Grammatical theory

From transformational grammar to constraint-based approaches

Stefan Müller



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Part I Background and specific theories

本章旨在探讨我们为什么要研究句法(第1.1节),以及为什么形式化的表述是非常重要的这两个问题(第1.2节)。我们将在第1.3节到第1.8节的内容中介绍基本的概念:第1.3节讲解将语流切分为小单位的若干标准。第1.4节介绍词汇聚类的规律,其中我将重点介绍动词或形容词的归类标准。第1.5节讲解中心语的概念,而有关论元和附加语的区别将在第1.6节展开。第1.7节界定了语法功能。第1.8节利用空间位置概念来描述诸如德语这类语言的小句中的空间位置。

令人遗憾的是,语言学领域里术语纷杂,难以统一。部分原因在于这些术语最初源于对某些语言的分析(例如拉丁语,英语),而后又被用于描述其他语言现象。然而,这样做并不合适,因为有些语言与其他语言区别很大,而且语言本身也在不断地发展变化。基于以上原因,有些术语的用法发生了变化或者有新的术语用来指称。

如遇到新的术语,本书将援引相关的术语或者区分出每一条术语的不同用法,这样可以方便读者将这些术语与其他文献的术语联系起来。

1.1 为什么要研究句法?

所有的语言表达式都有意义。据此,我们研究形式与意义之间的关系(?)。例如,"树"这个词的字形与相关的语音形式被赋予了"树"的含义。更大的语音单位可以由小的单位构成:词与词可以一起构成词组并且这些词组可以继而构成句子。

接下来的问题是:我们是否需要一个形式化的系统来表述这些句子的结构呢?就像上面,我们将"树"这个词的形式与意义对儿形式化地表述出来对于完成这些句子来说是不是不够的呢?

理论上来说,这只适用于那些由有限词语序列构成的语言。如果我们假设句子的最大长度是有限的,词长是有限的,词语的数量也是有限的,那么句子的数量也应该是有限的。但是,即使我们能限制句子的长度,可以构成的句子数量也是无限的。那么我们真正需要回答的问题是:句子的最大长度是多少呢?举例来说,我们可以把下面的句子(1)进行扩展:

- (1) a. This sentence goes on and on and on and on ...
 - b. [A sentence is a sentence] is a sentence.
 - c. that Max thinks that Julius knows that Otto claims that Karl suspects that Richard confirms that Friederike is laughing

句(1b)说明了"a sentence is a sentence"这组词的性质,即它是一个句子。 我们也可以按照(1b)的方式来扩展句子,将这整句话也看作是一句话。(1c) 是将"Friederike is laughing"和"Richard confirms"组合起来构成了一个新句子 "Richard confirms, that Friederike is laughing"。按照同样的方式,我们还可以将 "Karl suspects"扩展进来。这样我们就可以将一个不太复杂的句子嵌套进来构成 一个非常复杂的句子。这样就可以一句句地嵌套下去。(1c)这类句子类似于俄 罗斯套娃,也叫做"matryoshka":每个娃娃都包含一个涂成不同颜色的更小的娃 娃。(1c)中的句子也是以同样的方式构成的,即他们包含着更小的成分,并由不 同的名词和动词组成。我们可以用方括号很清楚地表示出来,如下所示:

(2) that Max thinks [that Julius knows [that Otto claims [that Karl suspects [that Richard confirms [that Friederike is laughing]]]]]

我们可以像例(1)一样通过扩展的方式构建出又长又复杂的句子。1

对于这些组合来说,我们很难轻易地说截止到哪里是我们的语言可以接受的。(?: 208; ?: 23)。同样,如果认为这些复杂的句子被当作一个复杂的单位储存在大脑中,这样的观点也是难以令人信服的。虽然神经语言学的实验显示,高频词语或固定搭配往往以复杂的单位储存在大脑中,但是这不符合例(1)中句子的情况。再者,我们能够造出我们从未听过、说过或者写下的话语。由此,这些话语一定是有结构的,一定会有可以一遍一遍重复的模式。作为人类,我们有能力将简单的成分构成如此复杂的句子,也可以将复杂的话语分解成他们的构成成分。现在也有神经科学相关的研究可以证明,人类具有运用规则将词构成更大单位的能力。((?: 170))当这些规则被违反时,更能证明我们是按照规则来组织语言材料的。儿童是通

当这些规则被违反时,更能证明我们是按照规则米组织语言材料的。儿童是通过他们能够接触到的语言输入来习得语言的。由此,他们可以制造出他们以前从没听过的话语:

(3) Ich festhalte die.

(Friederike, 2;6)

PART.hold them

Intended: 'I hold them tight.'

Friederike 正处在习得德语句子中定式动词位置的规则(也就是,定式动词位于第二位)的阶段。但是,她在这里是将整个动词(包括分词语素 fest "紧")放在了第二位,尽管分词语素应该放在这个句子的末尾。如果我们并不期望语言仅仅是由一对对的形式意义对儿组成的,那么必然会有将话语中小的成分的意义构成复杂话语的意义的过程。句法就是来揭示词汇组合的方式,以及话语的结构方面的内容。比如说,有关主谓一致的知识有助于对下面的德语句子进行解释:

- (4) a. Die Frau schläft. the woman sleep.3sG '这个女人睡着了。'
 - b. Die Mädchen schlafen. the girls sleep.3PL '这个女孩儿睡着了。'

¹ 也有学者认为我们有能力构建出无限长的句子 (?: 117; ?: 3; Dan Everett in ? at 25:19),乔姆斯基也这样 认为 ((?: 341))。但这是不正确的,因为每个句子必然要在某个节点结束。即使是在乔姆斯基传统下 发展起来的形式语言也没有无限长的句子。不过,有些形式语法可以描述出一系列无限地包含着有 限句子的情况。(?: 13) 也可以参看?和第13.1.8 节中关于语法的递归性和与语言无限论相关的观点。

- c. Die Frau kennt die Mädchen. the woman know.3sg the girls '这个女人认识这些女孩儿。'
- d. Die Frau kennen die Mädchen. the woman know.3pl the girls '这些女孩儿认识这个女人。'

例句(4a,b)显示,主语的单数或复数形式需要有相应的动词屈折形式来搭配。在(4c,d)中,动词带两个论元成分,而且"die Frau"和"die Mädchen"在德语中可以出现在任意一个论元位置。这些句子可以理解为这个女人认识某人或者某人认识这个女人。不过,按照动词的屈折变化以及德语的句法规则,听话人知道对于(4c)和(4d)来说都只有一种解读。

所以说,句法就是用来发现、描写和解释这些规则、范式和结构的。

1.2 为什么要形式化?

在下面,我们引用了为什么要对语言进行形式化描述的两则经典论述:

在发现语言结构的过程中,对语言结构的精确建模,不管是正面的、还是负面的,都起到十分重要的作用。通过对一条不可接受的结论进行精确但是不充分的建模过程,可以暴露出这种不充分的确切来源,并最终对语言数据有更深层次的理解。乐观来看,一个形式化的理论可以为许多问题自动提供解决方案,而不是像其他那些被精细设计的理论那样。那些晦涩的,凭直觉判定的理念既不能得到荒谬的结论,也不能得到新的、正确的结论。所以说,他们在这两个方面都没有实际的用处。我认为那些质疑过语言学理论的发展在精确和技术层面上的价值的学者们都无法认识到这种方法的巨大潜力,即严密地论证观点以及严格地将之实行在语言事实上,而不是为了避免由特设的调整以及模糊的组成方式造成的不合格的结论。(?:5)

正如我们经常指出,但是不能过度强调的是,语言形式化的一个重要的目的就是可以使得研究者们看到一种观点的缺点的同时也看到它的优点。只有这样,我们才能使得研究变得有效率。(?: 322)

如果我们将语言的描写形式化,则便于我们对一种分析所表示的确切含义的认识。我们可以构建起该分析下可预测的内容,并排除其他的分析。另一个优势在于,精确的形式化理论可以用计算机程序能够理解的方式记录下来。这样,一个理论分析就可以作为计算过程中的语法部分来实现,如有不一致的地方就会更快地显现出来。这种语法可以用来分析大规模的数据,也叫做语料库,而且他们可以构建出语法尚无法分析的句子或者组配错误的结果。更多的有关语言学应用计算机实现方面的研究可以参看?: 163, ?: Chapter 22 和? 这几篇文献,也可参看第3.6.2节的内容。

1.3 构成成分

拿例(5)来说,我们可以凭直觉判断出句中有些词构成了一个单位。

(5) Alle Studenten lesen während dieser Zeit Bücher. all students read during this time books '在这个时候,所有的学生都在读书。'

例如,"alle"(所有的)和"Studenten"(学生)这两个词构成了一个单位,说的是某人在阅读的意思。"während"(在……时候),"dieser"(这个)和"Zeit"(时间)这三个词也组成了一个单位,意思是阅读这个动作发生的这段时间,而"Bücher"(书)是指读的对象。第一个单位本身由两部分组成,即"alle"(所有的)和"Studenten"(学生)。"während dieser Zeit"(在这个时候)这个单位也可以分成两个小部分:"während"(在……时候)和"dieser Zeit"(这个时候)。"dieser Zeit"(这个时候)也由两部分组成,跟"alle Studenten"(所有的学生)是一样的。在前面的例(1c))中,我们用俄罗斯套娃(matryoshkas)来比喻语言中的嵌套现象。这里,我们也可以将(5)分成更小的单位,从而构成更大的单位。但是,与俄罗斯套娃的隐喻不同的是,我们不能只将小的单位放在大的单位里,而是我们可以将几个单位组成更大的单位。最好的方法就是把它想象成一套盒子系统:一个大盒子装着整个句子。在这个盒子里,还有四个小盒子,每个盒子分别装着"alle Studenten"(所有的学生),"lesen"(读),"während dieser Zeit"(在这个时候)和"Bücher"(书)。如图 1.1 所示。

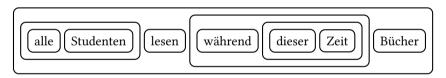


Figure 1.1: 盒子中的词与短语

在下一节,我会介绍几种不同的测验方法来判断出哪些词与其他词相比是"在一起的"。每当我说到一个词语序列的时候,通常是指一个任意的线性词语序列,它并不必须具有句法或语义上的联系,比如说例(5)中"students read during"(学生们读在)。而一组词构成一个结构单位通常叫做短语或者构成成分。短语由词构成,如"this time"(这个时候),或者由词与短语的组成,如"during this time"(在这个时候)。短语内部的成分和短语本身叫做成分。所以说,在图 1.1中,盒子中的所有元素都是句子的构成成分。

基于上述的基本说明,我现在将介绍一些可以帮助我们判断出一个词串是否是构成成分的测试方法。

1.3.1 构成成分测试

有许多方法可以用来测试词汇序列的构成成分。在下面的章节中,我会介绍其中一些方法。在第 1.3.2节,我们还可以看到简单地盲目测试只会得到一些无用的结果。

1.3.1.1 替换

如果可以将一个句子内的词语序列替换为另一套不同的词语序列,而且句子的可接受程度不变,那么这个成分测试法就可以证明这些词语序列组成了一个构成成分。在例(6)中,"der Mann"(男人)可以被替换为"eine Frau"(一个女人)。这就暗示了这些词语序列都是构成成分。

- (6) a. Er kennt [den Mann]. he knows the man '他认识那个男人。'
 - b. Er kennt [eine Frau]. he knows a woman '他认识一个女人。'

与(7a)类似的是,字符串"das Buch zu lesen"可以被替换为"der Frau das Buch zu geben"。

- (7) a. Er versucht, [das Buch zu lesen]. he tries the book to read '他正努力读这本书。'
 - b. Er versucht, [der Frau das Buch zu geben]. he tries the woman the book to give '他正努力把这本书给这位女士。'

这类测验叫做替换测试。

1.3.1.2 代词化(代名化)

凡是能够由代词所替代的也构成一个成分。在例(8)中,我们可以用代词"er"(他)替代"der Mann"(这个男人):

- (8) a. [Der Mann] schläft. the man sleeps '这个男人正在睡觉。'
 - b. Er schläft. he sleeps '他正在睡觉。'

我们也可以用一个代词来指代诸如"das Buch zu lesen"这样的成分,如下面的例(9) 所示: It is also possible to use a pronoun to refer to constituents such as *das Buch zu lesen* 'the book to read' in (7a), as is shown in (9):

(9) a. Peter versucht, [das Buch zu lesen].
Peter tries the book to read
'彼得正努力读这本书。'

b. Klaus versucht das auch. Klaus tries that also 'Klaus 也努力这么做。'

代词化测试是替换测试的另一种形式。

1.3.1.3 疑问结构

如果一个词语序列能够用问句来提问,那么它就构成一个成分:

- (10) a. [Der Mann] arbeitet. the man works '这个男人在工作。'
 - b. Wer arbeitet? who works '谁在工作?'

