Lisa Cheng 一次次在网上给我指点迷津。

这里我不得不提起国际著名荷兰语言学家 Liliane Haegeman 教授。她的《管辖与制约理论概论》一书用朴实的语言,由浅入深,循循善诱地吸引着读者进入乔姆斯基那以晦涩难懂的语言描绘的管辖与制约理论圣地。我们学生如此钟爱她的书,以至于听她讲座时对她那略有口音的英语都产生了好感。在我论文撰写的过程中,我论

文的语言风格不自觉地打上了该书的烙印——简单、朴素,力求让读者看明白而不是读糊涂。

我的英国同学 Melvyn Cole 先生生性认真执着。他放弃了在英国税务局从事税务官员的工作来攻读语言学博士可见他对语言研究的热爱。他在自己忙于撰写博士论文的同时,欣然应允帮我润色论文把好语言关,让我深为感动。

我要感谢我的家人这么多年来一如既往地给予我的爱、理解和支持。我的父母倾其所能最大限度地给我提供良好的教育。为使我安心读书和做研究,母亲几十年如一日承担着家务,无怨无悔。我在英国时她大病三年,家信中却从来都是“家里一切安好”。为了让我们吃上久违的中国食物,父母来英国探亲前竟然学会了做豆腐。当我们及朋友们尽享家乡美味时无一不被他们的爱打动。我的丈夫吕维锋先生在忙于自己事业进取的同时,从不忘记关心我的事业发展。在论文撰写过程中我每遇低谷受到挫折时,是他给予的鼓励和爱支持着我坚持到最后。在论文冲刺的最后几月中,他几乎包揽了所有家务并耐心地提供计算机技术支持,保证了论文的最后顺利完成。也感谢他不断地提醒我:生活不只是语言学。

本人的博士研究得到了英国政府和曼彻斯特大学提供的全额奖学金资助,在研究过程中还得到中英协会基金的资助,谨此表示衷心的感谢。没有这些资助我的研究无从开始,也不可能多次参加英国境内外的学术会议,更没有今天此书的诞生。

论文答辩的结果让我深受鼓舞,回国后便开始了对论文的修改。同时,着手将其中的一些章节进行整理,近年来相继发表于《外语教学与研究》和《现代外语》等国内的一些重要核心学术刊物上。后由于工作调动关系一时影响了对论文的整理出版工作。感谢上海外语教育出版社的厚爱和大力支持使这本书终于得以面世。

近年来语言学理论不断发展,研究方法也在不断更新,衷心希望本书的出版对从事语言学研究的的人们有所裨益。由于本人水平有限以及国外理论研究与国内相关研究的不对称性,书中不当之处诚请专家们批评指正。

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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A:	adjective	NP:	noun phrase
AP:	adjective phrase	NEG	negative marker
Adt:	adjunct	Neg:	negation
Adv:	adverb	NegP:	negation phrase
Asp:	aspect	PF:	perfective aspect
ASP:	aspect marker <i>you</i>	Pr:	predication
AspP:	aspect phrase	PrP:	predication phrase
CL:	classifier	PRT	topic particle
CO:	copula	Q:	question marker
D:	determiner	SF:	sentence final marker
de:	NP modification marker	SS:	surface structure
De:	preverbal adjunct marker	Top:	topic
dE:	postverbal adjunct marker	TopP:	topic phrase
DS:	deep structure	T:	tense
EMP:	emphatic marker	TP:	tense phrase
GUO:	perfective marker <i>guo</i>	V:	verb
I:	inflection	VP:	verb phrase
IMP:	imperfective aspect marker	WH:	indefinite Wh word
IP:	inflection phrase	ZAI:	hapology of progressive marker and preposition
LE:	sentence final particle <i>le</i>	ZHE:	resultative marker <i>zhe</i>
LF:	logical form	3sg:	third person singular
N:	noun		

# *Chapter 1*

## **Functional Projection Analysis of Chinese Clause Structure**

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

A functional projection analysis of the clause structure in Mandarin Chinese is introduced in this chapter. We start our discussion by sketching some word order facts in Mandarin that are relevant to our discussions in chapters to come. Then, in Section 1.2, we examine the postulation of four functional categories in Mandarin, namely *Top(ic)*, *T(ense)*, *Asp(ect)* and *Pr(edication)*. Particular to our analysis is the assumption of the functional projection *PrP*. It is argued that the existence of *PrP* makes possible a unified account of the word order facts, especially with respect to preverbal and postverbal adjuncts. In Section 1.3, we discuss the establishment of the hierarchy between these functional categories. Finally, in Section 1.4, we present an account for Chinese clause structure based upon the assumption of the four functional categories.

