

# Grammatical theory

From transformational grammar to  
constraint-based approaches

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



## Textbooks in Language Sciences

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Stefan Müller. 2016. *Grammatical theory: From transformational grammar to constraint-based approaches* (Textbooks in Language Sciences 1). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/25>

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ISBN: Digital, complete work: 978-3-944675-21-3 ;  
Hardcover: vol1: 978-3-946234-29-6; vol. 2 978-3-946234-40-1  
Softcover: vol1: 978-3-946234-30-2; vol. 2 978-3-946234-41-8  
Softcover US: vol1: 978-1-530465-62-0; vol. 2 978-1-523743-82-7

ISSN: 2364-6209

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Translators: Andrew Murphy, Stefan Müller

Typesetting: Stefan Müller

Proofreading: Viola Auermann, Armin Buch, Andreea Calude, Rong Chen, Matthew Czuba, Leonel de Alencar, Christian Döhler, Joseph T. Farquharson, Andreas Hölzl, Gianina Iordăchioaia, Paul Kay, Anne Kilgus, Sandra Kübler, Timm Lichte, Antonio Machicao y Priemer, Michelle Natolo, Stephanie Natolo, Sebastian Nordhoff, Parviz Parsafar, Conor Pyle, Daniela Schröder, Eva Schultze-Berndt, Alec Shaw, Benedikt Singpiel, Anelia Stefanova, Neal Whitman, Viola Wiegand

Open reviewing: Armin Buch, Leonel de Alencar, Andreas Hölzl, Gianina Iordăchioaia, Paul Kay, Dick Hudson, Paul Kay, Timm Lichte, Antonio Machicao y Priemer, Andrew McIntyre, Arne Nymos, Sebastian Nordhoff, Neal Whitman

Fonts: Linux Libertine, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software:  $\text{\LaTeX}$

Language Science Press

Habelschwerdter Allee 45

14195 Berlin, Germany

[langsci-press.org](http://langsci-press.org)

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität



Berlin

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For Max



# 目 录

前言

xv

I	研究背景与语法理论	1
1	导言和术语	3
1.1	为什么要研究句法?	3
1.2	为什么要形式化?	5
1.3	组成成分	6
1.3.1	组成成分测试	7
1.3.2	关于成分测试法的一些看法	10
1.4	词类	16
1.5	中心语	26
1.6	论元成分与说明语	28
1.7	语法功能	31
1.7.1	主语	32
1.7.2	状语	36
1.7.3	谓语	37
1.7.4	配价类型	38
1.8	德语小句的空间位置模型	39
1.8.1	动词的位置	39
1.8.2	句子的框架结构、前场、中场及后场	40
1.8.3	场内元素的排列	40
1.8.4	递归	45
1	短语结构语法	3
1.1	符号和重写规则	3
1.2	短语结构语法中特征的运用	8
1.3	语义	9
1.4	有关德语句法中某些方面的短语结构规则	12
1.4.1	名词短语	12
1.4.2	介词短语	21

## 目 录

1.5	$\bar{X}$ 理论	23
<b>3</b>	<b>Transformational Grammar – Government &amp; Binding</b>	<b>79</b>
3.1	General remarks on the representational format	80
3.1.1	Transformations	80
3.1.2	The hypothesis regarding language acquisition: Principles & Parameters	82
3.1.3	The T model	83
3.1.4	$\bar{X}$ theory	89
3.1.5	CP and IP in English	92
3.1.6	The structure of the German clause	95
3.2	Verb position	96
3.3	Long-distance dependencies	101
3.4	Passive	103
3.4.1	Structural and lexical case	104
3.4.2	Case assignment and the Case Filter	105
3.5	Local reordering	109
3.6	Summary and classification	111
3.6.1	Explaining language acquisition	112
3.6.2	Formalization	113
<b>4</b>	<b>Transformational Grammar – Minimalism</b>	<b>121</b>
4.1	General remarks on the representational format	121
4.1.1	Basic architecture	122
4.1.2	Valence, feature checking, and agreement	123
4.1.3	Phrase structure and $\bar{X}$ theory	125
4.1.4	Little $v$	125
4.1.5	CP, TP, $v$ P, VP	127
4.1.6	Adjuncts	132
4.2	Verb position	132
4.3	Long-distance dependencies	132
4.4	Passive	133
4.5	Local reordering	136
4.6	New developments and theoretical variants	137
4.6.1	Move, Merge, feature-driven movement and functional projections	137
4.6.2	Labeling	147
4.6.3	Specifiers, complements, and the remains of $\bar{X}$ theory	153
4.6.4	Minimalism, Categorical Grammar, and HPSG	157
4.6.5	Selection of atomic features vs. selection of complex categories	165
4.6.6	Summary	167
4.7	Summary and classification	167
4.7.1	Explaining language acquisition	167
4.7.2	Formalization	168



<b>5</b>	<b>Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar</b>	<b>173</b>
5.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	173
5.1.1	Complex categories, the Head Feature Convention, and $\bar{X}$ rules . . . . .	174
5.1.2	Local reordering . . . . .	176
5.1.3	Metarules . . . . .	178
5.1.4	Semantics . . . . .	180
5.1.5	Adjuncts . . . . .	182
5.2	Passive as a metarule . . . . .	183
5.3	Verb position . . . . .	186
5.4	Long-distance dependencies as the result of local dependencies . . . . .	187
5.5	Summary and classification . . . . .	190
5.5.1	Valence and morphology . . . . .	191
5.5.2	Valence and partial verb phrase fronting . . . . .	192
5.5.3	Generative capacity . . . . .	193
<b>6</b>	<b>Feature descriptions</b>	<b>195</b>
6.1	Feature descriptions . . . . .	195
6.2	Types . . . . .	198
6.3	Disjunction . . . . .	201
6.4	Structure sharing . . . . .	201
6.5	Cyclic structures . . . . .	202
6.6	Unification . . . . .	204
6.7	Phenomena, models and formal theories . . . . .	205
<b>7</b>	<b>Lexical Functional Grammar</b>	<b>211</b>
7.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	213
7.1.1	Functional structure . . . . .	213
7.1.2	Completeness . . . . .	216
7.1.3	Coherence . . . . .	216
7.1.4	Restrictions on the c-structure/f-structure relation . . . . .	217
7.1.5	Semantics . . . . .	218
7.1.6	Adjuncts . . . . .	220
7.2	Passive . . . . .	221
7.3	Verb position . . . . .	224
7.4	Local reordering . . . . .	225
7.5	Long-distance dependencies and functional uncertainty . . . . .	228
7.6	Summary and classification . . . . .	231
<b>8</b>	<b>Categorial Grammar</b>	<b>235</b>
8.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	236
8.1.1	Representation of valence information . . . . .	236
8.1.2	Semantics . . . . .	238
8.1.3	Adjuncts . . . . .	239
8.2	Passive . . . . .	240

## 目 录

8.3	Verb position . . . . .	241
8.4	Local reordering . . . . .	243
8.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	244
8.5.1	Type Raising . . . . .	244
8.5.2	Forward and backward composition . . . . .	245
8.5.3	Analysis of long-distance dependencies . . . . .	245
8.6	Summary and classification . . . . .	247
<b>9</b>	<b>Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar</b>	<b>253</b>
9.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	256
9.1.1	Representation of valence information . . . . .	257
9.1.2	Representation of constituent structure . . . . .	259
9.1.3	Linearization rules . . . . .	263
9.1.4	Projection of head properties . . . . .	264
9.1.5	Inheritance hierarchies and generalizations . . . . .	266
9.1.6	Semantics . . . . .	268
9.1.7	Adjuncts . . . . .	271
9.2	Passive . . . . .	274
9.2.1	Valence information and the Case Principle . . . . .	277
9.3	Verb position . . . . .	279
9.4	Local reordering . . . . .	284
9.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	287
9.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	292
9.6.1	Specifier, complements and argument structure . . . . .	292
9.6.2	Linearization-based HPSG . . . . .	295
9.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	296
<b>10</b>	<b>Construction Grammar</b>	<b>301</b>
10.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	303
10.1.1	The head-complement construction . . . . .	303
10.1.2	Representation of valence information . . . . .	305
10.1.3	Semantics . . . . .	305
10.1.4	Adjuncts . . . . .	305
10.2	Passive . . . . .	305
10.3	Verb position . . . . .	310
10.4	Local reordering . . . . .	312
10.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	313
10.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	313
10.6.1	Berkeley Construction Grammar . . . . .	313
10.6.2	Sign-Based Construction Grammar . . . . .	317
10.6.3	Embodied Construction Grammar . . . . .	329
10.6.4	Fluid Construction Grammar . . . . .	333
10.6.5	Coordination . . . . .	341
10.6.6	Discontinuous constituents and performance models . . . . .	342

