Syntactic Sources of Adjectives in Mandarin Chinese

Feng-hsi Liu
University of Arizona

Abstract

Cinque (2010, 2014) shows that in English and Italian, adjectives have two syntactic sources, each with different interpretive properties; one source corresponding to predicative adjectives; the other to non-predicative adjectives. This study examines adjectives in Mandarin Chinese with the goal of finding out whether Chinese displays the same pattern. The data shows that Chinese behaves similarly to English and Italian; adjectives that are derived from relative clauses are semantically different from those that directly modify nouns. In addition, Chinese displays the correspondence that predicative adjectives are derived from reduced RC, while nonpredicative adjectives participate in direct modification. However, this parallelism is only possible if we modify the line drawn between "predicative" and "nonpredicative" assumed by Chinese grammarians.

Keywords

1. Introduction

Cinque (2014), largely based on Cinque (2010), argues that adnominal adjectives come from two syntactic sources each with a different set of interpretative properties, given in (1) (Cinque 2014, p. 2):

(1) **Reduced RC source**   **Direct modification source**

restrictive reading	nonrestrictive reading
intersective reading	nonintersective reading
implicit RC reading with ACD of "possible"	modal reading of "possible"
relative (to a comparison class) reading	absolute reading
comparative reading (of superlatives)	absolute reading (of superlatives)
epistemic reading of "unknown"	evaluative reading of "unknown"
discourse anaphoric reading of "different"	NP-dependent reading of "different"
specific or nonspecific reading	specific reading
stage-level or individual-level reading	individual-level reading
literal reading	literal or idiomatic reading

Evidence is presented from English and Italian. In English, postnominal adjectives are derived from relative clauses only, while in Italian, prenominal adjectives indicate direct modification only. The two languages, therefore, provide a window into interpretative properties associated with each of the two syntactic strategies. Cinque shows that the classification in (1) has implications for semantic classification of adjectives concerning intersective, subsective, and nonsubsective adjectives. Following Partee (2007, 2009, 2010), he concludes that the distinction in (1) corresponds to the traditional distinction of predicative vs. nonpredicative adjectives.

When we look at Mandarin Chinese (henceforth Chinese), the following questions naturally arise: Do adjectives in Chinese also have two syntactic sources as outlined by Cinque? Do they also show meaning differences along the line of (1)? If so, do these differences correspond to the predicative versus non-predicative distinction, as suggested for English? To date, there have been two views concerning the syntactic sources of adjectives in Chinese. Sproat and Shih (1991) propose two syntactic sources for Chinese adjectives. However, their proposal runs into difficulty when applied to the entire groups of adjectives (Section 2). On the other hand, Paul (2005, 2010) focuses on what cannot be the syntactic source for some of the adjectives, but she does not address the issue of what the syntactic sources of adjectives are. In this note, I consider this issue by looking at different sub-types of adjectives. I suggest that Sproat and Shih (1991)'s analysis is largely on the right track; their view is supported if it is applied not to all of the adjectives, but to

predicative adjectives only. I provide additional support for this view by bringing in evidence from interpretative properties discussed by Cinque, subsumed under (1). I will show that Chinese is similar to English with respect to the association between syntactic sources and types of adjectives.

2. Two distinctions

Any discussion of Chinese adjectives needs to take two distinctions into account. First is the distinction between predicative and nonpredicative adjectives, which was discussed during the 1950s and 1960s (e.g., Zhu 1980 [1956], 1982, Lü and Rao 1981[1]). In this tradition, predicative adjectives are ones that have the potential to serve as predicates, while nonpredicative adjectives are ones that cannot function as predicates. Nonpredicative adjectives are illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) a. zhuyao (de) daolu
        major   DE   road
        "major road"
     b. gongtong (de) xingqu
        shared   DE   interest
        "shared interest"
     c. daxing   (de) yinyuehui
        large-scale DE   concert
         "large-scale concert"

(2) a. *Zhe tiao daolu xiangdang zhuyao.
        this CL   road   quite   major
        ?"This road is quite major."
     b. *Women liangge de xingqu shifen gongtong.
        we   two-CL DE interest very   shared
        "The two of us have shared interest."
     c. *Mingtian de yinyuehui jiang feichang daxing
        tomorrow DE concert   will   very   big-scale
        ?"The concert tomorrow will be rather big-scale."

(2) shows that these adjectives cannot function as predicates. Predicative adjectives are illustrated in (3):

(3) a. Wo yujian yige   keai de xiaohai
        I   met   one-CL cute DE child
        "I met a cute child."
     b. Zhege   xiaohai hen keai
        this-CL child   very cute
        "This child is very cute."