疑问结构属于一种特殊的代词化。我们可以用一种特殊类型的代词来指代词语序列。例((7a))"das Buch zu lesen"这类的成分就可以用疑问词来提问,如例(11)所示:

(11) Was versucht er? what tries he '他想试什么?'

1.3.1.4 变换测试

如有一组词语序列可以移动,而不会影响到其所在句子的合格性,那么这就意味着这个词语序列构成了一个成分。在例(12)中,"keiner"(没有人)和"diese Frau"(这个女人)可以有不同的语序排列方式,这就意味着"diese"和"Frau"是一个成分。

- (12) a. dass keiner [diese Frau] kennt that nobody this woman knows
 - b. dass [diese Frau] keiner kennt that this woman nobody knows '没有人认识这个女人'

从另一个角度来看,"keiner diese"在例(12a)中是无法构成一个成分的。如我们将"keiner diese"整体移动的话,我们会得到不合格的句子: 2

² 我在所有的例句中都使用如下的符号: '*'表示句子是不合乎语法的,'#'表示句子有着不同于常规用法的解读,最后'§'是指那些因语义或信息结构等方面的原因可以被解读的句子,比如说,主语必须是有生的,但是实际上我们提问的是非有生的主语,或者由于代词的使用,成分序列和已知信息的标记之间存在矛盾。

- (13) a. * dass Frau keiner diese kennt
 - b. * dass Frau kennt keiner diese

再者, 诸如例(das Buch zu lesen)中 "the das Buch zu lesen"的成分是可以移动的:

- (14) a. Er hat noch nicht [das Buch zu lesen] versucht. he has PART not the book to read tried '他还没有试着读这本书。'
 - b. Er hat [das Buch zu lesen] noch nicht versucht. he has the book to read PART not tried
 - c. Er hat noch nicht versucht, [das Buch zu lesen]. he has PART not tried the book to read

1.3.1.5 前置

前置是更深层次的移动测试。在德语的陈述句中,只有一个成分能够前置到定式 动词的前面:

- (15) a. [Alle Studenten] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit Bücher. all students read.3pl during the lecture.free time books '所有的学生都在学期放假的时候看书。'
 - b. [Bücher] lesen alle Studenten während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit. books read all students during the lecture.free time
 - c. * [Alle Studenten] [Bücher] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit. all students books read during the lecture.free time
 - d. * [Bücher] [alle Studenten] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit. books all students read during the lecture.free time

一个词语序列能否前置,即出现在定式动词的前面,是确定其为一个成分的重要 依据。

1.3.1.6 并列

如有两组词语序列可以连接在一起,那么每一组词都是一个构成成分。 在例(16)中,"der Mann"和"die Frau"连在一起使用,整个短语作动词 "arbeiten"(工作)的主语。这个事实可以证明"der Mann"和"die Frau"构成一个成分。

(16) [Der Mann] und [die Frau] arbeiten. the man and the woman work.3PL '这个男人和这个女人都工作。'

例(17)说明了带 to-不定式的词语序列可以并列:

(17) Er hat versucht, [das Buch zu lesen] und [es dann unauffällig verschwinden zu he had tried the book to read and it then secretly disappear to lassen].

let

'他试着读这本书,然后让它静悄悄地消失。'

1.3.2 关于成分测试法的一些看法

如果上述的测试方法可以对每一种情况给出界限清晰的结果,那就太理想了,正 如基于经验主义的句法理论也会变得更加清楚一样。不幸的是,实际情况并不是 这样。成分测试实际上存在一些问题,我将在下面来具体讨论。

1.3.2.1 虚位成分

在代词中有一类特殊的词,叫做虚位成分,他们并不指称人或者事物,也就是说是 无指的。例(18)中的"es"(它)就是一个例子。

- (18) a. Es regnet. it rains '下雨了。'
 - b. Regnet es? rains it '下雨了吗?'
 - c. dass es jetzt regnet that it now rains '现在正在下雨'

如例(18)所示,"es"可以用在动词前面,也可以用在动词后面。有副词的时候,它也可以与动词分开,这就意味着"es"可以被看作是一个独立的成分。无论如何,我们观察到上述的测试存在一些问题。首先,"es"在例(19a)和(20b)中有移动上限制。

- (19) a. * dass jetzt es regnet that now it rains
 Intended: '现在正在下雨'
 - b. dass jetzt keiner klatscht that now nobody claps '现在没有人在鼓掌'
- (20) a. Er sah es regnen. he saw it.ACC rain '他看见在下雨'

- b. *Es sah er regnen. it.ACC saw he rain Intended: '他看见下雨了.'
- c. Er sah einen Mann klatschen. he saw a.Acc man clap '他看见一个人在鼓掌'
- d. Einen Mann sah er klatschen. a.ACC man saw he clap '一个人,他看见在鼓掌'.

与(20c,d)中的宾格的宾语 "einen Mann"(一个男人)不同的是,(20b)中的形式代词不能前置。第二,替换和疑问测试法也不适用:

- (21) a. * Der Mann / er regnet. the man he rains
 - b. * Wer / was regnet? who what rains

类似地,并列测试法也不适用:

(22) * Es und der Mann regnet / regnen.
it and the man rains rain

这些测试方法不适用的原因是: 弱重音的代词 "es"倾向于位于其他成分之前,连词的后面(18c中的 dass),以及定式动词的后面(20a)(参考?: 570)。如果一个成分位于虚位成分的前面,如(19a)所示,那么,整个句子就是不合乎语法的。例(20b))不合乎语法的原因在于宾格 "es"不能位于小句句首的位置。尽管有这样的情况,只有当 es 有所指的时候才是成立的(?: 162; ?: 4)。

我们不能对其应用替换和疑问测试的方法的原因是,这些例子中的 es 是无指的。我们可以将 es 替换为另一个虚位成分,比如说 das。如果将虚位成分替换为一个有指的表达,我们可以得到一个不同的语义解读。也就是说讨论语义上的空位概念或者用代词来指代它都是没有意义的。

这样看来不是所有的测试法都会将词的组合区分出不同的成分,也就是说,这些测试法并不是检验构成成分的必要条件。

1.3.2.2 移位

对于具有相对自由语序的语言来说,移位测试是有问题的,因为我们不可能总是能够准确地判断出移位的成分。例如,例(*gestern dem Mann*)中的字符串"gestern dem Mann"就有着不同的排列顺序。

(23) a. weil keiner gestern dem Mann geholfen hat because nobody yesterday the man helped has '因为昨天没有人帮助了那个男人'

b. weil gestern dem Mann keiner geholfen hat because yesterday the man nobody helped has '因为昨天没有人帮助了那个男人'

我们可以推断出,gestern(昨天)和 dem Mann(那个男人)虽然说一起移位的,但是它们并不能构成一个成分。对于(23)中语序变化的另一个解释是副词可以在小句的不同位置出现,而且只有(23b)中的"dem Mann"移到了"keiner"的前面。不管在什么情况下,"gestern"和"dem Mann"都没有语义关系,而且不可能用一个代词来指称他们。尽管看上去是,这个部分按照一个单位来移动,可实际上我们知道不可能认为"gestern dem Mann"构成了一个成分。

1.3.2.3 前置

正如我们在(15)中所讨论的,定式动词前的位置一般由一个成分充当。在定式动词前能否放置一组词被用来判断成分状态的明确标记,这种方法还用在了 Satzglied 这个术语的定义中。(Satzglied 在德语语法中是指小句层面的句子成分)((?: 783))。 ?提出了一个例子,而这个例子在?中已经找不到了:³

句子成分测试是一个应用话题化的方式来对复杂成分进行分析的过程。由于话题化只允许一个单独的成分移到句子的开头,复杂的成分序列,比如说副词短语,实际上包括一个或多个组成成分。在"Ein Taxi quält sich im Schrittempo durch den Verkehr"(出租车正在以步行的速度顽强地前进)这个例子中,"im Schrittempo"(以步行的速度)和"durch den Verkehr"(通过交通)都是句子成分,因为他们都可以彼此独立地进行前置。(?: 446)

前面这段引言预示了如下的内容:

- 如果一部分语言材料可以各自独立地前置,那么这部分材料不构成一个成分。
- 如果语言材料可以一起前置,那么这部分材料构成一个成分。

接下来我们会看到这两种说法都是有问题的。第一个观点在(24)中就站不住脚:

(24) a. Keine Einigung erreichten Schröder und Chirac über den Abbau der no agreement reached Schröder and Chirac about the reduction of.the Agrarsubventionen. 4
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'Schröde 和 Chirac 不能就农业补贴的减少达成一致。'

 b. [Über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen] erreichten Schröder und about the reduction of.the agricultural.subsidies reached Schröder and Chirac keine Einigung.
 Chirac no agreement

³ 句子成分测试,也写作 Konstituententest。

⁴ 《每日新闻》, 2002年10月15日,晚八点。

尽管 "keine Einigung über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen"这个名词短语的一部分可以独立地前置,在例(25)中我们仍可将没有前置的整个词串分析为一个名词短语。

(25) Schröder und Chirac erreichten [keine Einigung über den Abbau der Schröder and Chirac reached no agreement about the reduction of.the Agrarsubventionen].

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"über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen" (关于缩减农业补贴)这个介词短语在语义上依存于"Einigung" (一致),如例(26)所示:

(26) Sie einigen sich über die Agrarsubventionen. they agree REFL about the agricultural.subsidies '他们在农业补贴方面达成了一致。'

这个词语序列也可以一起前置:

(27) [Keine Einigung über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen] erreichten no agreement about the reduction of.the agricultural.subsidies reached Schröder und Chirac. Schröder and Chirac

在理论文献中,人们普遍认为"keine Einigung über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen"构成了一个成分,并且它可以在一定的情况下进行"分裂"。

在这种情况下,如我们在例(25)中看到的,次级构成成分是可以各自独立移动的。(?)

