

中心语后置名词组结构：是构式还是组合？

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长久以来，学者对于汉语句子的主要成分有很清楚的共识：句子有中心语、状语、补语等成分，状语在中心语之前，补语在后。在名词短语方面，传统上将名词中心语前面的成分统称为定语，没有所谓的补语与状语之分。当代语法在 X-标损理论之下，则认为这种中心语-补语-状语的三分法，除了句子和动词组之外，也同样适用于其他的主要语法范畴如名词组、形容词组、介词组等。一般研究汉语生成语法的学者也都有这样的认识：有些定语应该视为补语，有些定语则应视为状语(或称附加语)。

最近有些研究语言类型的学者，主张在汉语、日语、韩语等名词中心语后置的语言里，其前置成分没有补语、状语之分。例如 Comrie (1996, 1999, 2010), Matsumoto 与 Sells (to appear) 主张日语、韩语的名词短语都没有所谓的名词补语句 (noun-complement clause) 与关系子句 (relative clause) 的分别，并将名词前置成分都笼统地分析为名词修饰语结构。LaPolla (2012, 2014) 进一步提议将中文的名词修饰语结构独立出来作为一种“构式”来处理，并认为一般的句法语义组合规则不适用于这种结构。Comrie 与 LaPolla 的主张等于采取了汉语传统上的定中结构了。

本文将指出 Comrie 与 Lapolla 等看法的错误，并重申汉语名词组结构和其他语言一样，必须区分补语和状语。文章提供多种证据，说明唯有在 X-标损理论之下将状语置于补语之上，相关的语言现象才能得到适当的解释。

1. Introduction

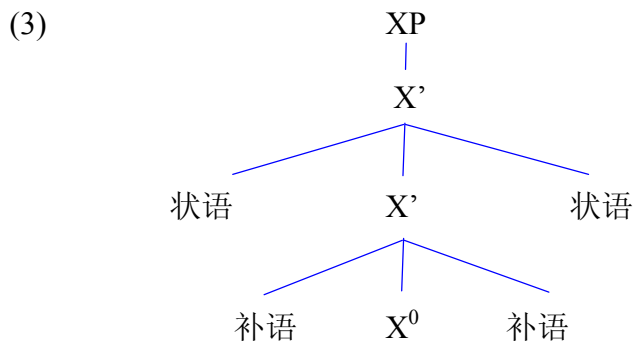
2. Nominal structure 名词短语结构

(1) English: a {student, physics, long hair}

1 2 3

- a. 1 2 3: a student of physics with long hair
- b. 3 2 1: a long-haired physics student
- c. 2 1 3: a physics student with long hair
- d. 3 1 2: a long-haired student of physics
- e. 2 3 1: *a physics long-haired student
- f. 1 3 2: *a student with long-hair of physics

(2) 普遍语法原则 P: (「X'-标幟理论」的一部分)
在词组結構上, 修飾語的位置高於補足語。



“状语” = adjunct 也称「附加语、修饰语」

“补语” = complement 这里指广义的补语 (包括宾语和补语)

(4) 根据古典 X-标幟理论:

a. 补语作为 X⁰ 姐妹, 状语则嫁接到 X' 之上。

Complement is sister-adjoined to X⁰, Adjunct is Chomsky-adjoined to X'.

b. 本原则适用于所有的主要语法范畴 (NP, VP, AP, PP, TP, CP, AspP, etc....)

(5) 语义组合原则 -- Semantic composition: a head composes first with a complement, and then the result together composes with an adjunct:

- a. student (of) = <e, <e, t>>
- b. physics = <e>
- c. student of physics = <e, t>
- d. long-haired = <e, t>
- e. long-haired student of physics = <e, t>
- f. a = <<e, t>, e>
- g. a long-haired student of physics = <e>

(6) 上述原则并未规定中心语与其补语或状语之间的线性前后顺序(linear order), 因此留下若干选项, 由后天学习者来“设定”或“顾客个体化”。

(7) 上述英文的例子：原则 (2-4) 先天性地排除了 (1e-1f)。剩下的 (1a, 1b, 1c, 1d) 都和普遍语法规则。英语似乎四个选项都允许，但有些语言在这些选项里做了进一步的选择。这些不同的选择（参数值的选定）造就了语言间的「南北是非」。语言使用有时在参数值的选定也会起变化，因此就有了语言了「古今通塞」。