10.6.7	Discontinuity vs. Subject-Head and Head-Filler Schema . . . . .	343
10.6.8	Restricting discontinuity . . . . .	343
10.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	353
<b>11</b>	<b>Dependency Grammar</b>	<b>355</b>
11.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	358
11.1.1	Valence information, nucleus and satellites . . . . .	358
11.1.2	Adjuncts . . . . .	361
11.1.3	Linearization . . . . .	361
11.1.4	Semantics . . . . .	363
11.2	Passive . . . . .	364
11.3	Verb position . . . . .	366
11.4	Local reordering . . . . .	367
11.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	368
11.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	374
11.6.1	Tesnière's part of speech classification . . . . .	374
11.6.2	Connection, junction, and transfer . . . . .	375
11.6.3	Scope . . . . .	381
11.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	381
11.7.1	Linearization . . . . .	382
11.7.2	Dependency Grammar vs. phrase structure grammar . . . . .	390
<b>12</b>	<b>Tree Adjoining Grammar</b>	<b>403</b>
12.1	General remarks on representational format . . . . .	404
12.1.1	Representation of valence information . . . . .	404
12.1.2	Substitution . . . . .	404
12.1.3	Adjunction . . . . .	404
12.1.4	Semantics . . . . .	406
12.2	Local reordering . . . . .	408
12.3	Verb position . . . . .	411
12.4	Passive . . . . .	411
12.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	414
12.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	415
12.6.1	FTAG . . . . .	415
12.6.2	V-TAG . . . . .	418
12.6.3	The competence-performance distinction and the generative capacity of tree-local MC-LTAG . . . . .	420
12.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	426

<b>II</b>	<b>讨论</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>The innateness of linguistic knowledge</b>	<b>431</b>
13.1	Syntactic universals . . . . .	433
13.1.1	Head Directionality Parameter . . . . .	434
13.1.2	$\bar{X}$ structures . . . . .	435
13.1.3	Grammatical functions such as subject and object . . . . .	438
13.1.4	Binding principles . . . . .	440
13.1.5	Properties of long-distance dependencies . . . . .	442
13.1.6	Grammatical morphemes for tense, mood and aspect . . . . .	450
13.1.7	Parts of speech . . . . .	450
13.1.8	Recursion and infinitude . . . . .	451
13.1.9	Summary . . . . .	457
13.2	Speed of language acquisition . . . . .	458
13.3	Critical period for acquisition . . . . .	459
13.4	Lack of acquisition among non-human primates . . . . .	460
13.5	Creole and sign languages . . . . .	461
13.6	Localization in special parts of the brain . . . . .	462
13.7	Differences between language and general cognition . . . . .	463
13.7.1	Williams Syndrome . . . . .	463
13.7.2	KE family with FoxP2 mutation . . . . .	463
13.8	Poverty of the Stimulus . . . . .	464
13.8.1	Gold's Theorem . . . . .	465
13.8.2	Four case studies . . . . .	469
13.8.3	Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing (U-DOP) . . . . .	479
13.8.4	Negative evidence . . . . .	486
13.9	Summary . . . . .	487
<b>14</b>	<b>Generative-enumerative vs. model-theoretic approaches</b>	<b>489</b>
14.1	Graded acceptability . . . . .	491
14.2	Utterance fragments . . . . .	492
14.3	A problem for model-theoretic approaches? . . . . .	494
<b>15</b>	<b>The competence/performance distinction</b>	<b>499</b>
15.1	The derivational theory of complexity . . . . .	501
15.2	Incremental processing . . . . .	504
<b>16</b>	<b>Language acquisition</b>	<b>511</b>
16.1	Principles & Parameters . . . . .	511
16.2	Principles and the lexicon . . . . .	519
16.3	Pattern-based approaches . . . . .	519
16.4	Selection-based approaches . . . . .	526
16.5	Summary . . . . .	527

<b>17</b>	<b>Generative capacity and grammar formalisms</b>	<b>529</b>
<b>18</b>	<b>Binary branching, locality, and recursion</b>	<b>535</b>
18.1	Binary branching . . . . .	535
18.2	Locality . . . . .	538
18.3	Recursion . . . . .	547
<b>19</b>	<b>Empty elements</b>	<b>549</b>
19.1	Views on empty elements . . . . .	549
19.2	Eliminating empty elements from grammars . . . . .	551
19.3	Empty elements and semantic interpretation . . . . .	556
19.4	Evidence for empty elements . . . . .	563
19.5	Transformations, lexical rules, and empty elements . . . . .	563
<b>20</b>	<b>Extraction, scrambling, and passive: one or several descriptive devices?</b>	<b>569</b>
<b>21</b>	<b>Phrasal vs. lexical analyses</b>	<b>579</b>
21.1	Some putative advantages of phrasal models . . . . .	580
21.1.1	Usage-based theories . . . . .	580
21.1.2	Coercion . . . . .	582
21.1.3	Aspect as a clause level phenomenon . . . . .	584
21.1.4	Simplicity and polysemy . . . . .	585
21.2	Evidence for lexical approaches . . . . .	587
21.2.1	Valence and coordination . . . . .	587
21.2.2	Valence and derivational morphology . . . . .	592
21.3	Radical underspecification: the end of argument structure? . . . . .	598
21.3.1	Neo-Davidsonianism . . . . .	598
21.3.2	Little <i>v</i> and idiom asymmetries . . . . .	600
21.3.3	Deverbal nominals . . . . .	602
21.3.4	Idiosyncratic syntactic selections . . . . .	605
21.3.5	Expletives . . . . .	607
21.3.6	An exoskeletal approach . . . . .	608
21.3.7	Is there an alternative to lexical valence structure? . . . . .	612
21.3.8	Summary . . . . .	613
21.4	Relations between constructions . . . . .	613
21.4.1	Inheritance hierarchies for constructions . . . . .	614
21.4.2	Mappings between different levels of representations . . . . .	618
21.4.3	Is there an alternative to lexical rules? . . . . .	621
21.5	Further problems for phrasal approaches . . . . .	621
21.5.1	Particle verbs and commitment to phrase structure configurations . . . . .	621
21.6	Arguments from language acquisition . . . . .	622
21.6.1	Recognizability of constructions . . . . .	622
21.6.2	Coordination and discontinuousness . . . . .	624

## 目 录

21.7	Arguments from psycho- and neurolinguistics . . . . .	629
21.7.1	Lexical rules vs. phrasal constructions . . . . .	629
21.7.2	Light verbs . . . . .	631
21.7.3	Arguments from neurolinguistics . . . . .	632
21.8	Arguments from statistical distribution . . . . .	636
21.8.1	Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing . . . . .	636
21.8.2	Collostructions . . . . .	639
21.9	Conclusion . . . . .	639
21.10	Why (phrasal) constructions? . . . . .	640
21.10.1	Verbless directives . . . . .	640
21.10.2	Serial verbs . . . . .	647
21.10.3	Relative and interrogative clauses . . . . .	648
21.10.4	The N-P-N construction . . . . .	651
22	<b>Universal Grammar and comparative linguistics without UG</b>	<b>655</b>
22.1	Formal tools for capturing generalizations . . . . .	655
22.2	How to develop linguistic theories that capture cross-linguistic general- izations . . . . .	659
23	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>669</b>
24	<b>Solutions to the exercises</b>	<b>673</b>
24.1	Introduction and basic terms . . . . .	673
24.2	Phrase structure grammars . . . . .	673
24.3	Transformational Grammar – Government & Binding . . . . .	678
24.4	Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar . . . . .	680
24.5	Feature descriptions . . . . .	683
24.6	Lexical Functional Grammar . . . . .	685
24.7	Categorial Grammar . . . . .	686
24.8	Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar . . . . .	687
24.9	Construction Grammar . . . . .	688
24.10	Dependency Grammar . . . . .	689
24.11	Tree Adjoining Grammar . . . . .	690
	参考文献	33
	<b>Index</b>	<b>121</b>
	Name index . . . . .	121
	Language index . . . . .	121
	Subject index . . . . .	121