第二个观点也是有问题的,如下例(28)所示:

(28) a. [Trocken] [durch die Stadt] kommt man am Wochenende auch mit der dry through the city comes one at.the weekend also with the ${\rm BVG.}^5$

BVG

'With the BVG, you can be sure to get around town dry at the weekend.'

b. [Wenig] [mit Sprachgeschichte] hat der dritte Beitrag in dieser Rubrik little with language.history has the third contribution in this section zu tun, $[...]^6$

to do

'这一节中的第三篇文章与语言历史没有太多的关系。'

在例(28)中,定式动词前有多个组成成分,而且这些成分之间没有明显的句法或语义上的联系。在下面的章节中,我们会详细解释什么叫做"句法或语义关系"。在这一点上,我仅指出(28a)中的形容词 trocken(干燥)将 man(人)作为它的主语,并进一步说明了有关"穿越城市旅行"的动作,这是因为它指称了动词所指的动作。如(29b)所示,"durch die Stadt"(穿过城市)不能与形容词 trocken(干燥)相组合。

(29) a. Man ist / bleibt trocken. one is stays dry '有人保持干燥。'

> b. * Man ist / bleibt trocken durch die Stadt. one is stavs dry through the city

所以说,形容词 trocken(干燥)与介词短语 "durch die Stadt"(穿越城市)之间不具有句法或语义上的联系。这些短语的共性在于他们都指向动词并且与它有依存关系。

有学者认为应该把(28)的例子看作是例外。不过,正如我在相关的经验主义的研究中指出的,这种方法也是有问题的(?)。

如果我们根据是否能通过前置测试而将"durch die Stadt"看作是一个成分,那么我们必须承认例(30)中的"durch die Stadt"也是一个成分。这么做的结果是,我们会低估对构成成分这个术语的定义,因为构成成分测试的目的就是为了找到词串间的语义与语法联系。⁷

⁶ Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, LXIX, 3/2002, p. 339.

⁵ taz berlin, 10.07.1998, p. 22.

⁷ 这些数据可以这样来解释,即假设一个空动词的中心语位于定式动词的前面,继而保证了在定式动词前只有一个成分位于首位的要求。(??)无论如何,这类数据对于组成成分测试来说都是有问题的,因为这些测试是专门用来区分例(30)中的"trocken"和"durch die Stadt",以及"mit Sprachgeschichte"这类字符串是否是构成成分的。

(30) a. Man kommt am Wochenende auch mit der BVG trocken durch die one comes at.the weekend also with the BVG dry through the Stadt.

city

'With the BVG, you can be sure to get around town dry at the weekend.'

b. Der dritte Beitrag in dieser Rubrik hat wenig mit Sprachgeschichte zu the third contribution in this section has little with language.history to tun.

do

'The third contribution in this section has little to do with language history.'

所以说,对于给定词语序列是否能够前置的判断并不足以测试组成成分的状态。 我们也能看到这样的情况,虚位成分也被看作是组成成分,尽管事实是宾格的虚位成分并不能前置(cf. (20a)):

- (31) a. Er bringt es bis zum Professor. he brings EXPL until to.the professor 'He makes it to professor.'
 - b. #Es bringt er bis zum Professor. it brings he until to.the professor

还有其他成分也不能前置。隐含的虚位成分就是一个很好的例子:

- (32) a. Karl hat sich nicht erholt.
 Karl has REFL not recovered
 '卡尔还没有恢复。'
 - b. * Sich hat Karl nicht erholt.

 REFL has Karl not recovered

由此可见,前置不是成分测试的必要条件。这样的话,一个给定词串能否前置对于组成成分的状态来说既不是充分也不是必要的条件了。

1.3.2.4 并列

在例(33)中的并列结构也被证明是有问题的: Coordinated structures such as those in (33) also prove to be problematic:

(33) Deshalb kaufte der Mann einen Esel und die Frau ein Pferd. therefore bought the man a donkey and the woman a horse '所以说,这个男人买了一头驴,这个女人买了一匹马。'

乍看上去,"der Mann einen Esel"(这个男人一头驴)和"die Frau ein Pferd"(这个女人一匹马)在例(33)中是并列的。这是不是说"der Mann einen Esel"和"die Frau ein Pferd"分别构成一个组成成分呢?

正如利用其他成分测试方法所证明的那样,这个观点并不是如它看上去那样的。 这组词不能作为一个单位来整体移动:⁸

(34) * Der Mann einen Esel kaufte deshalb. the man a donkey bought therefore

我们也不能替换这个组成成分,除非有省略的情况。

- (35) a. # Deshalb kaufte er. therefore bought he
 - b. *Deshalb kaufte ihn. therefore bought him

代词不能填充到 kaufen 的两个逻辑论元的位置上,而是由(33)中的"der Mann"和 "einen Esel"(33中的驴子成分)来填充的,只不过是每个位置有一个成分。对于例(33)这类例子的判断也有不同的观点,(?)认为这里的两个动词"kauft",其中只有一个是显性的。

(36) Deshalb kaufte der Mann einen Esel und kaufte die Frau ein Pferd. therefore bought the man a donkey and bought the woman a horse

这就意味着,即使"der Mann einen Esel"和"die Frau ein Pferd"看上去是并列结构,实际上并列的成分是"kauft der Mann einen Esel"和"(kauft) die Frau ein Pferd"。我们在上面的讨论中得到的结论是:即使一个给定的词语序列通过了某种成分测试法,这并不意味着我们能够自动从这个测试中推导出它是一个组成成分,也就是说,上面的测试并不是判断组成成分的充分条件。

综上所述,这些测试方法对于判断一组词的组成成分来说既不是充分条件也不 是必要条件。但是,只要我们对有争议的地方保持清醒的认识,我们就会大概知 道如何来判断组成成分了。

1.4 词类

例(37)中的词不仅意义不同,其他方面也有所不同。

(37) Der dicke Mann lacht jetzt. the fat man laughs now '那个胖男人正在大笑。'

句中的每一个词都有一定的限制。常见的练习就是将具有共同属性的词归为一类。比如说,"der"是一个冠词,Mann是一个名词,"lacht"是一个动词,"jetzt"是一个副词。如例(38)所示,我们可以将例(37)中的词替换为相同词类的词。

⁸ 定式动词前的位置也叫作前场(Vorfeld)(参看 1.8节)。德语中,假定的多项成分前置在某些情况下是可能的。例如前面章节中,尤其是第 14页的例(28)的句子。例(34)也是一个例子,对于 "kaufen"(买)这类动词来说,主语在前场的位置上是比较少见的,因为这种前置的结构与信息结构有关。我们也可以比较? 有关前置动词短语的主语的研究,以及?: 72 有关显性多重前置的主语前置方面的研究。

(38) Die dünne Frau lächelt immer. the thin woman smiles always '那个瘦女人一直在微笑。'

但是,并不是所有的词都能替换。比如说,我们不能替换成反身动词 "erholt"(恢复)或者例(38)中替换成表示第二人称的动词 "lächelst"。把词归入相应的词类并不是这样简单的。我们还要考虑给定词的属性。在这一节,我们会讨论不同的词类,并在下一节深入探讨描述一个词类的若干属性。

词类中最为重要的有动词、名词、形容词、介词和副词。很多年前,我们会区分动作类词,描述类词和命名类词。但是这些说法都被证明是有问题的,如下所示:

- (39) a. die *Idee* the idea
 - b. die *Stunde* the hour
 - c. das laute *Sprechen* the loud speaking
 - '(动作)大声说话'
 - d. Die *Erörterung* der Lage dauerte mehrere Stunden. the discussion of the situation lasted several hours '有关这个情形的讨论已经持续了几个小时。'

(39a)并不能描述一个实体,(39b)描述的是一段时间,(39c)和(39d)描述动作。很清楚的说,"Idee, Stunde, Sprechen 和 Erörterung"在意义上有很大的区别。无论如何,这些词仍在很多方面与"Mann"和"Frau"有相同之处,所以它们被归为名词。

"动作类词"这个术语不能在科学的语法中用来指称动词了,因为动词并不一定指称动作:

- (40) a. Ihm gefällt das Buch. him pleases the book '他喜欢这本书。'
 - b. Das Eis schmilzt. the ice melts '冰融化了。'
 - c. Es regnet. it rains '下雨了。'

我们也可以将 Erörterung("讨论")归入动作类动词。形容词并不总是描述事物的属性。在下面的例子中,相反的情况是真实存在的,即将一个杀人犯的特质表示为一种可能性或者猜测性。

- (41) a. der mutmaßliche Mörder the suspected murderer
 - b. Soldaten sind potenzielle Mörder. soldiers are potential murderers

在例(41)中的形容词实际上并没有提供所描述实体的特征信息。我们也希望将例(42)中的 lachende(笑)看作是一个形容词。

(42) der lachende Mann the laughing man

不过,如果我们将属性和行为作为分类的标准,那么"lachend"在技术层面上来说应该属于动作类词。

与语义标准不同的是,决定词类的标准通常是形式上的标准。词的不同形式也要纳入考察的范围。所以,举例来说 lacht (笑) 在例(43) 中有如下几种形式。

- (43) a. Ich lache.
 - I laugh
 - b. Du lachst. you.sg laugh
 - c. Er lacht. he laughs
 - d. Wir lachen. we laugh
 - e. Ihr lacht.
 - f. Sie lachen. they laugh

德语也有过去式、命令式、虚拟语气和不定式(助词和带 zu 与不带 zu 的不定式)的形态变化。这些形式就构成了动词的屈折范式。时态(现在式、过去式、将来式),情态(陈述语气、虚拟语气、命令语气),人称(第1,2,3人称)和数(单数、复数)都在屈折范式中有所体现。在有些范式中这些形式有所重合,如例(43c),例(43e),例(43d)和例(43f)所示。

与动词相似的是, 名词也有屈折范式:

- (44) a. der Mann the NOM man
 - b. des Mannes the GEN man GEN
 - c. dem Mann the.dat man
 - d. den Mann the.ACC man

- e. die Männer the.noм men
- f. der Männer the.gen men
- g. den Männern the.DAT men.DAT
- h. die Männer the ACC men

我们根据性(阴性、阳性和中性)来区分名词。性一般是纯形式上的性质,只是部分地受到生物性别或者我们描述特定物体的事实的影响。

- (45) a. die Tüte the.F bag(F) '包'
 - b. der Krampf the.м cramp(M) '来子'
 - c. das Kind the.n child(N) '孩子'

与性相似的是,格(主格、属格、与格、宾格)与数对名词性范式来说也是同样 重要的。

与名词相似的是,形容词也有性、数和格的屈折变化。不过,这些变化与名词不同,因为性的标示是可变的。形容词则可以与这三种性一同使用。

- (46) a. eine kluge Frau a.F. clever.F woman
 - b. ein kluger Mann
 - a clever.м man
 - c. ein kluges Kind
 - a clever.n child

除了性数格,我们也可以区分其他几种屈折类型。传统上来说,我们区分形容词的强、中和弱变化。这些屈折类与定冠词的形式与有无是密切相关的:

- (47) a. ein alter Wein an old wine
 - b. der alte Wein the old wine
 - c. alter Wein old wine

另外,形容词也有比较级和最高级:

- (48) a. klug clever
 - b. klüg-er clever-er
 - c. am klüg-sten at.the clever-est

并不是所有的形容词都有比较级。对于那些指称终结点的形容词来说只能用在肯定式中,如果有一个最优解,那么就没有更好的了。所以说,我们不能说一个"更好的最优"方案。相似的是,也不能比死"更死"的了

特殊情况是一些颜色形容词以"a"结尾,如德语的 lila (紫色)和 rosa (粉色),这些词的屈折形式上是可选的 (49a)),没有屈折变化的形式也是可行的:

- (49) a. eine lilan-e Blume
 - a purple-F flower
 - b. eine lila Blume
 - a purple flower