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(4) a. Laoban zuo-le   yige   zhongyao de jueding
       boss   make-PERF one-CL important DE decision
       "The boss made an important decision."
     b. Zhege jueding hen   zhongyao
       this-CL decision very important
       "This decision is very important."

(3b) and (4b) show that *keai* "cute" and *zhongyao* "important" can be used as a predicate. Although the predicative versus nonpredicative distinction was not discussed in the context of syntactic sources during 1950s and 1960s, it is not difficult to see that it has syntactic implications. Cases such as (3) and (4) support the view that the adjectives in (3a) and (4a) are derived from relative clauses (Sproat and Shih 1988, 1991), whereas sentences in (2) suggest that the adjectives in (1) cannot come from relative clauses, as the would-be source sentences are unacceptable.

Thus the predicative versus nonpredicative distinction has an immediate consequence on the syntactic source of an adjective. If an adjective is nonpredicative, it cannot come from a relative clause. This point has been made by Paul (2005, 2010) and Aoun and Li (2003). But what happens when an adjective is predicative? Is it always derived from a relative clause? This is an issue I will return to below. In fact, in answering this question, I will make the suggestion that the line drawn between predicative and nonpredicative, as assumed by Chinese grammarians, needs to be modified. But before that, I will continue to use the terms as presented in Lü and Rao (1981).

The second distinction concerns the presence or absence of *de*, which gives rise to two modification structures: Adj *de* N and Adj N. This distinction has also been widely discussed (Fan 1958, Zhu 1980 [1956], Duanmu 1998, Sproat and Shih 1988, 1991, Paul 2005, 2010, among others). It plays a major role in the syntax and semantics of Chinese adjectives. For now, I note two characteristics of the distinction; we will see other features later. First, while Adj *de* N is productive, Adj N has gaps. (5) and (6) gives some examples:

(5) a. huaji   de dianying huaji dianying   (Zhu 1980[1956]: 10)
       funny DE movie   funny movie
       "funny movie"
     b. huaji   de ren   *huaji ren
       funny DE person funny   person
       "funny person"

(6) a. zhongyao de renwu   zhongyao renwu
       important DE person important person
       "important person"
     b. zhongyao de guanjia   *zhongyao guanjia
       important DE housekeeper important   housekeeper
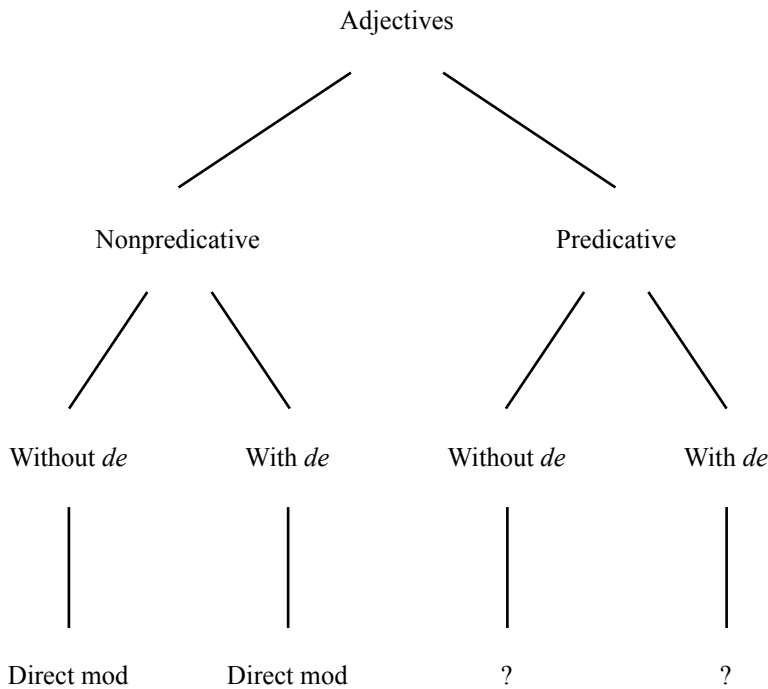   "important housekeeper"

The second feature, related to the first, is that sometimes the same adjective may occur in either form. It is demonstrated in (1) for nonpredicative adjectives and in (5a) and (6a) for predicative adjectives.