(8) 比较中文的例子：{长发，物理，学生}

- a. 1 2 3: *学生物理长发的。
- b. 3 2 1: 长发的物理学生。
- c. 2 1 3: *物理学生长发的。
- d. 3 1 2: *长发的学生物理。
- e. 2 3 1: *物理长发的学生。
- f. 1 3 2: *学生长发的物理。

(9) 中文名词结构参数设定 (parameter setting): 中心语在后

- a. 因为此项参数的设定，中文只有(8b)和(8e)两种选择
- b. 但(8e)违反了(3)的普遍原则性规定，此选项已经先天性地排除了，所以中文只能使用(8b)的 321 词序。

- More examples

(10) a. a French teacher
b. a Chinese teacher

(11) a. a French English teacher
b. an English Chinese teacher

(12) a. 法国的英语老师
b. *英语的法国老师
c. 英国的中文老师
d. *中文的英国老师

(13) a. John's pictures, Bill's pictures. (ambiguous)
b. John's picture of Bill. (not ambiguous)

(14) a. 张三的照片、李四的照片 (ambiguous)
b. 张三的李四的照片。 (not ambiguous)

- It seems that we acquire the relevant knowledge not by learning.
- This is true of both L1 and L2 acquisition. The latter can be confirmed by our experience as L2 speakers of English concerning the examples in (1) and (9-10) and (12).

3. The General-Modifying-Construction hypothesis

Some recent proposals regarding prenominal modifiers in Chinese, Japanese, Korean type of languages: Comrie (1996, 1998, 2010), Matsumoto (1997), etc., have recently argued for the existence of a class of languages where clausal constituents of DP—relative clauses, noun-complement clauses and perception noun complements have the same structure, called the “general noun-modifying clauses construction”. La Polla (2012) adopts the same view in developing an argument for the “constructionist” view of grammar. [“Arguments for a construction-based approach to the analysis of Chinese,” in *Human Language Resources and Language Typology*, papers from the 4th International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica.]

- This is a partial return to the undifferentiated 定语 hypothesis.
- I will argue against this hypothesis.

(15) Traditional assumptions about Chinese phrase structure: verb phrases
动词组结构: 状语--动词--补语 (或宾语)

- a. 我们昨天在这里接待了两个访客。
- b. 他们又发生了车祸。
- c. 他们跑得气喘吁吁。
- d. 飞机因为天后不良延误了两个小时、折返了两次。

(16) Traditional assumptions about Chinese phrase structure: verb phrases
名词组结构: 定语-中心语

- a. 她的那辆汽车
- b. 他昨天买的车子
- c. 张三跳舞的舞伴
- d. 英国籍的英语教师

4. Arguments for a structural distinction among prenominal modifiers

4.1. Evidence from word-order (从语序来说)

Adjunct occurs before complement (as shown above). In the following examples, we have clausal examples showing the distinction between relative clauses and noun-complement clauses:

(17) relative clause vs. noun complement

- a. 我們應該問的問題 (relative clause)
- b. 他有沒有拿錢的問題 (noun complement)

- c. 我們應該問的他有沒有拿錢的問題 (relative + complement = 321)
- d. *他有沒有拿錢的我們應該問的問題 (complement + relative = 231)

- (18)
- a. 她提出来的想法 (relative clause)
 - b. 让儿子出国留学的想法 (noun complement)
 - c. 他提出来的让儿子出国留学的想法。 (relative + complement = 321)
 - d. *让儿子出国留学的他提出来的想法。 (complement + relative = 231)

4.2. Evidence from subcategorization (从名词论元结构来说)

Certain nouns are relational and may take clauses as their complements, while certain nouns are not. But all nouns can take relative clauses.

(19) noun complement:

- a. 张三跳舞的舞伴
- b. *张三跳舞的女孩

(舞伴 selects a clausal complement, but 女孩 does not.)

- a. *wuban* = <e, <e,t>> or <e,t>
- b. *nvhai* = <e,t>

(20) relative clause

- a. 跟张三跳舞的舞伴
- b. 跟张三跳舞的女孩

(Both 舞伴 and 女孩 maybe modified by a relative clause.)