上述例子中,lila 可以归为形容词。这是因为他们与其他形容词处于同样的位置上,并且在屈折变化上与形容词的变化是一致的。

迄今我们所讨论的词类与屈折变化属性的概念是不同的。对于那些没有屈折变化的词而言,我们需要用到额外的标准。比如说,我们可以通过他们出现的句法环境来判别词类(正如我们对上面有屈折变化的形容词所做的那样)。我们可以区分出介词、副词、连词、感叹词,有时也可以区分出助词。介词是指那些与名词共现,并决定这些名词的格属性的一类词:

- (50) a. in diesen Raum in this ACC room
 - b. in diesem Raum in this.DAT room

'wegen(因为)通常看作是前置词,尽管它也会出现在名词后,后者在技术层面上处理为后置词:

(51) des Geldes wegen the money.GEN because '由于钱的原因'

如果希望对词的位置的说明保持中立的话,那么你也可以将之称为 "adpositions" (介词)。

与介词不同的是,副词不需要带名词短语。

(52) a. Er schläft in diesem Raum. he sleeps in this room

b. Er schläft dort. he sleeps there

有时,副词仅是简单地被看作是前置词的一种特殊形式(参看第90页)。对于这个观点的解释是,前置词短语如 in diesem Raum(在这间房间里)与相应的副词的表现是完全一致的。与 dort(那儿)不同的是,它需要带一个额外的名词短语。我们也可以在其他词类中找到类似的区别。例如,动词 schlafen(睡觉)需要带一个名词短语,而 erkennen(认识)需要带两个。

- (53) a. Er schläft. he sleeps
 - b. Peter erkennt ihn. Peter recognizes him

连词分为从属连词和并列连词。并列连词包括 und(和)与 oder(或者)。在并列结构中,两组具有同样句法属性的词被组合起来。他们在形式上是彼此有联系的。Dass(这个)与 weil(因为)这两个连词是从属连词,因为他们引导的小句从属于一个更大的句子。

- (54) a. Klaus glaubt, dass er lügt. Klaus believes that he lies 'Klaus 认为他在说谎。'
 - b. Klaus glaubt ihm nicht, weil er lügt. Klaus believes him not because he lies 'Klaus 不相信他,因为他在说谎。'

感叹词类似于小句表达式。如 Ja!"是的!", Bitte!"请!"Hallo!"你好!""Hurra!"好耶!"""Bravo!"太棒啦! Pst!"嘘!"Plumps!(扑通!)

如果副词和介词不能归入某个特定的类别,那么副词就通常被看作是一种没有屈折变化的"剩余"类,其他的介词,连词或者感叹词都不能归入副词。有时这种"剩余"类是需要进一步划分的:只有那些出现在定式动词前的用作一个成分的词可以被看作是副词。这些不能前置的词被称为助词。这些助词可以根据他们不同的功能而归入不同的类别中,如程度助词和言外助词。由于这些基于功能的分类标准也包括了介词,但是我不作这种区分,只是将之归为副词。

我们已经将一些具有屈折变化的词归入不同的词类中了。如果需要进行词类划分,我们可以利用图 1.2来进行判断,该图摘自德语杜登语法 (?: 133)。⁹

Figure 1.2: Decision tree for determining parts of speech following ?: 133

如有一个词根据时态而变化,那么它就是动词。如果它有不同的变化式,那么就需要看是否有固定的性。如果是这样的,那么就需要知道我们是不是在分析一个名词。具有不同性的词汇需要检查他们是否有比较级。如果是,那它可能是形容词。

^{9《}杜登》是德语正字法的官方文件。杜登语法没有取得官方的地位,但是它也非常具有影响力,并且用于教学之中。在导言这部分内容中,我会经常引用这一重要文献。

其他的词就归入剩余的类别中,Duden 语法将之称为代词或冠词。对于没有屈折变化的元素来说,这个剩余类别中的元素可以根据他们的句法行为来进一步划分。杜登语法对代词和冠词进行了区分。基于这个分类标准,代词是那些可以替代诸如 der Mann(男人)的名词短语的词。而冠词通常与名词相组合。在拉丁语法中,代词包括上面所说的代词和冠词,因为它们带不带名词在形式上是一样的。在过去的几百年间,形式发生了分裂变化,在当代罗曼语族的语言中需要区分那些可以替代名词短语的词与必须与名词短语共现的词。后一种类别的词也叫做限定词。

如果我们按照图 1.2的决策树来分析,人称代词"ich"(我),"du"(你),"er"(他),"sie"(她),"es"(们),"ihr"(你们)和"sie"(他们)都可以跟属格代词"mein"(我的),"dein"(你的),"sein"(他/它的),"ihr"(她的/他们的)和"unser"(我们的)归为一类。相应的反身代词"mich"(我自己),"dich"(你自己),"sich"(他/她/它/他们自己),"uns"(我们自己),"euch"(你们自己)和交互代词"einander"(互相)在德语中是特殊的一类,因为他们没有不同的性的格式。交互代词没有格的形态变化。我们用交互代词替代属格、与格和宾格代词,无法看到"einander"(交互)的格的变化形式,因为他们的格式是一样的:

- (55) a. Sie gedenken seiner / einander. they commemorate him.gen each.other
 - b. Sie helfen ihm / einander. they help him.dat each.other
 - c. Sie lieben ihn / einander. they love him.acc each.other

所谓的代副词"darauf"(在那儿), "darin"(在这儿), "worauf"(在哪儿), "worin"(在哪儿)也是有问题的。这些形式都包括一个介词(如"auf"(在……上))和"da"(那儿)以及wo(哪儿)。正如其名称所示的,代副词包括代词性成分,而这个成分只能是"da"(那儿)和"wo"(哪儿)。但是,"da"(那儿)和"wo"(哪儿)并不具有屈折变化,所以说按照决策树的划分,应该将之归为代词。例(56)中的相对代词也是类似的:

(56) a. Ich komme eben aus der Stadt, wo ich Zeuge eines Unglücks gewesen I come part from the city where I witness of.an accident been bin. 10

am

'在我来自的那个城市里,我亲眼目睹了一个事故。'

b. Studien haben 研究表明,事故更多发生在没有斑马线的地方,因为司机们更易疏忽。 gezeigt, daß mehr Unfälle in Städten passieren, wo die Zebrastreifen abgebaut

¹⁰ ?: 672.

werden, weil die Autofahrer unaufmerksam werden. 11

'Studies have shown that there are more accidents in cities where they do away with zebra crossings, because drivers become unattentive.'

c. Zufällig war ich in dem Augenblick zugegen, wo der Steppenwolf coincidentally was I in the moment present where the Steppenwolf zum erstenmal unser Haus betrat und bei meiner Tante sich einmietete. 12 to.the first.time our house entered and by my aunt REFL took.lodgings '令人意外的是,我恰好亲眼看见了荒原狼第一次闯进了我们的房子,并在我姑姑那里住下来了。'

根据上面的决策树所示,如果他们没有屈折变化,则不能归入代词。?: 277 指出wo 是一种没有屈折变化的关系代词,并且指明这种描述与名词性的用法是不同的,因为名词是有屈折变化的元素。由此,他用关系副词来指称他们(参见?: §856, §857)。

同样也有与名词相联系的关系词 dessen(他们)和 wessen(他们)的用法。

- (57) a. der Mann, dessen Schwester ich kenne the man whose sister I know
 - b. Ich möchte wissen, wessen Schwester du kennst. I would.like know whose sister you know
 - 1 would.fike know whose sister you know '我想知道你认识谁的姐妹。'

根据杜登的分类标准,这些词被看作是"关系冠词"和"疑问冠词"。他们通常被看作是关系代词和疑问代词的一部分(参看?: 229)。如果按照 Eisenberg 提出的术语来看,这些词的归类问题是不具有争议的,因为他没有对冠词、代词和名词进行

区分,而是将它们都归为名词类。但是对于那些提出需要区分出冠词和代词的学者来说,疑问代词也是一个经常探讨的问题,即他们可以作为冠词使用,也可以替代一个名词短语。

我们应须知,"代词"这个术语通常只是指那些能够指代其他实体的词,这点是非常重要的,这里所指的指代不是指像"书"和"约翰"等名词那样的指代,而是指依赖于语境的指代关系。例如,人称代词 er (他)既可以指桌子也可以指人。"代词"的这种用法与图 1.2 中的决策树是不同的,而且它还包括那些没有屈折变化的词,如 da(那儿)和 wo(哪儿)。

虚指代词,如'es'(它), 'das'(这个)及'sich'(自己)这类反身动词,并不指代实际的物体。由于形式上的相似性,我们将之看作是代词。即使我们假定要对代词采用狭义的界定,我们也只会得到错误的结论,因为虚指词的形式并没有根据性、数和格而发生变化。如果我们按照教材中的分类标准,虚指成分可以归入无屈折变化的类型中。如果我们假定 es(它)与人称代词一定具有相同的主格和宾格形式,那么就可以将它们归入名词。这样我们就需要认为 es是有性的,但是这样是讲不通的。这样,我们就将'es'看作是与人称代词相似的中性名词。

¹¹ taz berlin, 03.11.1997, p. 23.

¹² Herman Hesse, *Der Steppenwolf*. Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag. 1986, p. 6.

我们还没有讨论例(58)中斜体的词:

- (58) a. das *geliebte* Spielzeug the beloved toy
 - b. das *schlafende* Kind the sleeping child
 - c. die Frage des *Sprechens* und *Schreibens* über Gefühle the question of the talking and writing about feelings '有关讨论和书写感情的问题'
 - d. Auf dem Europa-Parteitag fordern die *Grünen* einen ökosozialen on the Europe-party.conference demand the Greens a eco-social Politikwechsel. political.change

 '在欧洲党会中,绿党要求生态社会性的政治变革。'
 - e. Max lacht *laut*.

 Max laughs loudly
 - f. Max würde *wahrscheinlich* lachen. Max would probably laugh

'geliebte'(被爱)和'schlafende'(正在睡觉)是'lieben'(爱)和'schlafen'(睡觉)的分词形式。这些形式传统上被看作是动词范式的一部分。从这个角度来看,'geliebte'和'schlafende'是动词。这些形式可以归入词汇词的类别,即术语'lexeme'(词位)。屈折范式的所有形式都属于相应的词位。传统意义上来看,这个术语还囊括了规则变化的屈折形式。也就是说,助词和名词化不定式也属于动词性词位。不过,不是所有的语言学家都持这一观点。问题在于我们将动词性范式与名词性和形容词性范式的概念混在一起了。比如说,'Sprechens 'speaking.gen',是属格,并且形容词助词也有性、数和格的屈折变化。进而,我们并不清楚为什么'schlafende 'sleeping'(正在睡觉)应该归入动词词位,以及名词'Störung'(混乱)单属于一个词位,而不是'stören 'to disturb',(打扰)这个词位。我倾向于现代语法的解释,即随着词类发生变化,新的词位被创造出来。最终,'schlafende 'sleeping',不属于词位'schlafen 'to sleep',而是词位 schlafend 在形式上的变化。这个词位属于形容词类并且有相应的屈折变化。

正如我们所看到到,至今仍然难以区分屈折与派生(产生新的词位)。?: 263-264 认为,英语中的现在分词与过去分词属于派生形式,而在法语中则随着性数而发 生屈折变化。

例(58d)Grünen 'the Greens'是名词化的形容词,在德语中,当文中没有其他名词时,它就与其他名词一样将首字母大写。

(59) A: Willst du den roten Ball haben? want you the red ball have

,你想要这个红色的球吗?,

B: Nein, gib mir bitte den grünen.

no give me please the green

'不,请给我那个绿色的,谢谢。'

在例 (59) 的答句中,名词"ball"(球)被省略了。在例(d58)中则没有这种省略形式。我们也可以认为这里是词类发生了变化。如果一个词的词类发生了变化,但是并没有加上可见的词缀,那么,我们可以把这类现象叫做词类的转化。有些语言学家认为转化是词汇派生的一个次级类型。但是,问题是"Grüne"(绿色)就像形容词一样有屈折变化,并且会随着宾语的所指的性的不同而有所变化。

- (60) a. Ein Grüner hat vorgeschlagen, ...
 - а green.м has suggested
 - '绿党的一位(男性)成员提出了建议 ...'
 - b. Eine Grüne hat vorgeschlagen, ...
 - a green.F has suggested
 - '绿党的一位(女性)成员提出了建议 ...'