In previous studies, there have been attempts relating the form of modification (with or without *de*) to syntactic properties. Such attempts go in two directions. First, the form of a modification structure may be indicative of the syntactic status of the modifier–head expression: while Adj *de* N is a phrase, Adj N is a word. The issue concerning the syntactic status of Adj N has long been noted, but to date, no consensus has been reached. Lü (1979) lists three possible ways to handle Adj N and Adj *de* N syntactically: (a) both Adj N and Adj *de* N are phrases; Adj N is a basic phrase, while Adj *de* N is an expanded phrase; (b) Adj N is a word, while Adj *de* N is a phrase; and (c) Adj N is a phrasal word ("duanyu ci"). Zhu (1982: 168–170) treats both Adj N and Adj *de* N as modifier–head phrasal structures ("pianzheng jiegou"), and their difference lies in how the modifier and head are put together: the former has an agglutinating structure ("nianhe shi") and the latter has a combinatory structure ("zuhe shi"). The compound analysis for Adj N is proposed by Sproat and Shih (1988) and Duanmu (1998). Sproat and Shih (1991), however, reverse their earlier position and assume that Adj N can be a phrase. They note (p. 592) that Adj N is quite productive. Paul (2005) offers strong arguments against the compound analysis. I am in agreement with the latter view: Adj N can be a phrase, although there are also compounds with the same internal structure. The burden of proof is actually on supporters of the compound analysis, because on this view, it is assumed that adjectives in Chinese are unable to directly modify a noun. But this assumption is not justified. In other parts of the grammar, direct modification is certainly available, for example, adverbs modifying a verb or an adjective, for example, *mianqiang tongyi* "reluctantly agree," *feichang kuai* "very fast," and verbs modifying a noun, for example, *zhunbei shijian* "preparation time."

The second way that relates the Adj N versus Adj *de* N distinction to syntax is that the form of modification is indicative of the syntactic source of the adjective: Adj *de* N comes from relative clauses, while Adj N does not. This is the position that Sproat and Shih (1988, 1991) take. However, Paul (2005, 2010) argues against the relative clause analysis for Adj *de* N in general. The evidence that Paul cites comes from nonpredicative adjectives. As we saw above, non-predicative adjectives, which cannot come from relative clauses, also occur in the form of Adj *de* N. Thus it is not the case that Adj *de* N is always derived from relative clauses. Following Cinque, I will refer to the type of modification whose source does not come from a reduced relative clause but from the combination of an adjective and a noun as direct modification. Sproat and Shih (1991) also use this term, although they apply it to *de*-less modification only. It should be clear, on the basis of nonpredicative adjectives, that direct modification also applies to some Adj *de* N phrases.

(7) is what we have so far:

(7) Adjectives in Chinese

Adjectives

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          Nonpredicative                    Predicative

    Without de      With de          Without de       With de

    Direct mod      Direct mod          ?               ?
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(7) immediately raises the following question: what are the syntactic source for predicative adjectives? I suggest that these adjectives have two sources, and it depends on whether they occur in Adj N or Adj *de* N: with-*de* adjectives come from relative clauses, while *de*-less adjectives participate in direct modification. This is essentially what Sproat and Shih (1988, 1991) propose, although, as noted earlier, their analysis runs into problems with nonpredicative adjectives. If we only look at predicative adjectives, however, the data supports two syntactic sources. The major evidence comes from differences in interpretation. In particular, the semantic differences of predicative adjectives between Adj N and Adj *de* N follow Cinque's classification in (1). These differences are presented in the next section.

3. Syntactic sources

3.1 Two syntactic sources for predicative adjectives

In each of the following six cases, a *de*-less adjective has the reading given under "direct modification source" in (1), while the same adjective with *de* has the reading under "reduced RC source."

A. Restrictive versus nonrestrictive

An adjective such as *piaoliang* "pretty" has a nonrestrictive meaning in an Adj N phrase, whereas in an Adj *de* N phrase, it has a restrictive meaning (the relevant parts are underlined):

(8) a. 最好我們挑選首長的漂亮公主，如此神靈才可能真實確信我們對他的
虔誠乞求的心

Zuihao   women tiaoxuan shouzhang de piaoliang gongzhu, ruci   shenling cai
had-better we   pick   chief   DE pretty   princess this-way god   only

keneng   zhenshi   quexin women dui ta   de qiancheng qiqiu de xin
possible genuinely believe we   to him DE devout   beg   DE heart

"It would be better if we pick the chief's princess(es), who is/are pretty; only then
  would it be possible for the god to genuinely believe our devotion to him."

 b. 最好我們挑選首長漂亮的公主，如此神靈才可能真實確信我們對他的
虔誠乞求的心

Zuihao   women tiaoxuan shouzhang piaoliang de gongzhu, ruci   shenling cai
had-better we   pick   chief   pretty   DE princess this-way god   only

keneng   zhenshi   quexin women dui ta   de qiancheng qiqiu de xin
possible genuinely believe we   to him DE devout   beg   DE heart

"It would be better if we pick the chief's princess(es) who is/are pretty; only then
  would it be possible for the god to genuinely believe our devotion to him."

(8a) means that the daughters of the chief are pretty, while (8b) implies that not all of the chief's daughters are pretty.

B. Intersective versus nonintersective

An adjective such as *meili* "beautiful" has a nonintersective meaning in an Adj N phrase. In contrast, in an Adj *de* N phrase, it has an intersective meaning.