### 1.1 WORD ORDER FACTS OF CHINESE

Mandarin Chinese is perhaps best known for its lack of inflectional morphology. For instance, its verbs remain invariably uninflected, regardless of the difference in tense, gender or number. As such, word order plays a vital role in the clause structure of Mandarin Chinese. For our present discussion, we assume that Chinese exhibits an unmarked SVO

word order<sup>[1]</sup>. Consider the following illustration:

- (1) Wangli                      xihuan                      youyong.  
Wangli                      like                      swimming  
'Wangli likes swimming.'

Example (1) demonstrates a typical SVO sequence; the verb *xihuan* 'like' follows the subject and precedes the object. A change in the word order would give rise to different results. For example, when the object is preposed to the sentence initial position in (1), the derived sentence is one with a different syntactic structure, known as topic structure. This is shown in (2) below:

- (2) youyong                      Wangli                      xihuan.  
swimming                      Wangli                      like  
'Swimming, Wangli likes (it).'

The superficial OSV order shown in (2) is the result of the topicalisation process, where the preposed object is no longer an object of the derived topic structure, but has become a topic on which the rest of the

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[1] Regarding the word order issue, there has been a long-standing debate on whether Chinese is an SVO or SOV language. Tai (1973) first spells out the arguments for SOV word order in Chinese. Basing his arguments on the SOV features present in the language, he contends that the underlying word order in Chinese is SOV and that SVO is derived from SOV through a rule of NP-V inversion. In their study of word order in Mandarin Chinese, Li & Thompson (1974) suggest that Mandarin has been undergoing a change from SVO to SOV as a result of grammaticalisation of serial verb constructions. As observed by Chen (1993), although Li and Thompson's central argument is diachronic in nature, their assumption is clear: Chinese is synchronically an SOV language, thus echoing Tai (1973). Their assumptions are challenged by Light (1979) who argues that OV is a marked, emphatic, contrastive construction in Mandarin discourse. His argument is supported by Sun and Givon (1985) who, through a quantified text study of both written and spoken contemporary Mandarin, demonstrate that Mandarin is a typical SVO language, and that OV is a contrastive/emphatic device with rather restricted text distribution; SOV sentences represent 10% or less of sentences in text. The SVO order is also advocated in Li (1990) due to the requirements of Case Theory. For the present discussion, we adopt the view that Chinese is SVO.

sentence makes a comment<sup>[1]</sup>. Topic structure will be discussed in more detail in Section 1.2.1, where we shall also show that topic structures may not only be derived, but also base-generated.

Apart from topicalisation, direct objects may also be moved leftward to follow the subject and precede the verb, yielding a sentence with an SOV word order. This is illustrated in (3):

- (3) Wangli                      youyong                      xihuan.  
       Wangli                      swimming                      like  
       ‘Wangli likes swimming.’

Sentence (3) sounds odd when it stands alone out of context. However, it is natural as an answer to a question such as (4) below, which has an emphasis on *youyong* ‘swimming’, as compared to other activities which may have been mentioned previously<sup>[2]</sup>.

- (4) Wangli                      youyong                      xihuan                      ma?  
       Wangli                      swimming                      like                      Q  
       ‘Does Wangli like swimming?’

Example (3) illustrates the argument that SVO is the unmarked word order in Mandarin Chinese whereas SOV is a marked and emphatic construction in Mandarin discourse, as argued by Light (1979) and Sun & Givon (1985) (See footnote on p2 in this book).

One peculiar characteristic of Chinese predicates is the fact that, in addition to verbs, adjectives as well as prepositional phrases headed by the preposition *zai* can act as independent predicates. Consider example (5) below illustrating the use of adjectives as predicates:

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[1] In recent years, two types of topicalisation have been recognised. One is topic-topicalisation and the other is focus-topicalisation (Culicover 1991, Muller and Sternfeld 1993, Rizzi 1997, Hatakeyama 1998, Acquaviva 1998). Among other things, a distinctive cross-linguistic difference between these two kinds of topicalisation lies in their pronunciation. Topic-topicalisation requires the affected element to have a common intonation while focus-topicalisation requires the affected element to have stress. For our present discussion we focus on the syntax of topic-topicalisation in Chinese. Readers are referred to the references cited above for detailed discussion of both kinds of topicalisation.