## 第零章 研究背景与语法理论







## 第二章 短语结构语法

本章讨论短语结构语法，该语法在我们接下来要讲解的理论中起到了至关重要的作用。

### 2.1 符号和重写规则

根据词的屈折形态和句法分布，我们可以判断出它的词性。由此，例（1）中的 *weil*（因为）是一个连词，而 *das*（这）和 *dem*（这）是冠词，后两者也叫做限定词。进而，*Buch*（书）和 *Mann*（人）是名词，而 *gibt*（给）是动词。

- (1) *weil er das Buch dem Mann gibt*  
因为他DEF 书 DEF 人 给  
‘因为他给人这本书’

在第 1.3 节，我们介绍了组成成分测试的若干方法。采用这些方法，我们可以判断出 *das Buch*（这本书）和 *dem Mann*（这个人）这两组字符串分别构成了组成成分。那么这些成分需要特定的符号来指称他们。因为在这些短语中，名词起到了重要的作用，它们就叫做名词短语（*noun phrase*）或简称为 *NPs*。因为代词 *er*（他）也可以出现在完整的名词短语所在的位置中，所以代词也应归入 *NP* 这一类别中。

短语结构语法用规则来说明符号是如何指派到某些类别的词，并且这些词是如何构成更复杂的单位的。如（2）所示，这是用来分析例句（1）的一个简单的短语结构语法：<sup>1,2</sup>

- |     |                               |                       |                      |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (2) | $NP \rightarrow Det\ N$       | $NP \rightarrow er$   | $N \rightarrow Buch$ |
|     | $S \rightarrow NP\ NP\ NP\ V$ | $Det \rightarrow das$ | $N \rightarrow Mann$ |
|     |                               | $Det \rightarrow dem$ | $V \rightarrow gibt$ |

由此，我们将  $NP \rightarrow Det\ N$  这一规则解读为一个名词短语，这个名词短语被赋予了 *NP* 这个符号，并且包括一个限定词（*D*）和一个名词（*N*）。

<sup>1</sup> 我们暂不分析 *weil*（因为）。因为对于德语的动词位于第一位和动词位于第二位的小句的确切分析还需要一些格外的假设，所以在这一章我们只讨论动词位于句末的小句。

<sup>2</sup>  $NP \rightarrow er$  这条规则看起来有些奇怪。我们本可以用  $PersPron \rightarrow er$  这条规则来说明，但是这就需要另一条规则来说明能够代替整个 *NP* 的人称代词  $NP \rightarrow PersPron$ 。（2）将前面两条规则整合成一条，并且说明 *er*（他）出现在名词短语可以出现的位置上。

2 短语结构语法

对于例（1）这个句子，我们可以应用（2）中的文法并按照如下的方式来分析：首先，我们选取句中的第一个词，然后看是否有规则来说明该词出现在规则的右边。如果有，那么我们就用规则左边的符号来替换它。这一过程可以参考（3）on page 4中的第 2-4，6-7 和 9 行的推导过程。比如说，第二行中 er 被 NP 代替。如果在规则的右边有两个以上的符号，那么这些符号都被左边的符号所代替。这一过程可以参考第 5、8 和 10 行。例如，在第 5 行和第 8 行中，Det 和 N 被重写为 NP。

(3)	words and symbols						rules that are applied
1	er	das	Buch	dem	Mann	gibt	
2	NP	das	Buch	dem	Mann	gibt	NP → er
3	NP	Det	Buch	dem	Mann	gibt	Det → das
4	NP	Det	N	dem	Mann	gibt	N → Buch
5	NP		NP	dem	Mann	gibt	NP → Det N
6	NP		NP	Det	Mann	gibt	Det → dem
7	NP		NP	Det	N	gibt	N → Mann
8	NP		NP		NP	gibt	NP → Det N
9	NP		NP		NP	V	V → gibt
10						S	S → NP NP NP V

如例（3）所示，我们从一串词开始，然后按照给定的短语结构文法，我们可以推导出句子的结构。我们也可以按照相反的方向来分析：从句子标号 S 开始，我们可以应用第 9-1 步，最后到词串。如要从文法中选择重写符号的不同规则，我们可以用（2）中的文法来从 S 分析到字符串 er dem Mann das Buch gibt（他男人书给）。我们可以说，这个文法生成了一组句子。

例（3）中的推导过程可以表示为一棵树，如图 1.1 on page 4所示。

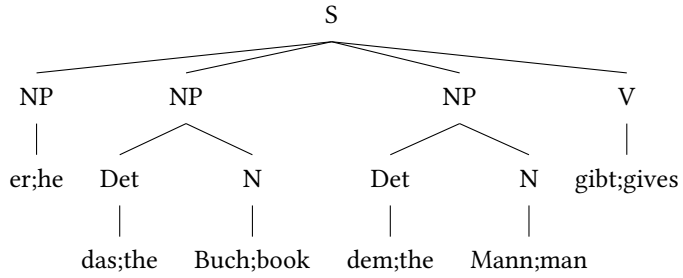


图 2.1: er das Buch dem Mann gibt（他这本书这个人给）的分析

树中的符号叫做节点（node）。S 直接统制 NP 节点和 V 节点。书中的其他节点也被统制，只不过不是受到 S 的直接统制。如果我们想讨论节点之间的关系，我们通常会用亲属词来表示。在图 1.1 中，S 是三个 NP 节点和 V 节点的母节点（mother node）。NP 节点和 V 节点是姊妹节点，因为他们有共同的母节点。如果一个节点有两个子节点，那么我们会得到一个二叉树结构。如果只有一个子节点，则会得到一个单叉树结构。如果两个成分是直接挨着对方的，那么我们就说它们具有邻接关系（adjacent）。

在语言学的著作中，通常会省略短语结构规则。相反，作者们倾向于使用树图或者紧缩的框式结构，如（4）所示。

- (4)  $[_S [_{NP} \text{er}] [_{NP} [_{Det} \text{das}] [_N \text{Buch}]]] [_{NP} [_{Det} \text{dem}] [_N \text{Mann}]] [_V \text{gibt}]]$   
           he           the       book           the       man       gives

无论采取哪种形式，文法规则是最重要的，因为这些规则表示了语法知识，而这是与具体的结构没有太多关系的。这样，我们可以利用（2）中的文法来剖析或生成例（5），该句中的宾语顺序与前面（1）不同：

- (5) [weil] er       dem       Mann das       Buch gibt  
      因为 他.NOM DEF.DAT 人       DEF.ACC 书     给  
      ‘因为他给这个人这本书’

与例（1）相比，这句话中用来替代限定词和名词的规则应用了不同的顺序。具体来说，这里并不是用 *das*（这）来替代第一个 *Det*，也不是用 *Buch*（书）来替代第一个 *noun*，而是用 *dem*（这）来替代第一个 *Det*，并用 *Mann*（人）替代第一个 *noun*。

在此，我需要指出的是，（2）中的文法并不是针对（1）中的例句的唯一一套文法。实际上，对于这类句子（参看练习1）而言，还有无限多可能的文法。另一套文法如例（6）所示：