(9) a. 這位美麗舞者給人留下了深刻的印象
Zhewei meili   wuzhe gei ren   iuxia-le   shenke de yinxiang
this-CL beautiful dancer to people leave-PERF deep   DE impression
"The dancer, who dances beautifully, made a deep impression on people."
 b. 這位美麗的舞者給人留下了深刻的印象
Zhewei meili   de wuzhe gei ren   iuxia-le   shenke de yinxiang
this-CL beautiful DE dancer to people leave-PERF deep   DE impression
"The dancer, who is beautiful, made a deep impression on people."

In (9a) the dancer is a wonderful dancer but as a person he/she is not necessarily good looking; (9b), on the other hand, gives the reading where the dancer is good looking.

C. Absolute versus relative reading (in a comparison class)

An adjective such as *kuankuo* "wide" in an Adj N phrase has the absolute reading; in contrast, in an Adj *de* N phrase, *kuankuo* has the relative reading.

(10) a. 那一段又一段的寬闊海灘令人著迷。
　　　Na yiduan　　you yiduan　　de kuankuo haitan, ling　ren　　zhaomi
　　　that one-stretch and one-stretch DE wide　　beach　make people fascinated
　　　"The stretches of beaches, which are wide objects, are fascinating."
　　b. 那一段又一段寬闊的海灘令人著迷。
　　　Na yiduan　　　you yiduan　　kuankuo de haitan, ling　ren　　zhaomi
　　　that one-stretch and one-stretch wide　　DE beach　make people fascinated
　　　"The stretches of beaches, which are wider than average beaches, are fascinating."

In (10a), the beaches are fascinating, but not necessarily because they are wide; in (10b), part of the charm of the beaches lies in their width.

D. Absolute versus comparative reading of superlatives

The same contrast can be observed in superlatives, which are formed by attaching *zui* "most" to an adjective.

(11) a. 他錄取了，因為他達到了錄取最低分數。
　　　Ta luqu　-le,　yinwei ta dadao-le　luqu　　zuidi　　fenshu
　　　he accept-PERF because he reach-PERF accept　lowest　score
　　　"He was accepted, because he reached the minimum score for acceptance."
　　b. ?* 他錄取了，因為他達到了錄取最低的分數。
　　　Ta luqu　-le,　yinwei ta dadao-le　luqu　de zuidi　fenshu
　　　he accept-PERF because he reach-PERF accept　DE lowest　score
　　　?"He was accepted, because he reached the lowest score (among ones that are) accepted."

In (11a), the Adj N has the absolute reading of "minimum score," while in (11b), the Adj *de* N has the comparative reading of "lowest score." (11b) is odd because having the lowest score among the accepted applicants is not the reason why someone was accepted.

E. Specific versus nonspecific reading

Another difference concerns whether the N has a specific or nonspecific reading. The Adj N phrase has a specific reading, while the Adj *de* N phrase could be specific or nonspecific.

(12) a. 聽說他在新開酒吧里，我去把他叫回來。
　　　Tingshuo ta zai xinkai　　　jiuba li,　wo qu ba ta　jiao huilai
　　　hear-say he at　newly-opened bar　in　I　go BA him call return-DIR
　　　"I heard that he is at the newly-opened bar; I'll go get him."

b. *聽說他在新開酒吧里，可是不知道是哪一家。
   Tingshuo ta zai xinkai   jiuba li, *keshi bu zhidao shi nayi   jia
   hear-say he at newly-opened bar in   but   not know is which CL
   *"I heard that he is at the newly-opened bar, but I don't know which one."

(13) a. 聽說他在新開的酒吧里，我去把他叫回来。
    Tingshuo ta zai xinkai   de jiuba li, wo qu ba ta   jiao huilai
    hear-say he at newly-opened DE bar in I   go BA him call return-DIR
    "I heard that he is at a newly-opened bar; I'll go get him."

b. 聽說他在新開的酒吧里，可是不知道是哪一家。
   Tingshuo ta zai xinkai   de jiuba li, *keshi bu zhidao shi nayi   jia
   hear-say he at newly-opened DE bar in but   not know is which CL
   "I heard that he is at a newly-opened bar, but I don't know which one."

In (12), the speaker has a particular bar in mind; (12b) is unacceptable because it is incoherent. In (13), the speaker may or may not have a particular bar in mind, and both (13a) and (13b) are acceptable.

F. Idiomatic versus literal meaning

Idiomatic meanings are only available in an Adj N phrase but not in an Adj *de* N phrase. For example, when the adjective *ying* "hard" occurs in an Adj N phrase, it may have a literal meaning or an idiomatic meaning, as illustrated in (14); but when it occurs in an Adj *de* N phrase, it only has the literal meaning, as in (15).