[2] In (4) the sentence-final question marker is glossed as Q.

- (5) ta                    hen                    nuli.  
 3sg                    CO                    hard-working  
 ‘She is hard-working.’

It is important to point out here that, although traditionally the item *hen* which appears in (5) has been treated as an adverb of modification meaning ‘very’, we argue that *hen* in (5) has lost its intensifying force and is used predicatively. One argument for this proposition is the observation that in the examples (6) below, *hen* is not optional as it is when it functions as an adverb as in examples (7):

- (6) a. ta                    hen                    nuli.  
       3sg                    CO                    hard-working  
       ‘She is hard-working.’  
       b. \*ta                    nuli.  
       3sg                    hard-working  
       ‘She is hard-working.’
- (7) a. ta                    hen                    nuli                    de                    gongzuo.  
       3sg                    very                    hard-working        De                    work  
       ‘She works very hard.’  
       cf. b. ta                    nuli                    de                    gongzuo.  
       3sg                    hard-working        De                    work  
       ‘She works hard.’

The pairs of sentences in (6) and (7) show the contrast when *hen* is used predicatively and when it is used as a degree adverb. In the former case, its presence is obligatory, whereas in the latter case, its absence does not give rise to the ill-formedness of the sentence. This amounts to saying that *hen* is actually playing the part of a copula in sentences like (5). Therefore we gloss it as CO, indicating the copula. For more discussion about the proposal to treat *hen* as a copula when it occurs in structures where predicates are composed of adjectives only, readers are referred to Li (1995) and references therein, and to Bhat (1994) for relevant discussion about adjectives. In (7) *de* (glossed as De) is a preverbal adjunct marker. This term will be discussed in Chapter 3 together with preverbal adjuncts.

Now consider the following examples where the predicate takes the form of a PP:

- (8) a. Lifan                zai                bangongshi.  
       Lifan                at                office  
       ‘Lifan is at his office.’
- cf. b. Lifan                shi                zai                bangongshi.  
       Lifan                EMP            at                office  
       \* ‘Lifan is at his office.’  
       ‘It is true that Lifan is in his office.’

As illustrated above, when PPs function predicatively in sentences, they must occur without a copula as in (8a). Otherwise, when a copula like *shi*, ‘to be’, is present in the sentence, the derived sentence no longer carries the original meaning. Instead, it has become a structure conveying an emphatic effect as in (8b). Here, the copula is not functioning as a copula, but as an emphatic marker. That PPs headed by *zai* function predicatively without the support of a copula may be explained by the fact that historically *zai* had the function of a verb. For more discussions along these lines, readers are referred to Chao (1968, Chapter 7), Li & Thompson (1981, Chapter 9), Li (1990, Chapter 3) and references cited therein.

Concerning the sequence between verbs and their adjunct modifiers, adjuncts generally occur to the left of predicates, although the opposite order is also attested. Consider first the following examples:

- (9) Lifan                manyi            de                xiao            le.  
       Lifan                satisfactorily De            smile            LE  
       ‘Lifan smiled with satisfaction.’
- (10) Wangli            zuotian            hen                gaoxing.  
       Wangli            yesterday        CO                happy  
       ‘Wangli was happy yesterday.’
- (11) ta                zai                jia                bangong.  
       3sg                at                home            work  
       ‘He works at home.’

As illustrated in these examples, adjuncts generally occur to the left of predicates. The adjuncts that are allowed in preverbal positions include a wide range of adjuncts. We shall look further into the different types of preverbal adjuncts in Chapter 3. The sentence final particle *le* glossed as LE in (9) indicates that the situation described is relevant to the current

situation. We shall discuss the sentence final particle *le* in Chapter 5.

Compare now the following examples where adjuncts are observed to follow predicates :

(12) ta                    zou                    de                    hen                    man.  
       3sg                    walk                    dE                    very                    slowly  
       ‘ He walked very slowly. ’

(13) Lifan                lai                    san                    ci                    le.  
       Lifan                come                    three                    times                    LE  
       ‘ Lifan has been here three times. ’

(12) is an illustration of a descriptive expression used as postverbal adjunct, where the postverbal adjunct marker *de* is glossed as dE (the syntactic status of *de* will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4). (13) illustrates the use of expressions of frequency as postverbal adjuncts. It is generally assumed that the adjuncts that may occur in postverbal positions are restricted to expressions of duration and frequency, descriptive and resultative expressions and PPs headed by *zai* that go with certain types of verbs. Detailed discussion of postverbal adjuncts will be carried out in Chapter 4.