- (6)  $NP \rightarrow Det\ N$                        $NP \rightarrow er$                        $N \rightarrow Buch$   
       $V \rightarrow NP\ V$                          $Det \rightarrow das$                      $N \rightarrow Mann$   
     $Det \rightarrow dem$                      $V \rightarrow gibt$

该文法允许了如图 1.2 on page 5 所示的二叉树结构。

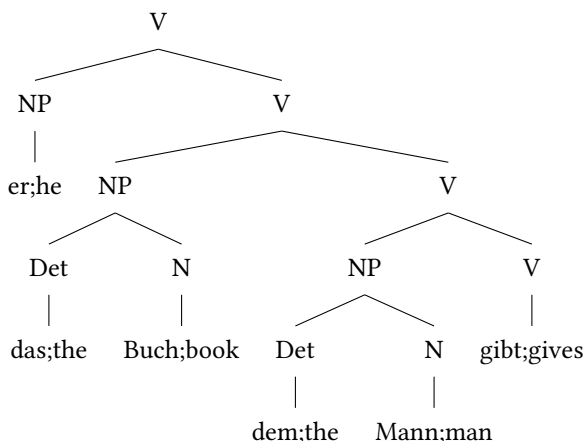


图 2.2: er das Buch dem Mann gibt（他这本书这个人给）的二叉树结构分析

## 2 短语结构语法

实际上, (6) 和 (2) 中的文法都不够精确。如果我们在文法中加入额外的词条, 如 *ich* (我) 和 *den* (这, 宾格), 那么就会生成不合乎语法的句子, 如例 (7b-d) 所示:<sup>3</sup>

- (7) a. er        das        Buch dem     Mann gibt  
         he.NOM the.ACC book the.DAT man   gives  
         ‘He gives the book to the man.’  
      b. \*ich        das        Buch dem     Mann gibt  
         I.NOM the.ACC book the.DAT man   gives  
      c. \*er        das        Buch den     Mann gibt  
         he.NOM the.ACC book the.ACC man   gives  
      d. \*er        den        Buch     dem Mann gibt  
         he.NOM the.M book(N) the   man   gives

例 (7b) 违反了主谓一致原则, 具体来说: *ich* (我) 和 *gibt* (给) 并不搭配。例 (7c) 是不合乎语法的, 因为没有满足动词对格的约束条件。最后, 例 (7d) 也是不合乎语法的, 因为在限定词和名词之间缺少一致关系。我们不能将 *den* (这) 这个阳性的宾格成分与 *Buch* (书) 这个中性词搭配。基于上述原因, 这两个成分的性质不同, 所以说, 二者不能搭配。

在下面的内容中, 我们将来考虑如何让我们的语法可以杜绝生成例 (7b-d) 中的句子。如果我们想说明主谓一致关系, 那么我们就需要说明德语中的六种格, 并且动词必须与主语在人称 (1、2、3) 和数 (sg、pl) 上保持一致:

- (8) a. Ich schlafe.            (1, sg)  
         I    sleep  
      b. Du schläfst.        (2, sg)  
         you sleep  
      c. Er schläft.        (3, sg)  
         he sleeps  
      d. Wir schlafen.        (1, pl)  
         we   sleep  
      e. Ihr schlaft.        (2, pl)  
         you sleep

<sup>3</sup> 应用 (6) 中的文法, 我们还会遇到别的问题, 即我们无法确定什么时候话语是完整的, 因为符号 *V* 被用来表示 *V* 和 *NP* 的所有组合。由此, 我们也可以这个文法来分析 (i) 中的句子:

- (i) a. \*der Mann erwartet  
         the man   expects  
      b. \*des        Mannes er        das        Buch dem     Mann gibt  
         the.GEN man.GEN he.NOM the.ACC book the.DAT man   gives

动词所带的论元数量应该在文法中显示出来。在下面的章节中, 我们将介绍动词对论元的选择 (valence) 上如何在不同的语法理论中进行表述的。

- f. Sie schlafen. (3, pl)  
they sleep

我们可以通过增加符号到数量来用语法规则描述这些关系。我们用下面的符号来替换  $S \rightarrow NP\ NP\ NP\ V$ :

- (9)  $S \rightarrow NP\_1\_sg\ NP\ NP\ V\_1\_sg$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_2\_sg\ NP\ NP\ V\_2\_sg$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_3\_sg\ NP\ NP\ V\_3\_sg$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_1\_pl\ NP\ NP\ V\_1\_pl$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_2\_pl\ NP\ NP\ V\_2\_pl$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_3\_pl\ NP\ NP\ V\_3\_pl$

这样就意味着，我们需要六种不同的符号来分别表示名词短语和动词，还需要六条规则，而不是一条。

为了说明动词的格指派关系，我们可以按照类似的方式将格信息整合到符号中。这样，我们可以得到如下的规则：

- (10)  $S \rightarrow NP\_1\_sg\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_1\_sg\_nom\_dat\_acc$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_2\_sg\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_2\_sg\_nom\_dat\_acc$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_3\_sg\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_3\_sg\_nom\_dat\_acc$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_1\_pl\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_1\_pl\_nom\_dat\_acc$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_2\_pl\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_2\_pl\_nom\_dat\_acc$   
 $S \rightarrow NP\_3\_pl\_nom\ NP\_dat\ NP\_acc\ V\_3\_pl\_nom\_dat\_acc$

考虑到名词需要区分四种不同的格，我们给主格 NP 设置了六种符号，其他格的 NP 需要三种符号。由于动词需要与 NP 相搭配，我们还需要区分 (11) 中带三个论元，或者只带一个或两个论元的动词，所以说，我们需要增加表示动词的符号数量。

- (11) a. Er schläft.  
他睡觉  
‘他正在睡觉。’  
 b. \*Er schläft das Buch.  
他睡觉 DEF 书  
 c. Er kennt das Buch.  
他认识 DEF 书  
‘他认识这本书。’  
 d. \*Er kennt.  
他认识

在上面的规则中，有关动词所需论元数量的信息在 “nom\_dat\_acc” 这个标记中有所说明。

## 2 短语结构语法

为了说明例 (12) 中的限定词与名词的一致关系, 我们需要整合性  $r$  (阴性、阳性、中性)、数 (单数、复数)、格 (主格、属格、与格、宾格), 以及屈折类型 (强、弱) 的信息<sup>4</sup>。

- (12) a. der Mann, die Frau, das Buch (性)  
DEF.M 人(M) DEF.F 女人(F) DEF.N 书(N)  
b. das Buch, die Bücher (数)  
DEF 书.SG DEF 书.PL  
c. des Buches, dem Buch (格)  
DEF.GEN 书.GEN DEF.DAT 书  
d. ein Beamter, der Beamte (屈折类型)  
一 公务员 DEF 公务员

我们不用  $NP \rightarrow Det N$  这条规则, 我们将要用到下面这些规则, 如例 (13) 所示:<sup>5</sup>

- (13)  $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_fem\_sg\_nom N\_fem\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_mas\_sg\_nom N\_mas\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_neu\_sg\_nom N\_neu\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_fem\_pl\_nom N\_fem\_pl\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_mas\_pl\_nom N\_mas\_pl\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_neu\_pl\_nom N\_neu\_pl\_nom$   
  
 $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_fem\_sg\_nom N\_fem\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_mas\_sg\_nom N\_mas\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_sg\_nom \rightarrow Det\_neu\_sg\_nom N\_neu\_sg\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_fem\_pl\_nom N\_fem\_pl\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_mas\_pl\_nom N\_mas\_pl\_nom$   
 $NP\_3\_pl\_nom \rightarrow Det\_neu\_pl\_nom N\_neu\_pl\_nom$

例 (13) 说明了主格名词短语的规则。我们还需要针对属格、与格和宾格的类似规则。这样, 我们就需要 24 个符号来说明限定词 ( $3 * 2 * 4$ ), 24 个符号说明名词, 以及 24 条规则, 而不是一条规则。如果要考虑屈折类型的话, 符号的数量和规则的数量都要翻倍。

