de in Mandarin ↔ *e* in Taiwanese

Yen-hui Audrey Li
University of Southern California

Abstract

Despite the more than half-century study by numerous linguists on the properties of the attributive marker *de* and the structure of the nominal phrase [XP *de* YP] in Mandarin Chinese, a consensus has yet been reached. This work provides a new perspective to the issues through the investigation of the properties of the corresponding marker *e* in Southern Min-Taiwanese. The empirical support is built on the structural factors determining the occurrence of *e* and its tone values in different contexts. The study helps provide answers to (i) how the seemingly conflicting facts in constituency structures [XP *e* YP] can be accommodated: some facts indicate that *e* forms a unit with the preceding XP but some others suggest that it forms a constituent with the following YP; and (ii) what principles determine the tone changes of *e*. The core of the answers is the observation that Southern Min-Taiwanese allows the sequence e_0-e_5, indicating that the structure of [XP *e* YP] actually can be [[XP e_0][e_5 YP]]. Correspondingly, the structure of the Mandarin nominal phrase [XP *de* YP] can also be the result of reduction from two *de*'s, thereby resolving the debate on whether Mandarin [XP *de* YP] should be [[XP *de*] YP] or [XP [*de* YP]].

Keywords

attributive marker-head, possessive marker, relative clause/adjectival marker, nominal constituency structure, Taiwan Southern Min

從台灣閩南語"*e*"看漢語含"的"名詞短語結構

李豔惠

南加州大學

提要

雖然經過了過半世紀眾多學者的研究,對於漢語含"的"名詞短語的結構,至今還是眾說紛紜,百家爭鳴。本文從台灣閩南語相應之 *e* 的聲調變化及分布來看台灣閩南語名詞短語 [XP *e* YP] 的結構,從而為解決漢語名詞短語 [XP 的 YP] 的結構問題開拓一個新方向。主要論點是:台灣閩南語名詞短語 [XP *e* YP] 其實可以含有兩個 *e*,結構是 [[XP *e*][*e* YP]]。由此推論對漢語 [XP 的 YP] 結構應該是 [[XP 的] YP] 或 [XP [的 YP]] 的爭論是可以解決的:兩方的看法合起來就是正確的,因為表面上的一個"的"其實是兩個"的"縮減而成 - 漢語 [XP 的 YP] 其實可以是 [[XP 的][的 YP]]。

關鍵詞

定語標記 - 中心語,領屬性定語標記,關係子句 / 形容詞標記,名詞短語結構,台灣閩南語