(14) a. 請你拿一塊硬紙板來。
    Qing ni   na   yikuai ying zhiban   lai
    please you bring one-CL hard cardboard DIR
    "Could you bring a piece of hard cardboard over?"

b. 他有硬脾氣，很難跟人相處。
   Ta you ying piqi,   hen nan   gen ren   xiangchu
   he has hard temper, very difficult with people get-along
   "He is inflexible; it is difficult for him to get along with people."

(15) a. 請你拿一塊硬的紙板來。
    Qing ni   na   yikuai ying de zhiban   lai
    please you bring one-CL hard DE cardboard DIR
    "Could you bring a piece of cardboard over?"

b. *他有硬的脾氣，很難跟人相處。
   Ta you ying de piqi,   hen nan   gen ren   xiangchu
   he has hard DE temper, very difficult with people get-along
   "He is inflexible; it is difficult for him to get along with people."

These six cases demonstrate that there are systematic meaning differences between the Adj N and Adj *de* N phrases. These differences fall right into the division in (1); in fact, they are a subset of (1). If we take the two groups of meanings as

corresponding to two syntactic sources, as Cinque proposes, the picture presented by Chinese is similar to that of English and Italian. In all three languages, adjectives derived by reduced relative clauses show a range of interpretations that can be distinguished from adjectives that participate in direct modification.

Meaning differences between Adj N and Adj *de* N have been noted in previous studies. According to Zhu (1980 [1956]), Adj N expressions characterize a new subtype of entities or represent phrases that are relatively stable. In contrast, Adj *de* N phrases have a temporary quality. Fu (1987) offers a similar characterization: *de*-less adjectives give a permanent property of the entity denoted by the noun, while with-*de* adjectives give a temporary property of the entity. Paul (2005, 2010) characterizes the differences as defining versus accessory. The analysis proposed here is compatible with these previous studies. In fact, each of the six cases presented above can be considered as an instantiation of the difference between characterizing/permanent/defining versus temporary/accessory properties. But by framing the differences in terms of Cinque's classification, our analysis goes one step further; it demonstrates the various dimensions of the contrast between permanent and temporary, and it also highlights the cross-linguistic nature of the syntax–semantic association between the two types of modification. In particular, it allows for meaningful comparisons between Chinese and English, Italian, or other languages that display the pattern in (1). An example of such comparisons is provided in Section 3.3.

3.2 One source for nonpredicative adjectives

After demonstrating that predicative adjectives come from two sources, depending on whether the adjectives are with-*de* or *de*-less, it is important to return to nonpredicative adjectives and consider whether they also display meaning differences between Adj N and Adj *de* N. As discussed in Section 2, these adjectives only have one syntactic source, that of direct modification, and therefore, they are expected to have the same interpretation with or without *de*. Is this prediction supported?

Lü and Rao (1981) note that nonpredicative adjectives, with or without *de*, denote properties/characteristics of things ("shiwu de xingzhi") (p. 81), and they refer to these adjectives as "characterizing words" ("shuxing ci"). Indeed, the adjectives in (16) all have a characterizing function—they create a subtype of entities:

(16) a. xishi (de) zaocan
      "Western-style breakfast"
   b. daxing (de) yinyuhui
      "large-scale concert"
   c. liangxing (de) bingdu
      "benign virus"
   d. shangdeng (de) putaojiu
      "top-level wine"

    e. gaoji (de) xiangshou
        "high-level entertainment"
    f. dahao (de) chenshan
        "large-size shirt"
    g. duanqi (de) fangwen
        "short visit"

Consider (17) and (18), which includes (16a) and (16f), respectively:

(17) a. Nafen xishi   zaocan ta chi de   manyi ji   le
       that-CL Wstern-style breakfast he eat DEG satisfied extreme PRT
       "He was completely satisfied with the Western-style breakfast."

     b. Nafen xishi   de zaocan   ta chi de manyi ji   le
       that-CL Western-style DE breakfast he eat DEG satisfied extreme PRT
       "He was completely satisfied with the Western-style breakfast."

(18) a. Ta suiran   gezi xiao, keshi jingchang chuan dahao   chenshan
       he although size small but   often   wear large-size shirt
       "Even though he is small, he often wears large-size shirts."

     b. Ta suiran   gezi xiao, keshi jingchang chuan dahao   de chenshan
       he although size small but often   wear large-size DE shirt
       "Even though he is small, he often wears large-size shirts."