我们也会遇到一个词兼有两种属性的情况。我们可以将之称为名词化的形容词。"Grüne"(绿色)的词汇范畴是形容词,而它的句法范畴是名词。

在例(58e)中的词可以像形容词一样屈折变化,所以它在我们的测试中被归为 形容词。有时,一些形容词也被叫做是副词。这是因为这些形容词的非屈折形式 与副词很像:

(61) Max lacht immer / oft / laut. Max laughs always often loud

'Max (总是 / 经常) (大声地) 笑。'

为了描述这些词的双重特征,一些研究者认为有必要区分他们的词汇范畴与句法范畴。"loud(ly)"的词汇范畴上形容词,而句法范畴上则属于副词。但是对于例(61)中的"loud(ly)"的这种分类方法并不被所有的学者所认可。相反,有些人认为这是形容词的副词性用法,也就是说,他们认为这些词的句法范畴仍是形容词,但是它们的用法可以不同,这样就像一个副词(参看?: Section 7.3,)。这和介词的情况很像,介词也可以出现在不同的句法语境中:

- (62) a. Peter schläft im Büro. Peter sleeps in the office '彼得在办公室里睡觉。'
 - b. der Tisch im Büro the table in.the office

'办公室里的桌子'

在例 (62) 中,我们有两个介词短语的例子;但是,例 (62a) 中的 "im Büro" (在办公室里)像副词一样,因为它修饰的是动词 "schläft" (睡觉),而在例 (62b) 中的 "im Büro" (在办公室里)修饰是名词 "Tisch" (桌子)。同样,可以修饰名词 (63) 或动词 (61)。

(63) die laute Musik the loud music

1.5 中心语

一个构成成分或短语的中心语决定了这个构成成分或短语的最重要的属性。同时,中心语也决定了这个短语的构成,即中心语要求在短语中有其他要素的共现。如下例所示(中心语用斜体表示):

- (64) a. Träumt dieser Mann? dreams this.NOM man '汶个人做梦吗?'
 - b. Erwartet er diesen Mann? expects he.NOM this.ACC man '他在等这个人吗?'
 - c. Hilft er diesem Mann? helps he.NOM this.DAT man '他在帮助这个人吗?'
 - d. *in* diesem Haus in this.DAT house
 - e. ein *Mann*

动词决定它们的论元的格属性。在例(64d)中,介词决定名词短语(这个房子)的格属性(与格),也决定这个短语的语义(它描述了一个位置)。例(64e)是有争议的:有学者认为限定语是中心语(????:90;?????),而其他学者认为名词是中心语(?:?:49:?:?:Section 6.6.1:?:?)。

中心语与其他成分的组合叫做中心语的投射。保证短语合法性所需的所有要素的投射叫做最大投射。一个句子就是定式动词的最大投射。

图 1.3 on the following page 以方框的形式显示了例(65)的结构。

(65) Der Mann liest einen Aufsatz. the man reads an essay '这个人在读一篇论文。'

与图 1.1不同的是,这些盒子都有标记。

这些标记包含了盒子中最重要的要素范畴。VP 表示动词短语,NP 表示名词短语。VP 和 NP 是他们各自中心语的最大投射。

试想你在自己姐妹的婚礼上被安排了找照片的任务,当那么多杂乱的、未分类的照片摆在你面前的时候,你一定会想说这些照片如果按照所含不同类型的照片标记的相册该有多好。对于上面的盒子来说,也是一样,如果能按照内容将它们分类将是一个好主意。

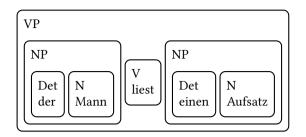


Figure 1.3: 有标记的盒子中的词与短语

一个有趣的现象是如果装有语言素材的盒子放进更大的盒子中去时,这些盒子里的具体内容就不重要了。比如说,我们可以将名词短语"der Mann"(男人)用"er"(他)代替,或者用更为负责的形式"der Mann aus Stuttgart, der das Seminar zur Entwicklung der Zebrafinken besucht"(从斯图加特来的那个参加斑马发展讨论班的男人)代替。但是,我们不能用"die Männer"(男人们)来代替,也不能用"des Mannes"(男人的)来代替:

- (66) a. * Die Männer liest einen Aufsatz. the men reads an essay
 - b. * Des Mannes liest einen Aufsatz. of.the man.gen reads an essay

原因在于"die Männer"(男人们)是复数,而"liest"(读)是单数。带有属格的名词短语也不能出现,只有主格的名词才可以。所以说,我们有必要将那些对构成更大盒子的有用的信息标记出来。在下图中,我们加入了更多详细的标注信息。

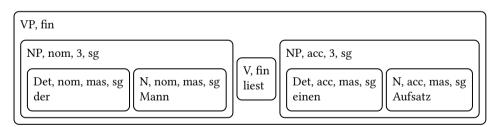


Figure 1.4: 在有标记盒子中的词与词串

那些决定中心语能带什么成分的特征叫做中心语特征。这些特征被认为是由中心语投射出来的。

1.6 论元成分与附加成分

小句中的各成分与中心语具有不同的关系。最为典型的是区分论元成分和附加成分。中心语的句法论元在很大程度上对应于其逻辑论元。我们可以用(67b)中的

谓词逻辑来表示句子(67a)的意义。The constituents of a given clause have different relations to their head. It is typical to distinguish between arguments and adjuncts. The syntactic arguments of a head correspond for the most part to their logical arguments. We can represent the meaning of (67a) as (67b) using predicate logic.

- (67) a. Peter helps Maria.
 - b. help'(peter', maria')

(67b)中的逻辑表达式与例(67a)所表示的十分相似;但是,它没有语序和屈折变化的信息。Peter 和 Maria 是动词(帮助)的句法论元,而它们各自的意义(Peter'和 Maria')是由(帮助)所表示的逻辑关系的论元。我们也可以说"help"(帮助)指派给它的论元的语义角色。语义角色包括施事(发出动作的人),受事(受到影响的人或物),受益者(得到东西或经验的人),经事(经历某种心理状态的人)。"help"(帮助)的主语是事实,直接宾语是受益者。充当语义角色的论元也叫做"actants"(actant)。这个术语用来指称无生的物体。

中心语和论元的这种关系叫做选择和价。价这个术语是从化学借来的。原子与原子组合成分子具有不同程度的稳定性。电子层的排列方式对这种稳定性起到了重要的作用。如果一个原子与其他原子相组合,这样它的电子层就被占满了,那么这就样就可以得到一个稳定的连接。价告诉我们要构成一个元素需要多少个氢原子。在构成水(H_2O)的时候,氧原子是二价。我们可以把元素按照价进行分类。按照 Mendeleev 的方法,带有一个特定价的元素被安排在元素周期表的同一个栏中。

价的概念被泰尼埃?用于语言学:一个中心语需要一定的论元以构成一个稳定的组合。具有相同价的词,即需要同样数目与种类的论元的词,被分成不同的类别。图 1.5 分别展示了化学与语言学的例子。



Figure 1.5: 氢原子和氧原子的组合与动词和其论元的组合

我们用(67)来解释逻辑价。不过,逻辑价有时与句法价不同。对于动词"rain"(下雨)来说,它需要一个虚指的代词作为论元。德语中的自反身动词也是一样的,如"sich erholen"(复元)。

- (68) a. Es regnet. it rains '下雨了。'
 - b. Klaus erholt sich. Klaus recovers REFL 'Klaus 正在恢复健康。'

虚指的 "es"(它)与表示天气的动词以及带 "erholen"(复元)这类带 "sich"的内在反身动词都需要在句子里出现。日耳曼语言有虚指成分用来放在定式动词前的位置上。这些虚指成分并不能用在德语的嵌套句中,因为嵌套句与常规的非嵌套的陈述句的结构不同,即陈述句要求变位动词位于第二位。例(69a)说明了"es"(它)在引导的从句中不能省略。

(69) a. * Ich glaube, dass regnet.

I think that rains

Intended: '我想是下雨了。'

b. * Ich glaube, dass Klaus erholt.

I believe that Klaus recovers

Intended: '我相信 Klaus 在恢复之中。'

不管是虚指成分还是反身代词都没有对句子对语义有所贡献。但是,为了构成一个完整的,合乎语法的句子,它们则必须出现。所以说,它们也是动词的价的一部分。

那些对中心语对核心意义没有贡献的成分叫做附加成分,这些成分提供的是一些额外的信息。比如说例(70)中的副词"deeply"(深深地):

(70) John loves Mary deeply.

这里的副词说明了动词所描述的程度。此外,还有属性形容词(71a)和关系从句 (71b)的例子:

- (71) a. a beautiful woman
 - b. the man who Mary loves

附加成分具有如下的句法和语义属性:

- (72) a. 附加成分不构成语义角色。
 - b. 附加成分是可选的。
 - c. 附加成分可以重复。

例(71a)的短语可以通过增加附加成分来得到扩展:

(73) a beautiful clever woman

如果我们先不考虑语言处理的问题,这种通过增加附加成分的方式可以无限扩展下去(参看38) on page 61的讨论)。另一方面,论元是不能多次实现的。

(74) * The man the boy sleeps.

如果发出睡觉这个动作的实体已经被提及了,那么就无法再用另一个名词短语来 指称睡觉的个体。如果想要表达不只有一个个体在睡觉的话,就必须采用例(75) 中的并列式。

(75) The man and the boy are sleeping.

我们需要指出的是,在72中提出的辨认附加成分的标准并不充分,因为还有句法论元不能充当语义角色。比如说68a中的"es"(它),68b中的"sich"(自己),以及例(76)中的可选成分,如"pizza"(比萨)。

(76) Tony is eating (pizza).