To sum up, Chinese displays an unmarked SVO word order. The preposing of objects may derive the topic structure as well as the marked SOV word order. Predicates may not only be realised by verbs, but also by adjectives and prepositional phrases without the “support” of a copula. Most adjuncts typically occur in preverbal positions, but an opposite distributional pattern of adjuncts is also attested.

## 1.2 FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

This section is devoted to the postulation of the functional categories of Chinese. Four functional categories are argued to exist. They are TopP, TP, AspP and PrP.

### 1.2.1 Topic Projection

A topic structure is any grammatical configuration consisting of two parts :

the topic, which invariably occurs first, and the comment, a clause which follows the topic and says something about it (Xu & Langendoen 1985). The topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds (Li & Thompson 1976). This is illustrated in the following example, which is adapted from Huang (1994, p45).

- (14) zhongguo        fuyuan        liaokuo.  
       China        territory        vast  
       ‘China, (its) territory is vast.’

A topic may occur alone in topic structures as in (14). It may also be followed by what is referred to as a topic particle indicating a phonological pause, such as the particle *a* or its variants *ba* or *ma*, whose appearance between topic and subject is optional. Sentence (14) becomes (15) when the topic particle *a* is overtly expressed:

- (15) zhongguo        a                fuyuan        liaokuo.  
       China        PRT            territory        vast  
       ‘China, (its) territory is vast.’

The topic particle *a* is glossed as PRT. What makes a topic different from a subject is that the subject always has a direct semantic relationship with the predicate, denoting someone that performs the action or something that exists in the state named by the predicate, but the topic need not do so. In (15) for instance, what exists in the state of *liaokuo* ‘vast’, is the subject *fuyuan* ‘territory’, but not the topic *zhongguo* ‘China’.

Topic structures can be derived from preposing objects to sentence initial positions, as illustrated in (2) above. Another example of this kind is given in (16):

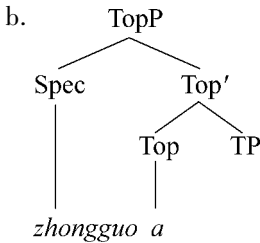
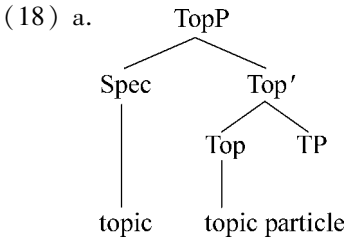
- (16) nei jian shi        Wangli        zhidao.  
       that matter        Wangli        know  
       ‘That matter, Wangli knows.’

Topic structures can also be base-generated, as illustrated in the following well-quoted example from Li & Thompson (1976):

- (17) [nei chang huo]    xingkuai    xiaofangdui    lai    de    zao.  
       that CL    fire    fortunately    fire brigade    come    dE    soon  
       ‘In terms of that fire, fortunately the fire brigade came soon.’

In (17), the sentence initial constituent in brackets is the topic of the sentence. It can only be accounted for as being base-generated, since it does not bear any relation whatsoever to any argument in the comment; the event *lai de zao* ‘came soon’ was performed by the subject *xiaofangdui* ‘fire brigade’, but not by the topic *nei chang huo* ‘that fire’. Therefore, it is impossible for the topic in (17) to have moved from any other base position (Y. Huang 1994, Gasde and Paul 1996). Because of the extensive use of base-generated topics, Chinese is recognised as a topic prominent language (Li & Thompson 1976, 1981, Xu and Langendoen 1985, Gasde and Paul 1996, among others).

To account for the sentence initial occurrence of topics, following Gasde and Paul (1996), we postulate a functional category Topic which heads its own projections with its head and specifier positions filled respectively by the topic particle and the topic (see also Muller and Sternfeld 1993, Rizzi 1997, Hatakeyama 1998). The functional projection of TopP can be expressed schematically as in (18a), and (18b) illustrates the topic and topic particle of example (15) above. We assume for the current discussion that the complement of Top is TP. We shall discuss the hierarchy among functional categories in Chinese in the next section.



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