- a. [e gen Zhangsan tiaowu] = <e,t>
- b. wuban = <e,t>, nvhai = <e,t>
- c. <e,t> & <e,t> = <e,t>
- d. λx [[gen Zhangsan tiaowu (x)] & [girl/partner (x)]]

→ Many 'gapless' relative clauses are actually complements.

- (21)
- a. 李四弹钢琴的声音、李四吹口哨的声音
 - b. 张三杀人的价码、张三代考的价码
 - c. 李四贪污的代价、李四偷窃的代价

These complements correspond to *of*-insertion cases in English postnominal complements. They are not relative clauses. Note that *Of*-insertion does not apply to real relative clauses: *of* = 的。上面这些例子中的「的」跟英语的 *of* 相当，其引介的成分是补语，不是关系子句：

(22) Complements:

- a. the sound of Lisi playing the piano
- b. the price of Zhangsan's sitting for an exam for others, etc.
- c. the cost of Lisi's stealing, etc.

真正的关系子句是无法用 *of* 来引介的:

- (23) a. The girl **that** John danced with __ last night.
- b. *The girl **of** John's dancing with __ last night.
- (24) a. The piano that John played __ this morning.
- b. *The piano of John's playing __ this morning.
- (25) a. The money that John stole __ from my room.
- b. *The book of John's stealing __ from my room.

Possibly the so-called adjunct relatives in Chinese are actually noun-complement constructions.

- (26) a. 我看到她的时候
- b. 我跟他见面的地点
- c. 他修理摩托车的方法
- d. 他昨天不能来的原因

I think they are ambiguous, allowing two possible analyses. The corresponding English can be expressed as either *of*-complements, or as relative clauses with PP-operators

- (27) a. the time of my seeing her
- b. the place of my meeting with him
- c. the method of him fixing the motorcycle
- d. the reason of him not being able to come
- (28) a. the time when I saw her
- b. the place where I met with him
- c. the method with which he fixed the motorcycle
- d. the reason why he was unable to come

4.3. Evidence from the distribution of *suo* 所.

Only relatives but not complements allow the use of *suo*.

- (29) a. *张三所跳舞的舞伴
- b. *李四所弹钢琴的声音
- c. *张三所杀人的价码、张三所代考的价码
- d. *李四所贪污的代价、李四所偷窃的代价

- (30) a. 张三所跳的舞
 a. 李四所弹的钢琴
 b. 张三所杀的人
 c. 李四所贪的污

4.4. Evidence from coordination. 并列：不同类定语不能并列

- (31) a. 张三弹钢琴跟李四吹口哨的声音
 b. 张三杀人跟李四代考的价码
 c. 张三贪污跟李四偷窃的后果
- (32) a. 张三所发出来跟李四所听到的声音
 b. 张三所要求跟李四所付出的价码
 c. 张三污来的跟李四偷来的东西
- (33) a. *张三所听到的跟李四吹口哨的声音
 b. *张三所要求的跟李四代考的价码
 c. *张三付出的跟李四偷窃的代价
- (34) a. *李四吹口哨跟张三听到的声音
 b. *李四代考跟张三要求的价码
 c. *李四偷窃跟张三付出的代价

Note that (29) becomes good if the coordinator 跟 is taken away:

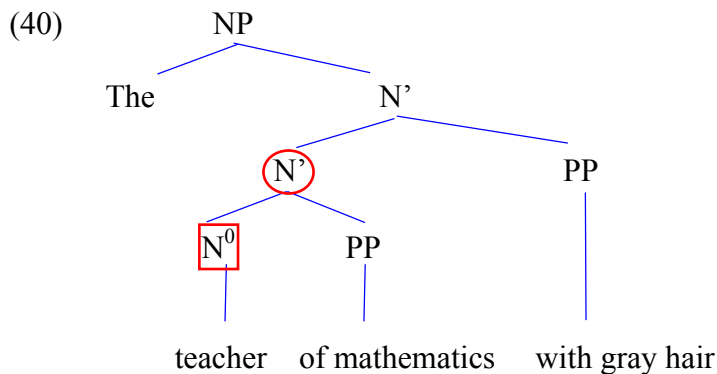
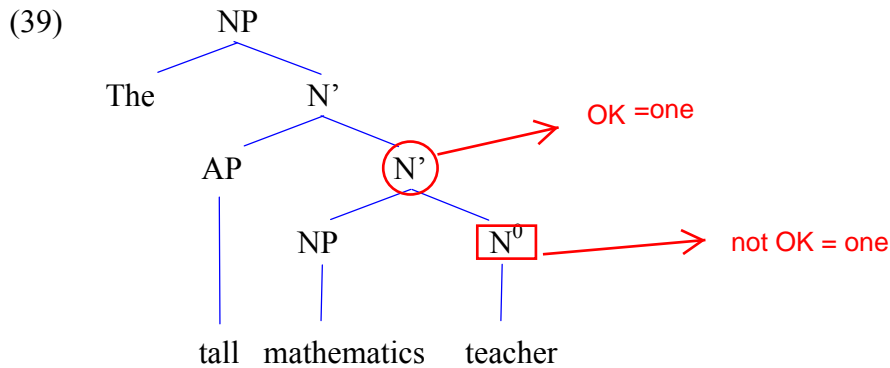
- (35) a. 张三所听到的李四吹口哨的声音
 b. 张三所要求的李四代考的价码
 c. 张三付出的李四偷窃的代价

As long as the relative clause precedes the complement clause, as above, or otherwise:

- (36) a. *李四吹口哨的张三所听到的声音
 b. *李四代考的张三所要求的价码
 c. *李四偷窃的张三付出的代价

4.5. Evidence from N-bar ellipsis, etc. (corresponding to English *one-pronominalization*) 从「的」字后中心语省略的限制来说

- (37) a. the tall teacher and the short one.
 b. the English mathematics teacher and the French one
 c. *the mathematics teacher and the physics one.
- (38) a. the student with gray hair and the one with red hair
 b. the teacher of English from England and the one from France
 c. *the teacher of English and the one of French



One-substitution in English applies only to N', not N⁰. The same restriction applies to Mandarin nominal ellipsis following *de*.

- (41) a. 张三最喜欢的书是李四最讨厌的__
 b. 跟张三跳舞的女孩比跟李四约会的__要高一点
 c. 李四所弹的钢琴比李四所买得起的__要贵很多
- (42) a. *张三弹钢琴的声音比李四吹口哨的__更好听
 b. *张三杀人的价码跟李四代考的__一样便宜
 c. *李四贪污的代价比李四偷窃的__更让他们难忘
- (43) a. 这是张三想知道的问题，不是李四想知道的__
 b. *这不是你买得起买不起的问题，而是你想不想买的__

Also note the following contrast:

- (44) a. 张三的出版比李四的__成功。
 b. *这本书的出版比那本书的__成功。

4.6. Evidence for more structure from two *de*'s in Mandarin, two *e*'s in Taiwanese SM, two *ge*'s in Cantonese, etc. (based on Li 2011, Cheng 2014, etc.)

- The possessive *de*, relative *de* and complement *de* can be distinguished under certain circumstances, arguing for more structure in prenominal modification
- See more details in Li 2011, et seq, Cheng 2014, etc.

- (45) a. 那个穿着黄衬衫的的舞伴 的= relativizer 的=possessive
 b. 那个穿着黑裤子的的舞伴 的= relativizer 的=possessive

- (46) a. 那个穿着黄衬衫的的 的= relativizer 的=possessive
 b. 那个穿着黑裤子的的 的= relativizer 的=possessive
 ‘that which belongs to the one wearing a yellow shirt / black pants’

- (47) a. 那个穿着黄衬衫的 的= relativizer
 b. 那个穿着黑裤子的 的= relativizer
 ‘the person who wears a yellow shirt / black pants’

- (48) a. *那个他穿着黄衬衫跳舞的的舞伴 的= relativizer 的=complement of
 b. *那个他穿着黑裤子跳舞的的舞伴 的= relativizer 的=complement of

- (49) a. *那个他穿着黄衬衫跳舞的的 的= relativizer 的=complement of
 b. *那个他穿着黑裤子跳舞的的 的= relativizer 的=complement of