中心语通常以一种相对固定的方式决定其所带论元的句法属性。动词负责其所带动词的格属性。

- (77) a. Er gedenkt des Opfers. he remembers the.GEN victim.GEN '他记得受害人。'
 - b. *Er gedenkt dem Opfer. he remembers the.DAT victim
 - c. Er hilft dem Opfer. he helps the.DAT victim '他帮助了受害人。'
 - d. *Er hilft des Opfers. he helps the GEN victim.GEN

动词管辖论元的格属性。介词短语中的介词和名词短语的格都由动词决定"The preposition and the case of the noun phrase in the prepositional phrase are both determined by the verb:¹³

- (78) a. Er denkt an seine Modelleisenbahn. he thinks on his.ACC model.railway '他在想他的火车模型。'
 - b. # Er denkt an seiner Modelleisenbahn. He thinks on his.DAT model.railway
 - c. Er hängt an seiner Modelleisenbahn. He hangs on his.DAT model.railway '他紧贴着他的火车模型。'
 - d. * Er hängt an seine Modelleisenbahn. he hangs on his.Acc model.railway

另一方面,修饰介词短语的名词的格与他们的意义有关系。在德语中,例(79a)中表示趋向的介词短语通常要求其名词短语是第四格(宾格),而例(79b)中表示地点的介词短语则需要是第三格(与格)。

(79) a. Er geht in die Schule / auf den Weihnachtsmarkt / unter die he goes in the.Acc school on the.Acc Christmas.market under the.Acc Brücke.

bridge

'他要去学校/圣诞市场/桥下面。'

¹³ 相关例子参看 ?: 78.

b. Er schläft in der Schule / auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt / unter der he sleeps in the.dat school on the.dat Christmas.market under the.dat Brücke.

bridge

'他在学校/圣诞市场/桥下面睡觉。'

一个有趣的现象是,动词(位于)表示地点的信息。它不能单独使用,即无法在没有地点信息的情况下使用。

(80) * Wir befinden uns. we are.located REFL

这个信息的形式是不固定的, 句法范畴或介词短语内的介词都不是限定的:

(81) Wir befinden uns hier / unter der Brücke / neben dem Eingang / im Bett. we are REFL here under the bridge next.to the entrance in bed '我们在这儿 / 桥下面 / 入口旁 / 床上。'

地点修饰词如 "hier"(这儿)或 "unter der Brücke"(桥下面)都可以看作是其他动词 "schlafen"(睡觉)的附加成分。对于"sich befinden"(位于)这类动词来说,我们更倾向于认为表示地点信息的格式说动词的句法论元的必有成分。动词选择表示地点信息的短语,但是并没有对其有任何句法上的限制。这种地点限制很像我们前面讲的附加成分通过语义进行限制的方式。如果我只考虑中心语和附加语组合的语义层面,那么我也会将附加语看作是修饰语¹⁴。那些需要区分处所论元的动词,如"sich befinden"(位于),也被看作是修饰语。修饰语通常是指附加成分,所以说它也是可选的,然而在"sich befinden"(位于)这个例子中,他们看起来是(必有)论元。

综上所述,我们可以说那些需要与中心语共现的句法成分是论元。并且,那些能够充当中心语的语义角色的句法成分也是论元。然而,这两类论元有时是可选的。论元通常可以划分为主语和补足语。¹⁵ 不是所有的中心语都需要主语(参看 see ?: Section 3.2)。由此,中心语所带论元的数量可以与中心语所带补足语的数量具有相关性。

1.7 语法功能

在有些理论中,诸如主语和宾语的语法功能构成了语言的形式化描述的一部分(如参考7第章有关词汇功能语法的内容)。但是本书中所讨论的主要理论并不这样看,这些术语被用来指称特定现象的非正式的描述。基于上述原因,我在下面的内容中进行简要的说明。

¹⁴ 参看第 1.7.2 节中更多有关状语的句法功能的内容。状语这个术语通常指与动词相关的成分。而修饰语是一个更为普遍的术语,通常还包括定语。

¹⁵ 有些学派认为补足语包括主语,即补足语的概念等同于论元(参看?: 342)。有些学者将变位动词的 主语看作是补足语(?; ?: 376)

1.7.1 主语

尽管我认为读者对主语已经有了清晰的认识,但是给主语下一个跨语言的定义绝不是一件小事(?)。对于德语来说,?提出下面的句法属性作为对主语对界定:

- 与变位动词构成主谓一致的关系
- 非名词性从旬中的主格
- 在不定式中被省略(控制)
- 在祈使旬中说可选的

我已经在例(4)中讨论过主谓一致的问题。? 认为第二个要点适用于德语。她构建了非名词性从句的限制条件,因为名词作谓语的句子中可以有不止有一个名词性的论元成分,如例(82)所示:

- (82) a. Er ist ein Lügner. he.NOM ist a liar.NOM '他是一个骗子。'
 - b. Er wurde ein Lügner genannt. he.NOM was a liar.NOM called '他被人叫做骗子。'

Following this criterion, arguments in the dative case such as *den Männern* 'the men' cannot be classed as subjects in German:

- (83) a. Er hilft den Männern. he helps the.DAT men.DAT '他在帮助那个男人。'
 - b. Den Männern wurde geholfen. the.DAT men.DAT were.3SG helped '那个男人被人帮助了。'

根据其他标准,与格也不应该被看作是主语(如?的观点)。在例(83b)中,"wurde"(想要)是一个第三人称单数的形式,不与"den Männern"(男人们)搭配。前述指出的第三条标准有关不定式结构,如下例(mex1)所示:

- (84) a. Klaus behauptet, den Männern zu helfen. Klaus claims the.DAT men.DAT to help 'Klaus 声称要帮助那个男人。'
 - b. Klaus behauptet, dass er den Männern hilft. Klaus claims that he the.DAT men.DAT helps 'Klaus 声称他在帮助那个男人。'

- c. * Die Männer behaupten, geholfen zu werden. the men claim helped to become Intended: '那个男生声称得到了帮助。'
- d. * Die Männer behaupten, elegant getanzt zu werden. the men claim elegantly danced to become Intended: '那个男人声称有大象在跳舞。'

在第一句中,动词"helfen"(帮助)的论元被省略了。如果有人希望表达这个论元,那么久应该用例(84b)中"dass"引导的从句。例(84c,d)显示了不需要名词性论元的不定式不能嵌套在动词下,如"behaupten"(声称)。如果与格名词短语(男人们)是(83b)的主语,我们应该回看到一个合乎语法的控制结构(84c)。但是,事实并非如此。与例(84c)不同的是,有必要用例(85):

(85) Die Männer behaupten, dass ihnen geholfen wird. the men.NoM claim that them.DAT helped becomes '这些男人们声称他们被帮助了。'

同理,祈使句也不能由不需要名词性成分的动词充当。例(86)列出了?: 186提出的一些例子。

- (86) a. Fürchte dich nicht! be.scared REFL not '不要害怕!'
 - b. * Graue nicht! dread not '不要怕它!'
 - c. Werd einmal unterstützt und ... be once supported and '让人帮助你一次吧,并且...'
 - d. *Werd einmal geholfen und ... be once helped and '让人帮助你,并且...'

例(86a)中的动词(害怕)必须要带一个名词性的论元做主语(87a)。例(86b)中的与之类似的动词(怕)需要带一个与格论元(87b)。

- (87) a. Ich fürchte mich vor Spinnen.
 I.NOM be.scared REFL before spiders
 '我害怕蜘蛛。'
 - b. Mir graut vor Spinnen. me.DAT scares before spiders '我怕蜘蛛。'

有趣的是,冰岛语中的与格论元表现不同。? 讨论了冰岛语中主语的各种特征,并且可以在被动句中将与格论元看作是主语,即使变位动词与他们没有构成主谓一致的关系(第 3.1 节),或者他们并不必是主格。例如,下面就是带有被省略的与格论元的不定式结构(第 457 页):

- (88) a. Ég vonast til að verða hjálpað. I hope for to be helped '我希望我能得到帮助。'
 - b. Að vera hjálpað í prófinu er óleyfilegt. to be helped on the exam is not allowed '在考试中是不允许被帮助的。(作弊)'

在一些语法现象中,例(89)中的小句论元被看作是主语,因为它们能被主格的名词短语(90)所代替(参考 e.g., ?: 63, 289)。

- (89) a. Dass er schon um sieben kommen wollte, stimmt nicht. that he already at seven come wanted is.true not '他想尽可能在七点赶来,这不是真的。'
 - b. Dass er Maria geheiratet hat, gefällt mir. that he Maria married has pleases me '我很高兴他娶了玛利亚。'
- (90) a. Das stimmt nicht. that is true not '那不是真的。'
 - b. Das gefällt mir. that pleases me '我喜欢那个。'

需要指出的是,对于小句论元能否做主语这个问题上有不同的看法。最近发表的文献表明,在词汇功能语法中仍有相当多的讨论(参考第7章)((?????).)。

如果我们知道如何界定主语,那么宾语的界定就不再困难了:宾语就是由给定中心语决定其形式的所有其他论元。以小句宾语为例,德语有属格、与格、宾格和介词宾语:

- (91) a. Sie gedenken des Mannes. they remember the.GEN man.GEN '他们记得这个人。'
 - b. Sie helfen dem Mann. they help the.DAT man.DAT '他们在帮助这个人。'

- c. Sie kennen den Mann. they know the.Acc man.Acc '他们认识这个人。'
- d. Sie denken an den Mann. they think on the man '他们正想起这个人。'

在对宾语按照格进行分类的同时,更为普遍的做法是区分直接宾语和间接宾语。顾名思义,直接宾语与间接宾语不同,直接宾语的所指直接受到动词指定的动作的影响。带双宾语的动词,如德语的"geben"(给),宾格宾语就是直接宾语,而与格宾语就是间接宾语。

(92) dass er dem Mann den Aufsatz gibt that he.NOM the.DAT man.DAT the.ACC essay.ACC gives '他给那个人这篇论文'

对于三价动词(带有三个论元的动词)来说,我们可以看到动词要么可以带一个属格宾语(93a),要么对于带宾格的直接宾语来说,再带一个宾格宾语(93b):

- (93) a. dass er den Mann des Mordes bezichtigte that he the.ACC man.ACC the.GEN murder.GEN accused '他控告了杀人的人'
 - b. dass er den Mann den Vers lehrte that he the.Acc man.Acc the.Acc verse.Acc taught '他教那个人读诗了'

These kinds of objects are sometimes also referred to as indirect objects. 通常,只有那些在"werden"引导的被动句中能够上升到主语位置上的成分才被看作是直接宾语。这对有些理论(如词汇功能语法,看第7章)来说非常重要,因为被动态被定义为语法功能。对于二元的动词性谓语来说,与格通常不被看作是直接宾语((?))。Normally, only those objects which are promoted to subject in passives with werden 'to be' are classed as direct objects. This is important for theories such as LFG (see Chapter 7) since passivization is defined with reference to grammatical function. With two-place verbal predicates, the dative is not normally classed as a direct object (?).