In (17), *xishi zaocan* "Western-style breakfast" and *xishi de zaocan* "Western-style breakfast" have the same meaning, characterizing a type of breakfast; similarly, in (18), *dahao chenshan* "large-size shirt" and *dahao de chenshan* "large-size shirt" have the same meaning, characterizing a type of shirts. The occurrence of *de* in (17b) and (18b) does not alter the function the adjective. This is supported by placing the adjectives in an identification context, which brings out the characterizing function of adjectives (Fu 1987). As (19) and (20) shows, in this context, nonpredicative adjectives can occur with or without *de*:

(19) a. Zhe shi xishi   zaocan
       this is Western-style breakfast
       "This is Western-style breakfast."
     b. Zhe shi xishi   de zaocan
       this is Western-style DE breakfast
       "This is Western-style breakfast."

(20) a. Zhe shi dahao   chenshan
       this is   large-size shirt
       "This is a large-size shirt."
     b. Zhe shi dahao   de chenshan
       this is   large-size DE shirt
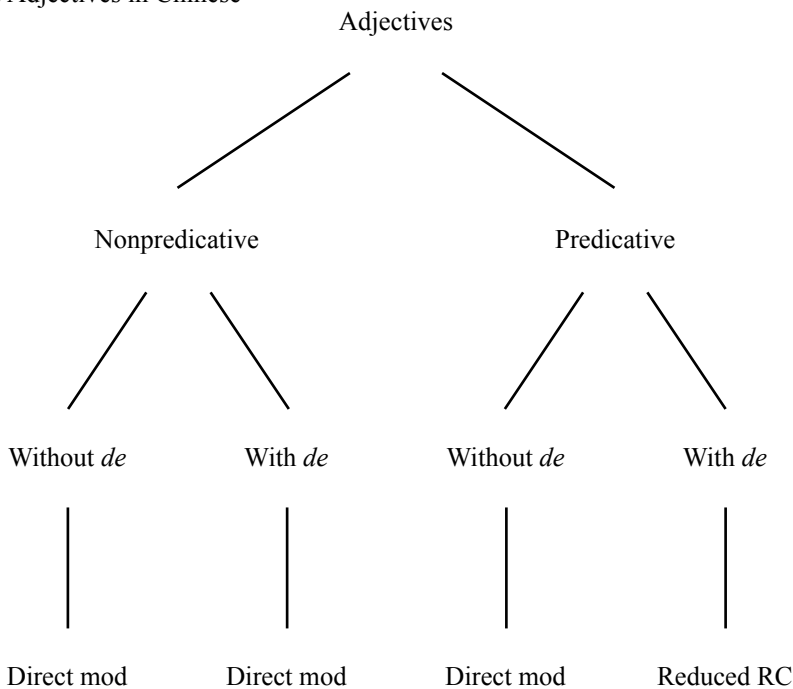   "This is a large-size shirt."

The same applies to the other adjectives in (16). In contrast, predicative adjectives in the same context disprefer the occurrence of *de*, because Adj *de* N signals a temporary property of the entity, in conflict with the requirement of an identification context:

(21) a. Zhe shi lü   huaping
      this is   green vase
      "This is a green vase."
   b. ?*Zhe shi lü   de huaping
      this   is   green DE vase
      "This is a green vase."

(22) a. Zhe shi xinxian mianbao
      this is   fresh   bread
      "This is fresh bread."
   b. ?*Zhe shi   xinxian de   mianbao
      this   is   fresh   DE   bread
      "This is fresh bread."

In short, the prediction concerning the meaning of nonpredicative adjectives is borne out: these adjectives, with or without *de*, have only one meaning, that of characterizing an entity, and it is associated with direct modification.

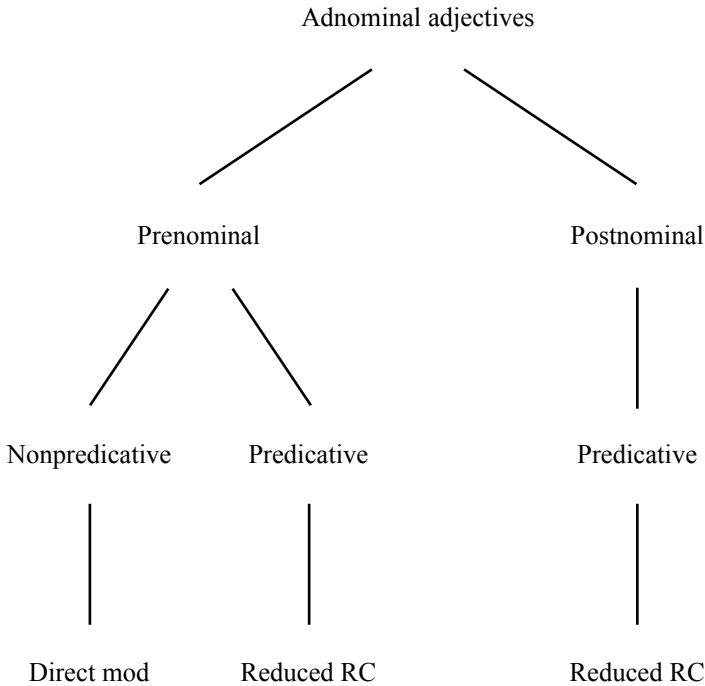(23) summarizes what we have so far in terms of syntactic sources:

(23) Adjectives in Chinese

Adjectives

Nonpredicative   Predicative

Without *de*   With *de*   Without *de*   With *de*

Direct mod   Direct mod   Direct mod   Reduced RC

3.3 Comparisons between Chinese and English

Cinque (2014), following Partee (2007, 2009, 2010), reaches the conclusion that the major division of adjectives is between predicative and nonpredicative adjectives, which for English adnominal adjectives, corresponds to the distinction between reduced relative clauses and direct modification. (24) shows how adnominal adjectives are divided in English:

(24) Adnominal adjectives in English

<center>Adnominal adjectives</center>

<center>Prenominal   Postnominal</center>

<center>Nonpredicative Predicative   Predicative</center>

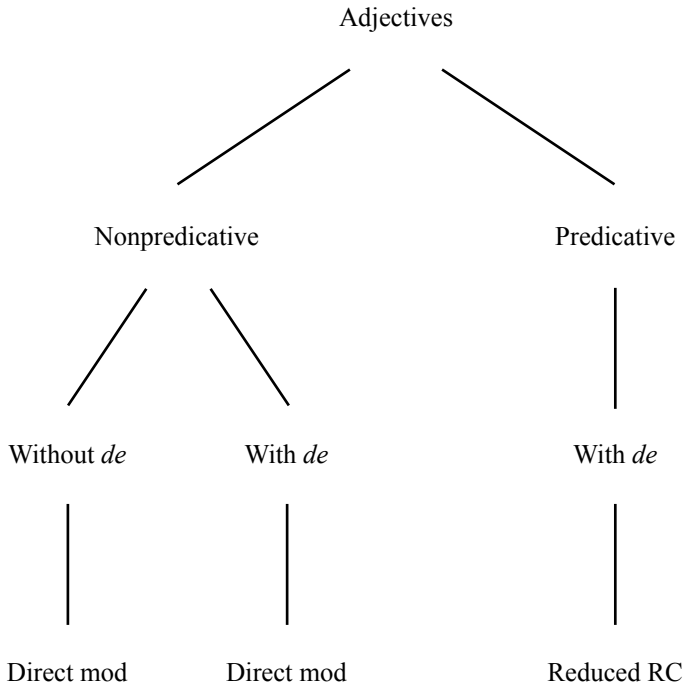<center>Direct mod   Reduced RC   Reduced RC</center>

How does the English situation in (24) relate to the Chinese situation in (23)? If, as suggested in Section 3.1, Chinese predicative adjectives display a divide as characterized by (1), we would expect to see similarities between Chinese and English. (23) and (24) do have something in common—in both languages, if an adjective has reduced relative clause as its source, it is predicative. But we also see differences. In Chinese, predicative adjectives are not all derived from reduced relative clauses; a subgroup of predicative adjectives (ones without *de*) participate in direct modification. In contrast, in English, predicative adjectives are all derived from reduced relative clauses.

On closer examination, however, this difference (whether some predicative adjectives are associated with direct modification) disappears. This is because the term "predicative" is used differently by Cinque and Chinese grammarians. For Cinque, whether an adjective is predicative depends on how it is used: a predicative

adjective is one that is used predicatively, having the same semantic properties as reduced relative clause. The same lexical item, for example, *beautiful*, may have a predicative use and a nonpredicative use. For Chinese grammarians, for example, Lü and Rao (1981), whether an adjective is predicative depends on whether it can be used predicatively. If an adjective can be used predicatively, it is predicative, regardless of how it is actually used. For example, *a beautiful dancer* is ambiguous between "a dancer who is physically beautiful" and "a dancer who dances beautifully." In the latter reading, *beautiful* has a nonpredicative use. For Cinque, this use is a case of nonpredicative adjective and goes under the nonpredicative branch in (24), but for Lü and Rao, the adjective *beautiful* is predicative in either use. If we follow Cinque, interpreting "predicative" as "being used predicatively," the adjective *meili* "beautiful" in *meili wuzhe* "beautiful dancer" will be grouped into the nonpredicative branch. We can, therefore, revise (23) as (25):
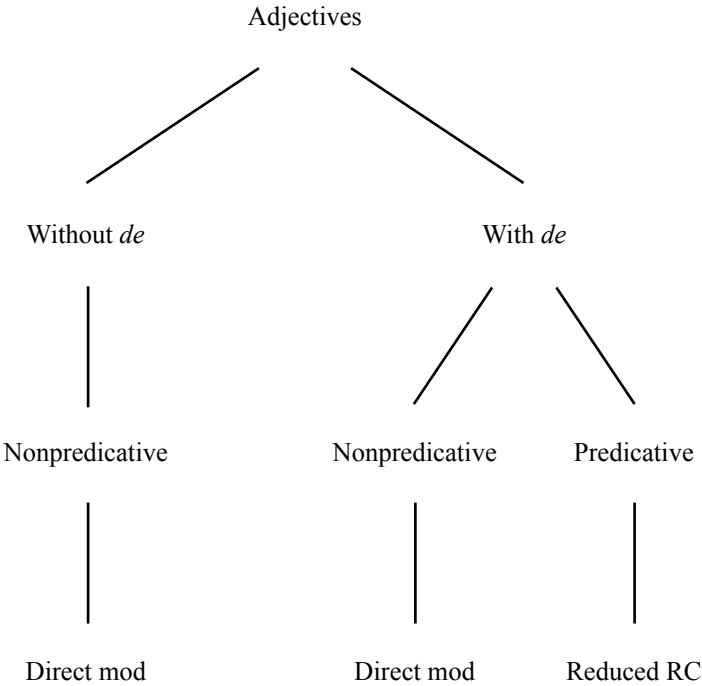
(25) Adjectives in Chinese (revised)