### 2.2 短语结构语法中特征的运用

短语结构语法如果只用原子式的符号是有问题的, 因为他们无法描写一些特定的扩展形式。我们语言能够辨识出  $NP\_3\_sg\_nom$  指的是名词短语, 因为这里面包括字母 NP。但是, 在形式化的术语中, 这个符号与文法中的其他任意一个符号是一样的。我们并不能找到可以用来指代 NP 的所有符号的共同特征。进而, 非结

<sup>4</sup> 这些是针对形容词的形态变化类型, 也同样适用于某些名词, 如 Beamter (公务员)、Verwandter (亲戚) 和 Gesandter (公使)。有关形容词类型的更多信息请参考第 19 页。

<sup>5</sup> 为了方便, 这些规则没有包括屈折类型相关的信息。

构化的符号无法捕捉到这样的事实，即例（13）中的规则是有共同点的。在形式化的术语中，规则之间的唯一共性在于规则左边有一个符号，而右边有两个。

我们可以引进特征来解决这一问题。我们给范畴符号指派一些特征，并且允许我们的规则将这些特征的值包含进来。举例来说，我们可以假设范畴符号 NP 具有人称、数和格的特征。对于限定词和名词来说，我们可以采用一条附加的特征来表示性，另一条特征来表示屈折类型。例（14）给出了两条规则，并用括号分别表示出特征值：<sup>6</sup>

- (14) NP(3,sg,nom) → Det(fem,sg,nom) N(fem,sg,nom)  
 NP(3,sg,nom) → Det(mas,sg,nom) N(mas,sg,nom)

如果我们在例（14）中要用到变量而不是值，那么我们会得到例（15）中的规则图式：

- (15) NP(3,Num,Case) → Det(Gen,Num,Case) N(Gen,Num,Case)

这里变量的值并不重要。重要的是他们是与什么搭配的。为了保证成功，重要的是这些值是按照顺序排列的；也就是说，在限定词的范畴中，性永远排在第一位，数第二，其他往后排。人称特征的值在 NP(3, Num, Case) 的第一个位置，这是由规则决定的，并且是固定的，即第三人称。当然，值的这种限制也可以由词汇决定：

- (16) NP(3,sg,nom) → es  
 Det(mas,sg,nom) → des

(10) 中的规则可以如例（17）所示，归并到一条范式中：

- (17) S → NP(Per1,Num1,nom)  
 NP(Per2,Num2,det)  
 NP(Per3,Num3,acc)  
 V(Per1,Num1,ditransitive)

Per1 和 Num1 在动词和主语中的实现保证了主谓一致。对于其他 NP 来说，这些特征的值是无关的。这些 NP 的格也是明确的。

## 2.3 语义

在引言和前面几个章节，我们主要分析了语言的句法方面，并且这本书后面的部分也主要集中在句法。但是，有必要提醒大家的生活，我们是为了交流而使用语言的，也就是说，针对某些场景、话题或者观点来交换信息。如果我们想准确地解释我们的语言能力，那么我们还要解释我们所说的话的意义。为了这一目标，我们就有必要理解句法结构，但是单是这样是不够的。进而，有关语言习得的理论只是关注句法结构的习得也是不全面的。由此，句法语义接口（syntax-semantics interface）问题的重要性尤为突出，每个语法理论都要说明句法和语义是如何互动

<sup>6</sup> 第 6 章介绍了属性值结构。这些结构总是包括一对儿属性名称和属性值。在这样的情况下，值的顺序就不重要了，因为每个值都是独一无二的，并由相应的特征名称所指定。因为我们在（13）这样的例子中没有图式下的属性名称，所以值的顺序是重要的。



## 2 短语结构语法

的。在下面，我将讲解我们是如何将短语结构规则与语义信息相结合的。为了表示意义，我会用一阶谓词逻辑和  $\lambda$  演算。不过遗憾的是，我们无法介绍基础逻辑知识的详细信息，以帮助没有相关经验的读者来理解下面的内容，但是我们这里举的这些简单的例子应该可以为句法和语义的互动关系提供一些基本的认识，并进而我们可以开发一个能够对它进行解释的语言学理论。

为了显示句子的意义是如何从它的组成部分推导出来的，我们来看一下例 (18a)。我们将例 (18b) 中的意义指派给例 (18a) 这个句子。

- (18) a. Max schläft.  
Max sleeps  
'Max 正在睡觉。'  
b. *schlafen'*(*max'*)

这里，我们假定 *schlafen'* 表示了 *schläft* (睡觉) 的含义。我们用初始符号来表示我们在分析词义而不是实在的词。看上出，我们用 *schlafen'* 来表示 (19a) 的意义并没有太大的变化，因为它只不过是动词 *schläft* (睡觉) 的另一种形式。但是，我们有必要集中在一个单一的动词形式上，因为屈折变化与意义是无关的。我们可以通过比较例 (19a) 和 (19b) 中的句子来看：

- (19) a. Jeder Junge schläft.  
每个 男孩 睡觉  
'每个男孩都在睡觉。'  
b. Alle Jungen schlafen.  
所有男孩 睡觉  
'所有的男孩都在睡觉。'

为了提高可读性，我从现在开始在语义表示中使用谓词的英语释义。<sup>7</sup> 所以说，(18a) 的意义表示为 (20)，而不是 (18b)：

- (20) *sleep'*(*max'*)

当我们分析 (20) 的意义时，我们可以看出每个词都表示了哪部分含义。凭直觉来看，*max'* 来自 Max。但是棘手的问题是 *schläft* 贡献了哪些含义。如果我们考虑一个“睡觉”事件的特征的话，那么我们就知道典型的情况是有一个人在睡觉。这个信息属于动词 *schlafen* 的含义的一部分。但是，动词的含义并不包括睡觉的个体，因为这个动词可以跟不同的主语搭配：

- (21) a. Paul schläft.  
Paul 睡觉  
'Paul 正在睡觉。'  
b. Mio schläft.  
Mio 睡觉  
'Mio 正在睡觉。'

---

<sup>7</sup> 需要注意的是，我并不是说英语适合表示语言的语义关系与概念，其实它们也可以用其他语言进行表示。

- c. Xavier schläft.  
Xaver 睡觉  
'Xaver 正在睡觉。'

所以说，我们可以抽象出 *sleep'* 的任意一种具体的用法。相反，我们用变量 (e.g.,  $x$ ) 来表示，如 (19b) 中的 *max'*。这个  $x$  可以在指定的句子中被替换为 *paul'*, *mio'* 或 *xaver'*。为了保证我们能在给定的含义中接触到这些变量，我们在它们前面写上  $\lambda$ 。这样，*schläft* 的含义可以表示如下：

(22)  $\lambda x \text{ sleep}'(x)$

从 (20) 到 (22) 的步骤被叫做 lambda 抽象 (lambda abstraction)。(22) 这个表达式与它的论元的意义整合过程是按照下面的方式进行的：我们去除  $\lambda$  和相应的变量，然后将变量的所有实例替换为论元的意义。如果我们将 (22) 和 (23) 中的 *max'* 整合在一起，我们就会得到 (18b) 中的含义。

(23)  $\lambda x \text{ sleep}'(x) \text{ max}'$

这一过程叫做 ( $\beta$ -reduction) 或  $\lambda$  变换 ( $\lambda$ -conversion)。为了深入说明这一概念，我们用及物动词的例子来分析。例 (24a) 中的句子具有 (24b) 所表示的含义：

- (24) a. Max mag Lotte.  
Max 喜欢 Lotte  
'Max 喜欢 Lotte.'  
b. *like'*(*max'*, *lotte'*)

*mag* (喜欢) 的  $\lambda$  抽象如例 (25) 所示：

(25)  $\lambda y \lambda x \text{ like}'(x, y)$

需要注意的是，第一个  $\lambda$  总是需要用在第一位的。变量  $y$  对应于 *mögen* 的宾语。对于英语这种语言来说，宾语和动词一起构成动词短语 (VP)，并且这个 VP 是与主语相搭配的。德语与英语不同的地方在于，德语在语序方面允许更大的自由度。造成形式意义匹配的问题在不同的理论中有不同的解决方案。我们将在下面的章节中来说明具体的解决方案。