(94) dass er dem Mann hilft that he the.DAT man.DAT helps '他帮助那个人'

在很多理论中,语法功能并不是构成理论多原始成分,而是与树结构中的位置密切相关的。所以说,德语中的直接宾语在句法配置中首先与动词组合这个特点被认为是德语句子的底层结构。间接宾语是与动词组合的第二个宾语。按照这一观点,"helfen"(帮助)的与格宾语需要被看作是直接宾语。

在下面,我就只用宾语的格属性来指称,而避免使用直接宾语和间接宾语的术语。我们对主语也采用相同的策略,有特定格属性的宾语小句能够分别对应

于直接宾语或者间接宾语的语法功能。如果在例(95b)中,我们认为"dass du sprichst"(你在说话)这个小句是主语,那么从句就必然是直接宾语:

- (95) a. Daß du sprichst, wird erwähnt. that you speak is mentioned '你在说话的事实被提及了。'
 - b. Er erwähnt, dass du sprichst. he mentions that you speak '他提到你在说话。'

这种情况下,我们不能真的将从句看作是宾格宾语,因为它没有格属性。但是,我们用带有宾格标记的名词短语来替换这个句子:

(96) Er erwähnt diesen Sachverhalt. he mentions this.ACC matter '他提到这个事情。'

如果我们不想讨论这一问题,就可以简单地把这些论元称为小句宾语。

1.7.2 状语

状语与主语和宾语在语义上有很大的不同。它们告诉我们有关动作或过程发生地方的信息,或者是按照何种状态进行的方式。在大部分情况下,状语是附加语,但是,正如我们已经看到的,有些中心语也要有状语。这些动词的例子有"to be located"(位于)或者"to make one's way"(让路)。以"to be located"(位于)为例,有必要明确一个地点,还需要一个前进的方向。由此,这类状语被看作是动词的论元。

状语这个术语的来源是因为大部分状语都是副词。但是,还有其他情况。介词、助词、介词短语、名词短语,其至是句子都可以充当状语:

- (97) a. Er arbeitet sorgfältig. he works carefully
 - b. Er arbeitet vergleichend. he works comparatively '他做比较的工作。'
 - c. Er arbeitet in der Universität. he works in the university '他在大学工作。'
 - d. Er arbeitet den ganzen Tag. he works the whole day.Acc '他整天工作。'

e. Er arbeitet, weil es ihm Spaß macht. he works because it him.DAT fun makes '他工作因为他喜欢工作。'

尽管例(97d)中的名词短语带有宾格,它并不是宾格宾格。"den ganzen Tag"(整天)号称是时间宾格。这种情况下宾格的出现与名词短语的句法和语义功能有关,它不是由动词决定的。这类宾格可以跟许多动词共现,甚至是那些通常不需要宾格宾语的动词:

- (98) a. Er schläft den ganzen Tag. he sleeps the whole day '他睡了一整天。'
 - b. Er liest den ganzen Tag diesen schwierigen Aufsatz. he reads the Acc whole Acc day this Acc difficult Acc essay '他花了一整天读这篇难懂的论文。'
 - c. Er gibt den Armen den ganzen Tag Suppe. he gives the.DAT poor.DAT the.ACC whole.ACC day soup '他花了一整天给穷人汤喝。'

被动态中状语的格不发生变化: The case of adverbials does not change under passivization:

- (99) a. weil den ganzen Tag gearbeitet wurde because the.Acc whole.Acc day worked was '因为有人整天工作'
 - b. * weil der ganze Tag gearbeitet wurde because the.nom whole.nom day worked was

1.7.3 谓语

例(100a.b)中的形容词与例(100c)中的名词短语被看作是谓语。

- (100) a. Klaus ist klug. Klaus is clever
 - b. Er isst den Fisch *roh*. he eats the fish raw
 - c. Er ist ein Lügner. he is a liar

在例(100a,c)的系词结构中,形容词"klug"(聪明的)与名词短语"ein Lügner"(一个骗子)都是系词"sein"(是)的论元,而例(100b)中的描述性形容词则作"isst"(吃)的状语。

对于名词性谓语来说,格不是由中心语决定的,而是由其他成分决定的。¹⁶ 例如,例(101a)中的宾格在例(101b)的被动句中变成了主格。For example, the accusative in (101a) becomes nominative under passivization (101b):

- (101) a. Sie nannte ihn einen Lügner. she called him.Acc a.Acc liar "她把他叫做骗子。"
 - b. Er wurde ein Lügner genannt. he.NOM was a.NOM liar called '他被人叫做骗子。'

例(101a)中,只有"ihn"(他)被描述成宾语。在例(101b)中,"ihn"(他)变成了主语,也就成为了主格。在例(101a)中,"einen Lügner"(一个骗子)指代"ihn"(他),例(101b)中的"er"(他)需要与作谓语的名词的格保持一致。这也叫做格的一致关系。

其他的谓词性结构可以参看?: § 1206、?: Chapter 4, Chapter 5, 以及?。

1.7.4 配价类型

我们可以按照动词所带论元成分的数量与属性来对动词进行分类。一方面,那些可以带宾语且其宾语能变换为被动式的主语多动词叫做及物动词,如"love"(爱)或"beat"(击打)这类动词。另一方面,不及物动词不能带宾语,或者其在被动式中不能变成主语,如"schlafen"(睡觉),"helfen"(帮忙)或"gedenken"(纪念)。及物动词还包括双及物动词,如"geben"(给)和"zeigen"(展示)。

- (i) a. Ich bin dein Tanzpartner. I am your.nom dancing.partner
 - b. Der wüste Kerl ist ihr Komplize. the wild guy is her.NOM accomplice
 - c. Laß den wüsten Kerl [...] meinetwegen ihr Komplize sein. let the.Acc wild.Acc guy for.all.Lcare her.Nom accomplice be '我所关心的是,让我们来假定那个疯狂的家伙是她的从犯。'(?: § 6925)
 - d. Baby, laß mich dein Tanzpartner sein.
 baby let me.ACC your.NOM dancing.partner be
 '宝贝,让我当你的舞伴吧!'(Funny van Dannen, Benno-Ohnesorg-Theater, Berlin, Volksbühne,
 11.10.1995)
- (ii) a. Er lässt den lieben Gott 'n frommen Mann sein. he lets the.ACC dear.ACC god a pious.ACC man be '他完全是不走心(漠不关心)啊。'
 - b. *Er lässt den lieben Gott 'n frommer Mann sein. he lets the.ACC dear.ACC god a pious.NOM man be

¹⁶ 不同方言区的系词结构有所不同:在标准德语中系词"sein"(是)所带的名词短语总是主格,即使是嵌套在"lassen"(让)的下面也不发生变化。根据?: § 1259,,瑞士地区则经常能发现例(ii.a)中用作宾格的情况。

不过,这一术语的使用并不完全一致。有时,带与格和属格宾语的二位动词也被看作是及物动词。在这个命名系统中,不及物动词、及物动词以及双及物动词的术语与一位动词、二位动词和三位动词的术语在含义上是相同的。

这种术语混淆的情况导致对乔姆斯基的评论的误解,即使他们是由一些知名的语言学家(Culicover and Jackendoff's (?: 59))提出来的。乔姆斯基指出,英语助动词"be"带动词的被动态只能用在及物动词上。Culicover和 Jackendoff 则认为这是不对的,因为还有及物动词不能变换为被动式,如"weigh"(称重)和"cost"(花费)。

- (102) a. This book weighs ten pounds / costs ten dollars.
 - b. * Ten pounds are weighed / ten dollar are cost by this book.

Culicover 和 Jackendoff 这里说的及物动词是指带两个论元的动词。如果我们只把那些动词宾语可以变换为被动式主语的动词看作是及物动词,那么"weigh"(称重)和"cost"(花费)都不能算作是及物动词,这样 Culicover 和 Jackendoff 的观点就站不脚了。¹⁷ 诸如例(102)中的名词短语不是普通宾语,因为它们不能被代词替代。所以说他们的格属性无法确定,因为英语中只有代词有格的区分。如果我们将英语的例子翻译成德语,我们会发现它们是宾格宾语:

- (103) a. Das Buch kostete einen Dollar. the book costs one.Acc dollar '这本书值一美元。'
 - b. Das Buch wiegt einen Zentner. the book weighs one.Acc centner '这本书重五十公斤。'

在下面,我会采用及物的前一个概念,即那些能在被动式中将宾语变换为主语的动词。对于"helfen"(帮助)类动词,它们带一个主格和一个与格论元;而"schlagen"(击打)类动词带有一个主语和一个宾格论元。我会用二位动词或二价动词动词来指称它们。

1.8 德语小句的空间位置模型

在这一节,我会介绍所谓的空间位置的概念。这一概念会在后续的章节中被经常用来讨论德语小句中的不同部分。此外,也可以在?,? and?的文献中找到更多有关空间位置的知识。?是一本有关空间位置模型的教科书。

1.8.1 动词的位置

最常见的是按照变位动词的位置将德语的句子分成三类:

¹⁷ 即使我们将及物动词看作是二位谓词的话,他们的评论也是站不住的。如果我们认为动词至少带两个论元成分才能变换成被动式的话,那么我们也必须要认定所有带两个或两个以上论元的动词都可以变幻成被动式。实际上,带多个论元这个属性只是一个充分条件,并不是唯一条件。

- 动词位于末位的小句
- 动词位于首位的小句
- 动词位于第二位(V2)的小句

下面的例子说明了这些可能性:

- a. (Peter hat erzählt,) dass er das Eis gegessen hat.
 Peter has told that he the ice.cream eaten has '彼得说他把冰淇淋吃完了。'
 - b. *Hat* Peter das Eis gegessen? has Peter the ice.cream eaten '彼得吃完冰淇淋了吗?'
 - c. Peter *hat* das Eis gegessen. Peter has the ice.cream eaten '彼得吃完冰淇淋了。'

1.8.2 句子的框架结构、前场、中场及后场

我们观察到,在例(104a)中,变位动词"hat"只跟它的补足语"gegessen"(吃完)挨着。在例(mex0b)和例(104c)中,动词跟它的补足语是分开的,也就是非连续的。这样,我们可以基于这些区别将德语小句分成不同的小类。在例(mex0b)和例(104c)中,动词和祝词构成小句的一个基本框架。基于这个原因,我们称之为框型结构。例(mex0b)和例(104c)中的变位动词构成框架的左边界,非变位动词构成右边界。以动词为末位的小句通常由连词引入,如"weil"(因为)、"dass"(这个),以及"ob"(是否)。不管是在动词占首位,还是动词占末尾到小句中,这些连词占据了与变位动词一样的位置。由此,我们认为这些连词也构成了这些句子的左边界。应用句子框架的概念,使得我们有可能将德语小句划分成前场、中场和后场这三个部分。前场指位于左边界之前的成分,中场是指位于左边界与右边界之间的成分,后场指右边界之后的成分。如图 1.1 on the following page 所示:右边界可以包括多个动词,通常被看作是动词性复合词或动词词组。下一节,我们将讨论疑问词和关系代词在前场的排列。

1.8.3 场内元素的排列

如图中的例子所示,并不是所有的位置都需要有成分来充当。如果想在例(105)中省略系词的话,即使是左边界,也可以是是空的:

(105) a. [...] egal, was noch passiert, der Norddeutsche Rundfunk regardless what still happens the north.German broadcasting.company steht schon jetzt als Gewinner fest. 18 stands already now as winner PART '不管将要发生什么,北德广播公司早就已经是赢家了。'

¹⁸ Spiegel, 12/1999, p. 258.

Table 1.1: 空间位置分布例示

后场	den Maria kennt.	als sie aus dem Zug stieg. Maria zu erkennen.	ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken. ohne gestört zu werden.
右边界	geschlafen. um erkannt.	erkannt. erkannt behauptet. behauptet	auf! gegessen. gegessen hat essen können will gegessen hat gegessen hat gegessen hat geredet hast
中场	Maria. den Mantel Maria	Maria als sie aus dem Zug stieg sofort Maria sofort Maria zu erkennen	Karl? jetzt dein Eis er doch das ganze Eis alleine er das ganze Eis alleine er das ganze Eis alleine das ganze Eis alleine das ganze Eis alleine du du
左边界 中场	schläft. hat erkennt färbt hat	hat hat hat	Schläft Schlaf! Iss Hat weil
前场	Karl Karl Karl Karl Karl	Karl Karl Karl	wer der mit wem mit dem

- b. Interessant, zu erwähnen, daß ihre Seele völlig in Ordnung war.¹⁹ interesting to mention that her soul completely in order was '值得注意的是,她的灵魂完好无损。'
- c. Ein Treppenwitz der Musikgeschichte, daß die Kollegen von Rammstein an afterwit of.the history.of.music that the colleagues of Rammstein vor fünf Jahren noch im Vorprogramm von Sandow spielten. 20 before five years still in.the pre.programme of Sandow played '音乐历史的具有讽刺意味的一件事是,五年前 Rammstein 的成员仍然为 Sandow 作开场演出。'

例(105)中的例子与例(106)中的系词具有相关性:

- (106) a. Egal ist, was noch passiert, ... regardless is what still happens '今后将发生什么并不重要 ...'
 - b. Interessant ist zu erwähnen, dass ihre Seele völlig in Ordnung war. interesting is to mention that her soul completely in order was '值得注意的是,她的灵魂完好无损。'
 - c. Ein Treppenwitz der Musikgeschichte ist, dass die Kollegen von an afterwit of.the music.history is that the colleagues of Rammstein vor fünf Jahren noch im Vorprogramm von Sandow spielten. Rammstein before five years still in pre.programme of Sandow played '五年前,Rammstein 的成员仍为 Sandow 作开场演出是音乐史上的一件具有讽刺意义的事件。'

当某些位置为空时,就不太容易判断句中成分占据了哪些位置。如例(105)所示,我们需要将系词插入来确保哪个成分位于前场,以及其他成分所处的位置。

在下面?: 13引用的例子中,插入系词则得到了不同的结果: In the following example taken from ?: 13, inserting the copula obtains a different result:

- (107) a. Niemand da? nobody there
 - b. Ist niemand da? is nobody there '没有人在那儿吗?'