(25) is now similar to (24). In both cases, predicative adjectives are derived from reduced relative clauses, and nonpredicative adjectives participate in direct modification. By doing so, we see that despite superficial differences, adjectives in Chinese are parallel to adjectives in English in an important way: the divide between syntactic sources corresponds to the distinction between predicative versus nonpredicative adjectives. This correlation is exactly what Cinque outlines for Italian and English.

(25) captures the parallelism between Chinese and English (nonpredicative maps to direct modification and predicative maps to reduced RC), but in terms of procedure, that is, steps to take in deciding the syntactic source of an adjective, (26), which gives the same information as (25), is easier to follow:

(26) Adjectives in Chinese (alternative presentation of (25))

<center>Adjectives</center>

<center>Without de   With de</center>

<center>Nonpredicative   Nonpredicative   Predicative</center>

<center>Direct mod   Direct mod   Reduced RC</center>

(26) says that if an adjective occurs in Adj N, it is a case of direct modification and it is nonpredicative. If an adjective occurs in Adj *de* N, it is derived from reduced RC if it is used predicatively; otherwise, it is nonpredicative and participates in direct modification. Thus the syntactic source of adjectives in Chinese is determined by two factors: form (Adj N vs. Adj *de* N) and use (predicative vs. non-predicative). These are precisely the two distinctions mentioned at the beginning of the study. We now see that both of them play a role in determining the syntactic source of an adjective.

4. Conclusion

I have argued that Cinque's (2010, 2014) analysis of the association between syntactic sources and interpretive properties also applies to Chinese. Adjectives in Chinese that are derived from relative clauses are semantically different from those that directly modify nouns in ways described by Cinque. In this aspect, Chinese is similar to English and Italian. I have also shown that once "predicative"

is interpreted in the same way between the two languages, Chinese is parallel to English and displays the correspondence that predicative adjectives are derived from reduced RC, while nonpredicative adjectives participate in direct modification. The Chinese data thus lends further support for Cinque's conclusion and suggests that the correspondence may hold cross-linguistically. On the other hand, the comparative data between English and Chinese has implications for the study of Chinese adjectives. In particular, it suggests that the term "nonpredicative" ("fei wei xingrongci") should be applied to a broader group than what has been assumed so far; it should include not only the adjectives in Lü and Rao (1981) but also all other adjectives that enter Adj N. This will allow us to see that despite superficial differences, Chinese adjectives have much in common with English adjectives syntactically and semantically.

Acknowledgments

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Address: Department of East Asian Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721, USA
Email: fliu@email.arizona.edu

漢語形容詞的句法來源

劉鳳樨

亞利桑那大學

提要

Cinque (2010, 2014) 認為作定語的形容詞有兩個句法來源，並為英語和義大利語提供證據指出不同來源之形容詞帶有不同的語義，句法來源的不同最終歸究於形容詞是否用作謂語。本文探討漢語形容詞的句法來源，證據顯示漢語形容詞同樣有兩個來源：直接修飾以及關係小句，前者與後者顯現不同語義。形容詞是否用作謂語在漢語也發揮同樣作用，對形容詞的句法來源有決定性因素。但漢語和英語，義大利語的相似之處只有在以下情況才能呈現出來：漢語"謂語性形容詞"與"非謂語性形容詞"的區分必須重新規劃，所有不加"的"的形名詞組中的形容詞皆應納入非謂語性形容詞中。

關鍵詞

形容詞，非謂語性，直接修飾，關係小句