如果我们将 (25) 中的表达式与其宾语 *Lotte* 整合在一起，我们会得到 (26a)，然后通过  $\beta$ -reduction 得到 (26b)：

- (26) a.  $\lambda y \lambda x \text{ like}'(x, y) \text{ lotte}'$   
b.  $\lambda x \text{ like}'(x, \text{lotte}')$

这一意义可以反过来与主语相整合，进而我们得到 (27a)，以及通过  $\beta$ -reduction 后的 (27b)：

- (27) a.  $\lambda x \text{ like}'(x, \text{lotte}') \text{ max}'$   
b. *like'*(*max'*, *lotte'*)

## 2 短语结构语法

介绍完 lambda 演算后,我们将组合性含义整合到我们的短语结构中就比较简单了。对于动词跟其主语相整合的规则需要进一步扩展,以包括动词的语义贡献、主语的语义贡献,以及二者组合(整个句子)后的含义的位置。完整的含义是按照正确顺序排列的个体含义的组合。由此,我们可以将(28a)中的简单规则转化为(28b): (28b):

- (28) a.  $S \rightarrow NP(nom) V$   
b.  $S(V' NP') \rightarrow NP(nom, NP') V(V')$

$V'$  表示  $V$  的意义,  $NP'$  表示  $NP(nom)$  的意义。 $V' NP'$  表示  $V'$  和  $NP'$  的组合性意义。当我们分析(18a)时,  $V'$  的意义是  $\lambda x \text{ sleep}'(x)$ , 而  $NP'$  的意义是  $\text{max}'$ 。 $V' NP'$  的组合对应于(29a), 或者在  $\beta$ -reduction 后对应于(18b) – 这里重复为(29b):

- (29) a.  $\lambda x \text{ sleep}'(x) \text{max}'$   
b.  $\text{sleep}'(\text{max}')$

对于例(24a)中的及物动词,我们可以提出(30)中的规则来进行处理:

- (30)  $S(V' NP2' NP1') \rightarrow NP(nom, NP1') V(V') NP(acc, NP2')$

动词( $V'$ )的意义首先与宾语( $NP2'$ )的意义相组合,然后跟主语( $NP1'$ )的意义想组合。

在这一点,我们可以看到上述的短语结构规则有几条不同的语义规则。按照这一方式来分析语言的理论假说叫做基于规则的假说(rule-to-rule hypothesis) (Bach 1976: 184)。针对语言表达式的意义的推导过程将在第 5.1.4 节详细展开。

### 2.4 有关德语句法中某些方面的短语结构规则

因为德语中相对自由的语序允许我们通过移位测试来判断句中的直接成分,所以说对句中直接成分的判断是相对简单的。相较而言,名词短语内各部分的分析则比较困难的。我们在这一节就来集中解决这一问题。为了对第 1.5 节中有关  $\bar{X}$  句法理论的讲解做准备,我们还会讲到介词短语。

#### 2.4.1 名词短语

到目前为止,我们提出了名词短语的一个相对简单的结构:我们的规则规定了一个名词短语包括一个限定词和一个名词。名词短语可以是像例(31a)那样较为复杂的结构,如例(31)所示:

- (31) a. eine Frau  
      — 女人  
      b. eine Frau, die wir kennen  
          — 女人 谁 我们认识  
      c. eine Frau aus Stuttgart  
          — 女人从 斯图加特

- d. eine kluge Frau  
一 聪明 女人
- e. eine Frau aus Stuttgart, die wir kennen  
一 女人从 斯图加特谁 我们认识
- f. eine kluge Frau aus Stuttgart  
一 聪明 女人从 斯图加特
- g. eine kluge Frau, die wir kennen  
一 聪明 女人 谁 我们认识
- h. eine kluge Frau aus Stuttgart, die wir kennen  
一 聪明 女人从 斯图加特谁 我们认识

与限定词和名词一样的是，名词短语也可以包括形容词、介词短语和关系从句。例(31)中多余的成分是说明语。它们限制了名词短语所指称的物体的集合。而(31a)是指某个实体具有女人的属性，(31b)中的所指也必须具有为我们所指的属性。

我们之前的名词短语规则只是简单地将名词和限定词组合在一起，这样只能用来分析例(31a)。我们现在面临的问题是如何修改这条规则，以适应于分析例(31)中的其他名词短语。除了规则(32a)之外，我们可以提出跟(32b)一样的规则。<sup>8,9</sup>

- (32) a. NP → Det N
- b. NP → Det A N

但是，这条规则并不能用来分析诸如(33)的名词短语：

- (33) alle weiteren schlagkräftigen Argumente  
所有进一步的强有力的 论证  
'所有其他的强有力的论证'

为了分析(33)，我们需要例(34)中的规则：

- (34) NP → Det A A N

在名词短语中，总是有可能增加形容词的数量。而给这些形容词制定一个上限是相当武断的。即使我们选择如下的简称，仍是有问题的：

- (35) NP → Det A\* N

例(35)中的星号表示任意的迭代次数。所以说，(35)包括了没有形容词，有一个、两个，或更多个形容词的规则。

问题是，根据(35)中的规则，形容词和名词并不组成一个成分，这样我们就可以不解释为什么例(36)中的并列结构仍是可能的：

<sup>8</sup> 参看Eisenberg (2004: 238)中有关名词短语中平铺结构的假说。

<sup>9</sup> 当然，还有诸如性和数的其他特征也应该在这一节有所讨论。但是，为了减轻说明的难度，我们暂不考虑这些问题。

## 2 短语结构语法

- (36) alle [[geschickten Kinder] und [klugen Frauen]]  
所有的 有能力的 孩子 和 聪明的女人  
'所有有能力的孩子和聪明的女人'

如果我们假设并列涉及到具有相同句法属性的两个或两个以上的字符串的组合的话，那么我们就需要认为形容词和名词构成了一个单位。

下面的规则说明了迄今为止所讨论的带形容词带名词短语：

- (37) a.  $NP \rightarrow Det \bar{N}$   
b.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow A \bar{N}$   
c.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$

这些规则说明了：一个名词短语包括一个限定词和一个名词性成分 ( $\bar{N}$ )。这个名词性成分包括一个形容词和一个名词性成分 (37b)，或者只包括一个名词 (37c)。因为 $\bar{N}$ 也是位于 (37b) 中规则的右边，所以我们可以多次应用这一规则，并且用它来说明诸如 (33) 的带有多个形容词的名词短语。图 1.3 on page 15 给出了不带形容词的名词短语、带一个形容词的名词短语和带两个形容词的名词短语的结构。形容词 *klug* (聪明的) 限定了名词短语的所指的集合。如果我们假设一个额外的形容词，如 *glücklich* (开心)，那么它只是指那些既开心又聪明的女人。这种名词短语可以用在如下的语境中：

- (38) A: Alle klugen Frauen sind unglücklich.  
所有聪明的女人 COP 不开心  
B: Nein, ich kenne eine glückliche kluge Frau.  
不 为 认识 一 开心 聪明 女人

我们观察到，这段话可以加上 *Aber alle glücklichen klugen Frauen sind schön* (但是所有开心和聪明的女人都是漂亮的)，以及一个相应的回答。在我们的规则系统中，(37) 也允许了在名词短语中增加更多形容词的情况，如 *eine glückliche kluge Frau* (一个开心的、聪明的女人)。在规则 (37b) 中， $\bar{N}$  即出现在规则的左右，也出现在规则的右边。这类规则叫做递归的 (recursive)。

我们现在构建了一套精巧的语法，可以用它来分析带有形容词性修饰语的名词短语。结果是，形容词和名词的组合构成一个组成成分。我们也可以想到这个问题，即限定词和形容词是否能够构成一个成分，如下类名词短语所示：