这里,我们要分析的是一个问句,所以"niemand"(没有人)不能分析为位于前场,而应是位于中场。

例(108)中,前场、左边界和中场都有成分充当,而右边界是空的。21

¹⁹ Michail Bulgakow, *Der Meister und Margarita*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. 1997, p. 422.

²⁰ Flüstern & Schweigen, taz, 12.07.1999, p. 14.

²¹ 这个句子需要对 "der"(这个) 进行强调。"der Frau, die er kennt"(这个女人) 与另一个或其他女人进行区分。

(108) Er gibt der Frau das Buch, die er kennt. he.м gives the woman(F) the book.(N) that.F he knows '他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。'

我们应该怎么分析诸如"die er kennt"(他认识的吗?)这样的关系从句呢?它们构成了中场还是后场呢?我们可以应用开发到测试法来进行测试:首先,我们把例(108)改成完成时。由于非变位动词位于右边界,我们可以清楚地看出中场与后场的边界。例(109)中的例子显示了,关系从句不能位于中场,除非它是与中心语"Frau"(女人)一起构成的一个复杂成分的一部分。

- (109) a. Er hat [der Frau] das Buch gegeben, [die er kennt]. he has the woman the book given that he knows '他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。'
 - b. *Er hat [der Frau] das Buch, [die er kennt,] gegeben. he has the woman the book that he knows given
 - c. Er hat [der Frau, die er kennt,] das Buch gegeben. he has the woman that he knows the book given

如果修饰中心语名词的关系从句像例(110)这种位于句末的话,这个测试也没有用了。

(110) Er gibt das Buch der Frau, die er kennt. he gives the book the woman that he knows '他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。'

如果我们把例(110)的句子变成完成时,那么我们可以发现,动词可以出现在关系小句的前面或者后面:

- (111) a. Er hat das Buch [der Frau] gegeben, [die er kennt]. he has the book the woman given that he knows '他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。'
 - b. Er hat das Buch [der Frau, die er kennt,] gegeben. he has the book the woman that he knows given

在例(111a)中,关系小句被提前了。在(111b)中,它构成了名词短语(他认识的那个女人)的一部分,并位于中场的名词短语内部。这样,上面的测试方法也不适用于例(110)了。我们认为例(110)中的关系小句也术语名词短语,因为这样是最简单的结构。如果关系小句位于后场,我们则需要假定它从名词短语内部上升到这个位置上了。也就是说,我们需要假设其是一个名词短语结构,并且还涉及了移外变形。对于疑问词和冠词代词来说也有同样的问题。不同作者看法不同,有的认为它们位于左边界,有的认为是前场,也有的认为是中场。在标准德语中,疑问句和关系小句哪的所有成分从来没有占全的时候。这就导致,无法直观地分清楚某个元素所在的位置。尽管如此,我们可以结合主句来判断:疑问句和关系小句中的代词可以包含在复杂短语中:

- (112) a. der Mann, [mit dem] du gesprochen hast the man with whom you spoken have 'the man you spoke to 你'
 - b. Ich möchte wissen, [mit wem] du gesprochen hast. I want.to know with whom you spoken have '我想知道你在跟谁说话。'

通常,只有个别词语(连词或动词)能够占据左边界,²² 而词和短语可以出现在前场中。由此可以推断,疑问词和关系代词(及其包含的短语)也能在这个位置上出现。

进而,我们观察到,在陈述句的前场位置的成分与句中其他成分的依存关系跟包括关系代词的短语与句中其他成分之间的依存关系是一样的。比如说,例(113a)中"about this topic"(关于这个话题)依存于深深地嵌套在句中的"Vortag"(演讲):"einen Vortag"(一个演讲)是"zu halten"(发布)的一个论元成分,也是"gebeten"(要求)的一个论元成分。

- a. Über dieses Thema habe ich ihn gebeten, einen Vortrag zu halten. about this topic have I him asked a talk to hold '我请他做一个有关这个题目的演讲。'
 - b. das Thema, über das ich ihn gebeten habe, einen Vortrag zu halten the topic about which I him asked have a talk to hold '这是有关我让他做一个演讲的题目'

例(113b)的情景是类似的:关系短语"über das"(关于这个)是"Vortag"(演讲)的一个与之关系较远的依存成分。所以说,如果关系短语被放在前场,我们可以推断出,远距离的前置总是指向前场。

最后来看一下《杜登大辞典》(?: §1347) 中应用的标准德语(大部分是南方方言)中的一些例子:

- (114) a. Kommt drauf an, mit wem dass sie zu tun haben. comes there.upon PART with whom that you to do have '这要取决于是谁在处理。'
- (115) a. Lotti, die wo eine tolle Sekretärin ist, hat ein paar merkwürdige Lotti who where a great secretary is has a few strange Herren empfangen. gentlemen welcomed 'Lotti 作为一名伟大的秘书,受到了一些奇怪的绅士的欢迎。'

²² 并列结构是一个例外:

⁽i) Er [kennt und liebt] diese Schallplatte. he knows and loves this record '他了解并且热爱这张专辑。'

b. Du bist der beste Sänger, den wo ich kenn. you are the best singer who where I know '你是我知道的最棒的歌手。'

这些有关疑问句和关系从句的例子说明句子的左边界在不同方言中分别由连词"dass"(这个)和"wo"(哪儿)充当。所以说,如果我们希望得到一个能够统一分析标准德语与方言的模型的话,就应该认为关系短语和疑问短语位于前场。

1.8.4 递归

正如?: 82已经指出的,当前场由一个复杂成分充当的时候,可以将其进一步细化。例如,(116b)中的"für lange lange Zeit"(很长很长时间)和(116d)中的"daß du kommst"(你要进来)都位于前场,但是出现在右边界"gewußt"(知道)的右边,也就是说他们出现在前场内的后场。

(116) a. Die Möglichkeit, etwas zu verändern, ist damit verschüttet für lange the possibility something to change is there.with buried for long lange Zeit.

long time

'变革的机会将要消失很长很长时间了。'

- b. [Verschüttet für lange lange Zeit] ist damit die Möglichkeit, etwas buried for long long time ist there.with the possibility something zu verändern.
 to change
- c. Wir haben schon seit langem gewußt, daß du kommst. we have PART since long known that you come
 - '我们早就知道你要来了。'
- d. [Gewußt, daß du kommst,] haben wir schon seit langem. known that you come have we part since long

正如在前场的成分一样,中场和后场的成分也能有内部的结构,并且可以相应地划分到不同的次级结构中。如例(116c)中,"daß"(这个)是从句"daß du kommst"(他知道)的左边界,而"gewußt"(du)占据了中场,"kommst"(来)是右边界。

思考题

- 1. 短语中的中心语与其他成分相比有何不同?
- 2. 请找出例(117)中的中心语:
 - (117) a. he

b. Go!

- c. quick
- 3. 论元与附加语有什么区别?
- 4. 请指出例(118)所示的整句及其小句中的中心语、论元和附加语:
 - (118) Er hilft den kleinen Kindern in der Schule. he helps the small children in the school '他在学校帮助小孩子。'
- 5. 如何界定前场、中场、后场、左边界与右边界?

练习题

- 1. 请指出下列句子及其嵌套对小句的框架结构、前场、中场,以及后场。
 - (119) a. Karl isst. Karl eats '卡尔正在吃。'
 - b. Der Mann liebt eine Frau, den Peter kennt. the man loves a woman who Peter knows '彼得认识的那个男人爱着这个女人。'
 - c. Der Mann liebt eine Frau, die Peter kennt. the man loves a woman that Peter knows '这个男人爱着那个彼得认识的女人。'
 - d. Die Studenten haben behauptet, nur wegen der Hitze the students have claimed only because.of the heat einzuschlafen. to.fall.asleep
 - '学生们声称他们是因为热才睡着了。'
 - e. Dass Peter nicht kommt, ärgert Klaus. that Peter not comes annoys Klaus '彼得不能来的事实惹恼了克劳斯。'
 - f. Einen Mann küssen, der ihr nicht gefällt, würde sie nie. a man kiss that her not pleases would she never '她绝不会亲一个她不喜欢的男人。'

延伸阅读

?解释了为什么空间位置理论对描述德语中成分之间关系如此重要。?讨论了前场左边的位置由左移位结构充当,如例(120)的"der Mittwoch"(星期三),例(121a)的"aber"(但是),以及例(121b)的"denn"(那么)。

- (120) Der Mittwoch, der passt mir gut. the Wednesday that fits me good '周三,我有空。'
- (121) a. Aber würde denn jemand den Hund füttern morgen Abend? but would PART anybody the dog feed tomorrow evening '但是明天晚上会有人喂狗吗?'
 - b. Denn dass es regnet, damit rechnet keiner. because that it rains there.with reckons nobody '因为没人想到会下雨。'

Höhle 还讨论了空间位置理论的历史发展。

Part II General discussion

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Grammatical theory

This book introduces formal grammar theories that play a role in current linguistic theorizing (Phrase Structure Grammar, Transformational Grammar/Government & Binding, Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Lexical Functional Grammar, Categorial Grammar, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Construction Grammar, Tree Adjoining Grammar). The key assumptions are explained and it is shown how the respective theory treats arguments and adjuncts, the active/passive alternation, local reorderings, verb placement, and fronting of constituents over long distances. The analyses are explained with German as the object language.

The second part of the book compares these approaches with respect to their predictions regarding language acquisition and psycholinguistic plausibility. The nativism hypothesis, which assumes that humans posses genetically determined innate language-specific knowledge, is critically examined and alternative models of language acquisition are discussed. The second part then addresses controversial issues of current theory building such as the question of flat or binary branching structures being more appropriate, the question whether constructions should be treated on the phrasal or the lexical level, and the question whether abstract, non-visible entities should play a role in syntactic analyses. It is shown that the analyses suggested in the respective frameworks are often translatable into each other. The book closes with a chapter showing how properties common to all languages or to certain classes of languages can be captured.

"With this critical yet fair reflection on various grammatical theories, Müller fills what has been a major gap in the literature." Karen Lehmann, Zeitschrift für Rezensionen zur germanistischen Sprachwissenschaft, 2012

"Stefan Müller' s recent introductory textbook, "Grammatiktheorie", is an astonishingly comprehensive and insightful survey of the present state of syntactic theory for beginning students." Wolfgang Sternefeld und Frank Richter, Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, 2012

"This is the kind of work that has been sought after for a while. [...] The impartial and objective discussion offered by the author is particularly refreshing." Werner Abraham, *Germanistik*. 2012