- (50) a. *那个他穿着黄衬衫跳舞的 or 的 的= relativizer 的=complement of
 b. *那个他穿着黑裤子跳舞的 or 的 的= relativizer 的=complement of

- (51) a. hit-e cheng ang sann e⁰ e⁵ buphuann. e⁰ = e⁵⁵
 彼个穿红衫的的舞伴。
 b. hit-e cheng oo kho e⁰ e⁵ buphuann e⁰ = e²¹
 彼个穿黑裤的的舞伴。

- (52) a. *hit-e goa cheng ang sann thiaubu e⁰ e⁵ buphuann. e⁰ = e⁵⁵
 *彼个我穿红衫跳舞的的舞伴。
 b. *hit-e goa cheng oo kho thiaubu e⁰ e⁵ buphuann. e⁰ = e²¹
 *彼个我穿黑裤跳舞的的舞伴。

BTW: 从闽南语证明(34a,b,c) and (36a) 的“的”其实是“的”

4.7. Evidence from similar facts in related languages

- Similar arguments have been produced from Japanese, Korean, Turkish against the General Noun-modifying clause constructions by John Whitman (2013, et seq)
- Possessive agreement in Ainu and Turkish
 - Possessive agreement marking patterns distinguish RCs from NC constructions
- *No*-pronominalization in Japanese and Korean
 - Similar to Chinese, *-no* pronominalization (or ellipsis) occurs with RCs, but not with NCs.

- (53) [[ryoosi ga yaita] sakana] wa nakunatta ga,
fisherman Nom grilled fish Top is-gone but
[[kimi ga yaita] no] wa nakatte iru.
you Nom grilled NO Top left is

‘The fish that the fisherman grilled is gone, but the one/those you grilled remains.’
= 渔人烧的鱼吃光了，你烧的还有。

- (54) *[[pro sanma o yaita] syooko] wa kieta ga,
saury Acc grilled evidence Top is.gone but
[[pro iwasi o yaita] no] wa nakotte iru.
sardines Acc grilled NO Top left is

‘The evidence that someone grilled saury is gone, but the evidence that someone grilled sardines remains.’
= *烧秋刀鱼的证据没了，但是烧沙丁鱼的还在。

- (55) *[[pro sanma o yaita] nioi] wa kieta ga,
saury Acc grilled smell Top is.gone but
[[pro iwasi o yaita] no] wa nakotte iru.
sardines Acc grilled NO Top left is

‘The smell of someone grilling saury is gone, but the (smell) of [someone] grilling sardines remains.’
= *烤秋刀鱼的味道没了，但是烤沙丁鱼的还在。

5. Accounting for alleged arguments for the constructional approach

- Examples from La Polla (2012), etc.
 - All putative problems can be accounted for under the standard, established principles of grammar and known parameters.
- (56) mai tangguo de lingqian 买糖果的零钱
buy candy de change
'change for buying candies'
- relative clause under the ellipsis test
 - clue: 这些钱买糖果, 那些钱交学费
- (57) 炒饭的声音
chaofan de shengyin
star-fry rice de sound
'The sound of someone crying.'
- Noun complement clause!
- (58) 好吃又不会胖的甜点
haochi you buhui pang de tiandian
delicious also won't gain-weight Nom sweet
- The sweets that are delicious and besides, you won't get fat
 - from a topic-comment source, whose topic is relativized:
zhe-ge tiandian, haochi you bu hui pang 这糖果好吃又不会發胖
this sweets, (its) delicious and besides you won't gain weight
- (36) 不用洗手的自动马桶
bu yong xishou de zidong matong
no-need wash-hand Nom automatic toilet
- this toilet, you don't need to wash hands [available topic-comment source]
 - the toilet that does not necessitate hand-washing (subject relativized)

7. Conclusion

- Languages exhibit universal and particular properties. Language variation may be derived from simple differences in the setting of open parameters provided by UG. Languages do not differ in whether or not they obey fundamental architectural principles of UG.
- There is no need for recognizing a special prenominal NP-structure for certain languages for their analysis.
- Except for certain well-known idiomatic expressions, the principle of compositionality remains the main principle for syntax-semantic interface.