

INSIGHT

FOUR DIFFERENT STRUCTURES FOR LOCATIVE RESULTATIVES

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1. INTRODUCTION: THE PUZZLES

Li (1990) notices that there is a definiteness effect in locative resultative sentences in Mandarin (“M”): with an indefinite object DP, such sentences are fine, while they are not, when the object is definite.¹ It is illustrated in (1b) and (2b). Interestingly, as (1a) and (2a) show, the definiteness effect is not observed in Cantonese (“C”).

- (1) a.√ ngo5 fong3-zo2 go2-bun2 syu1 hai2 toi4 soeng5min6 (C)
b.* wǒ fàng-le nà-běn shū zài zhuōzi-shang (M)
1S put-PRF DEM-CL book at table top
‘I put that book on the table’
- (2) a.√ ngo5 fong3-zo2 jat1-bun2 syu1 hai2 toi4 soeng5min6 (C)
b.√ wǒ fàng-le yì-běn shū zài zhuōzi-shang (M)
1S put-PRF one-CL book at table top
‘I put a book on the table’

Acknowledgements I would like to thank the two reviewers for their comments and careful consideration of the data. Thanks also to the *Insight* editor, Li Yafei, for helpful suggestions. In sorting out the data, I was assisted by Yang Zhaole, Cheng Hang, Lisa Cheng and Joanna Sio. I am grateful to them for their help in this regard and for other suggestions that improved the paper.

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处所结果句的四种不同深层结构

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摘要

本文讨论与结果句相关的三个难题。其中一个是由众所周知的可在普通话结果句中观察到的定指效应 (definiteness effect) 构成的。另外两个难题涉及粤语和普通话之间的差异, 其一涉及两种语言之间的词序差异, 另一个则与两种语言在定指性上的差异有关, 即在粤语中似乎无法观察到普通话中存在的定指效应。为了解释词序差异, 我们提出处所介词短语在粤语中处于 VP 内的位置, 而它在普通话中则为高阶施用短语 (high applicative)。至于定指效应, 我们提出包含不定 DP 的表达结果意涵的结构不同于包含有定 DP 的结构, 即前者为范围短语 (extent phrase), 而非纯粹的结果结构, 在句法上嵌于 VP 结构内。照此逻辑, 所谓粤语中没有定指效应的说法就无法成立了。正如普通话, 粤语中带不定宾语的结果句的深层结构 (base structure) 也不同于带有定宾语的结果句。换言之, 两种语言在此方面并无差异。产生此种误解的根源在于, 在粤语中, 两种结构中的处所介词短语都处于结构中较低的位置, 深层结构中存在的差异无法于表层结构中显现出来, 因此产生了粤语中不存在定指效应的假象。

关键词

结果短语 粤语 普通话 比较句法 定指效应