- (39) diese schlaun und diese neugierigen Frauen  
这些 聪明 和 这些 好奇 女人

这里，我们处理一个不同的结构。虽然有两个完整的 NP 并列在一起，但是第一个并列成分的一部分被删除了。

- (40) diese schlaun ~~Frauen~~ und diese neugierigen Frauen  
这些 聪明 女人 和 这些 好奇 女人

我们也可以在句子，甚至是词层面发现类似的现象：

## 2.4 有关德语句法中某些方面的短语结构规则

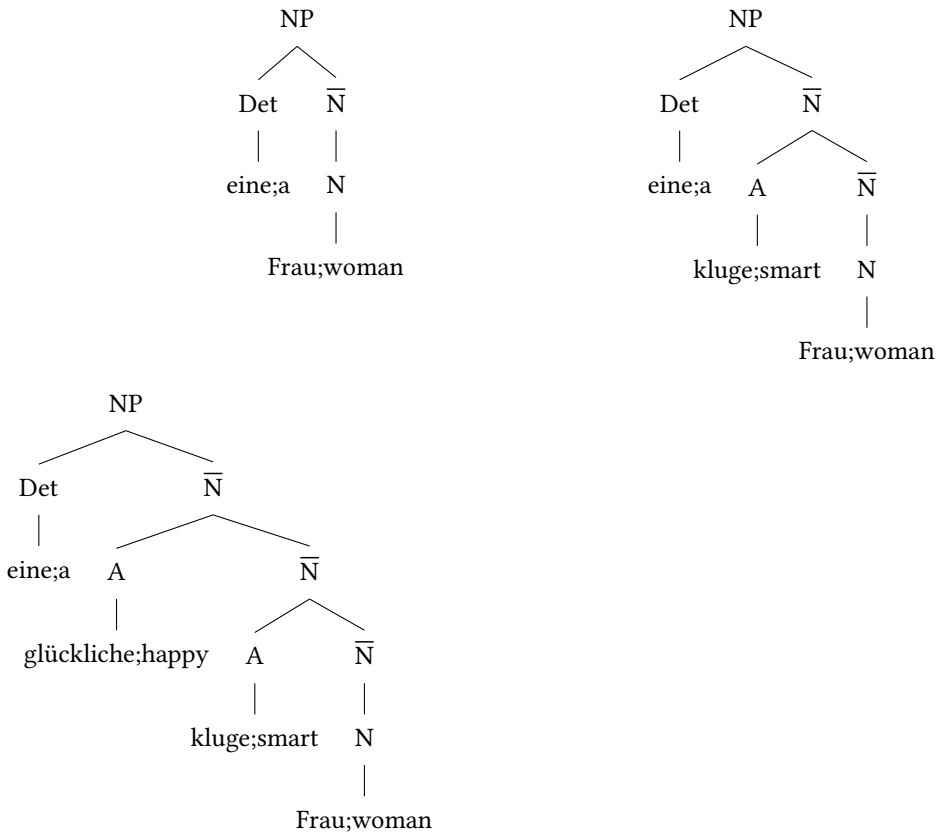


图 2.3: 带有不同数量形容词的名词短语

- (41) a. dass Peter dem Mann das Buch ~~gibt~~ und Maria der Frau die Schallplatte  
 CONJ Peter DEF 人 DEF 书 给 和 Maria DEF 女人 DEF 唱片  
 gibt  
 给  
 ‘Peters 给这个人这本书，并且 Maria 给这个女人这张唱片’
- b. be- und ent-laden  
 PRT 和 PRT-装载  
 ‘装载和卸载’

到目前为止，我们讨论了如何能够将形容词整合进我们的有关名词短语的规则当中。其他说明语，如介词短语或关系小句，也可以按照类似的方式将形容词加入 $\bar{N}$ 之中。

- (42) a.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N} PP$

## 2 短语结构语法

### b. $\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N}$ relative clause

有了这些规则和 (37) 的那些规则，我们就可以设想有关 PP 和关系小句的规则，并用它们来分析 (31) 中的例子。

(37c) 说明了  $\bar{N}$  有可能只带一个名词。但我们还没有讨论更为重要的规则：我们需另一个规则来整合名词与它们所带的论元成分。如例 (43a-b) 所示，这些名词有 Vater (爸爸)、Sohn (儿子) 和 Bild (照片) 这类关系名词 (relational nouns)。例 (43c) 说明了带论元动词的名词化过程：

- (43) a. der Vater von Peter  
DEF 爸爸 PREP Peter  
‘Peter 的爸爸’
- b. das Bild vom Gleimtunnel  
DEF 照片 PREP.DEF 格莱姆隧道  
‘格莱姆隧道的照片’
- c. das Kommen des Installateurs  
DEF 来 PREP.DEF 水管工  
‘水管工的检查’

下面是用来分析 (43a,b) 的规则，如 (44) 所示：(44)：

### (44) $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$ PP

图 1.4 说明了带 PP 论元的两种结构。右边的树形图还包括一个额外的 PP 说明语，并由 (42a) 中的规则允许。

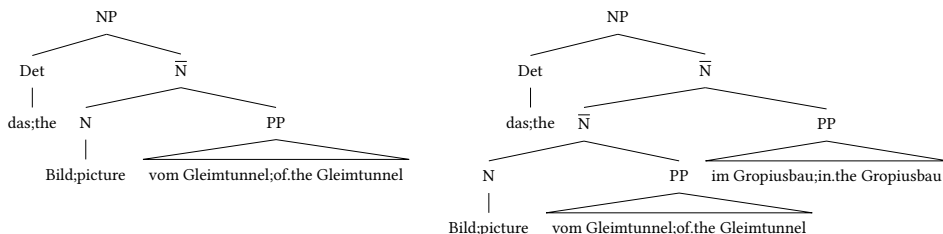


图 2.4: Combination of a noun with PP complement *vom Gleimtunnel* to the right with an adjunct PP

除了上述讨论的 NP 结构，还有限定语或名词缺失的其他结构。名词可以通过省略而被删除。(45) 给出了名词短语的一个例子，这里不需要补足语的名词被省略了。例 (46) 说明了名词只有一个限定语和补足语被实现了，而不是名词本身。下划线表明了名词应该正常出现的位置。

- (45) a. eine kluge \_  
一 聪明  
‘一个聪明的’

- b. eine kluge große \_  
 一 聪明 高  
 ‘一个聪明的高的’
- c. eine kluge \_ aus Hamburg  
 一 聪明 从 汉堡  
 ‘一位从汉堡来的聪明的’
- d. eine kluge \_, die alle kennen  
 一 聪明 谁 每个人知道  
 ‘一个大家都知道的聪明的’
- (46) a. (Nein, nicht der Vater von Klaus), der \_ von Peter war gemeint.  
 不 不 DEF 爸爸 PREP Klaus DEF PREP Peter AUX 指的是  
 ‘不, 指的不是 Klaus 的爸爸, 而是 Peter 的爸爸。’
- b. (Nein, nicht das Bild von der Stadtautobahn), das \_ vom Gleimtunnel  
 不 不 DEF 图片 PREP DEF 公路 DEF PREP DEF 格莱姆隧道  
 war beeindruckend.  
 AUX 印象深刻  
 ‘不, 不是公路的照片让人印象深刻, 而是格莱姆隧道的照片。’
- c. (Nein, nicht das Kommen des Tischlers), das \_ des Installateurs  
 不 不 DEF PREP DEF 木匠 DEF PREP DEF 水管工 COP  
 ist wichtig.  
 重要  
 ‘不, 木匠来不重要, 而是水管工来很重要。’

在英语中, 代词 *one* 必须用在相应的位置上,<sup>10</sup> 但是德语中, 名词就被简单地省略了。在短语结构语法中, 这就叫做 (*epsilon production*)。例 (46) 中, 这些规则被一个空成分所替代。例 (46) 中的规则是与术语 (*epsilon production*) 相关的变量:

- (47) a.  $N \rightarrow$   
 b.  $N \rightarrow \epsilon$

相应的树形图如图 1.5 on page 18 所示。回到盒子的比喻, 例 (47) 中的规则像是贴有同样标签的空盒子, 就好像是普通名词的盒子一样。正如我们在前面所强调的, 当我们要思考的是将这些盒子放在哪里的问题时, 装在盒子里的内容就不重要了。由此, 例 (31) 中的名词短语可以在同样的句子中出现。空名词盒子也可以像一个真正的名词那样。如果我们不打开这个空盒子, 我们就不会知道它与装满东西的盒子有什么不同。

我们不仅可以从名词短语中省略名词, 在某些语境中, 限定词也可以不出现。例 (48) 显示了复数的名词短语:

<sup>10</sup> 参看 Fillmore et al. (2012: Section 4.12), 在英语中这些例子没有代词 *one*。



2 短语结构语法

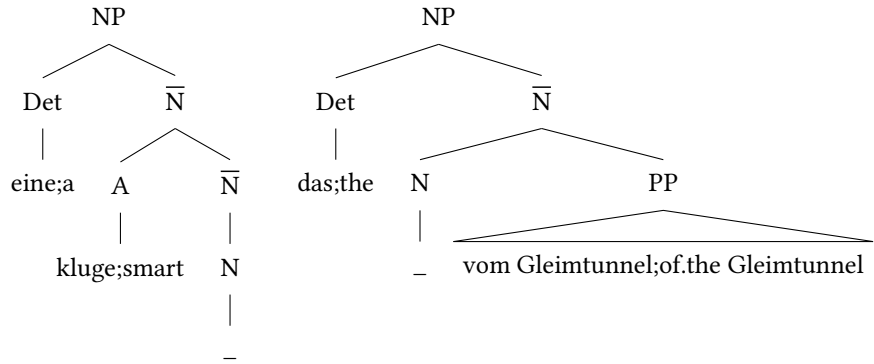


图 2.5: 没有明显中心语的名词短语

- (48) a. Frauen  
      女人  
      b. Frauen, die wir kennen  
          女人 谁 我们认识  
      c. kluge Frauen  
          聪明 女人  
      d. kluge Frauen, die wir kennen  
          聪明 女人 谁 我们认识

如果名词是集合名词的话，限定词在单数时可以被省略：

- (49) a. Getreide  
      庄稼  
      b. Getreide, das gerade gemahlen wurde  
          粮食 CONJ 刚 种 AUX  
          ‘刚种的庄稼’  
      c. frisches Getreide  
          新鲜 庄稼  
      d. frisches Getreide, das gerade gemahlen wurde  
          新鲜 粮食 CONJ 刚刚 种 AUX  
          ‘刚种的新鲜的庄稼’

最后，限定词和名词都可以被省略：

- (50) a. Ich helfe klugen.  
      我 帮助 聪明  
      ‘我帮助聪明人。’

- b. Dort drüben steht frisches, das gerade gemahlen wurde.  
 那儿那边 有 新鲜 CONJ 刚 种 AUX  
 ‘在那边有一些刚种的新鲜的（庄稼）。’

图 1.6 on page 19 显示了相应的树形图。

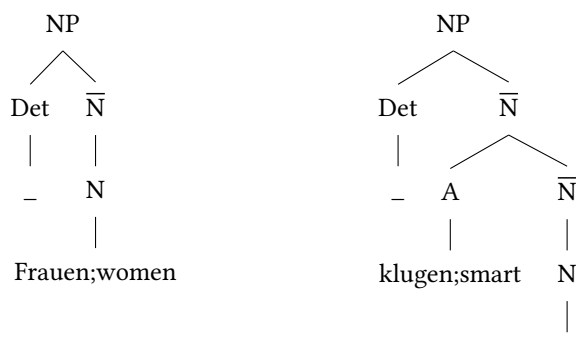


图 2.6: 没有明显限定词的名词短语

针对我们目前提出的规则，有两点需要说明一下：截至目前，我一直在说形容词。但是，在名词前的位置上可以有非常复杂形容词短语。这些可以是带补足语（51a,b）的形容词或者是形容词性助词（51c,d）：

- (51) a. der seiner Frau treue Mann  
 DEF 他的.DAT 妻子忠诚 男人  
 ‘忠于妻子的男人’  
 b. der auf seinen Sohn stolze Mann  
 DEF PREP 他的.ACC 儿子 骄傲 男人  
 ‘以儿子为骄傲的男人’  
 c. der seine Frau liebende Mann  
 DEF 他的.ACC 女人爱 男人  
 ‘爱妻子的男人’  
 d. der von seiner Frau geliebte Mann  
 DEF PREP 他的.DAT 妻子爱 男人  
 ‘被妻子爱的男人’

把这点考虑进来的话，我们需要将规则（37b）按照如下的方式来修改：

- (52)  $\bar{N} \rightarrow AP \bar{N}$

一个形容词短语（AP）可以包括一个 NP 和一个形容词，一个 PP 和一个形容词或者仅仅是一个形容词：

## 2 短语结构语法

- (53) a.  $AP \rightarrow NP A$   
b.  $AP \rightarrow PP A$   
c.  $AP \rightarrow A$

就目前我们提出的规则而言，还有两点不如意的结果。就是例（53c）和例（37c）中不带补足语的形容词或名词的规则，这里重复显示为例（54）：

- (54)  $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$

如果我们应用这些规则，那么我们会生成一元的子树，即只有一个母节点只有一个子节点的树。如图 1.6 所示。如果我们援引盒子的比喻，这就意味着一个盒子中只装有一个盒子。

原则上来说，没有人能阻止我们将这一信息放进更大的盒子中。我们不用（55）的规则，只是简单应用（56）中的规则：

- (55) a.  $A \rightarrow kluge$   
b.  $N \rightarrow Mann$
- (56) a.  $AP \rightarrow kluge$   
b.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow Mann$

例（56a）说明了 *kluge*（聪明）与完整的形容词短语具有相同的属性。特别是，它不能带补足语。这与（2）和（6）的语法中，代词 *er*（他）作为一个 NP 的范畴类型是一致的。

将  $\bar{N}$  指派给不需要补足语的名词是有优势的，我们不需要解释为什么（57b）和（57a）中的分析是可能的，尽管二者在意义上没有什么分别。

- (57) a. [<sub>NP</sub> einige [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  kluge [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  [<sub>N</sub> Frauen ] und [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  [<sub>N</sub> Männer ]]]]]  
一些 聪明 女人 和 男人
- b. [<sub>NP</sub> einige [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  kluge [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  [<sub>N</sub> [<sub>N</sub> Frauen ] und [<sub>N</sub> Männer ]]]]]  
一些 聪明 女人 和 男人

例（57a）中，两个名词被投射到  $\bar{N}$ ，并且随后并列起来。属于同一范畴的两个成分并列的结果一定会是属于该范畴的一个新成分。在（57a）的例子中，这也是  $\bar{N}$ 。这个成分随后与形容词和限定词相组合。在（57b）中，名词本身是一个并列结构。并列的结果一定是跟其组成成分具有一样的范畴。在这个例子中，这个范畴是 N。这个 N 变成  $\bar{N}$ ，然后与形容词相组合。如果不带补足语的名词被看作是  $\bar{N}$ ，而不是 N，我们就会遇到假歧义（spurious ambiguities）问题。例（58）中的结构是唯一可能的分析结果。

- (58) [<sub>NP</sub> einige [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  kluge [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  Frauen ] und [ <sub>$\bar{N}$</sub>  Männer ]]]]  
一些 聪明 女人 和 男人

## 2.4.2 介词短语

与名词短语的句法相比,介词短语(PPs)的句法相对来说就比较简单了。PPs通常包括一个介词和一个名词短语,这个名词短语的格属性由介词决定。我们可以用下面的规则来表示:

(59)  $PP \rightarrow P NP$

当然,这个规则也必须包括 NP 的格信息。为了方便,我在上面的 NP-规则和 AP-规则省略了格信息。

下面(60)中的语法选自《杜登语法》(Eisenberg et al. 2005: §1300),这里的介词短语进一步界定了介词所述方式的语义,如下所示:

- (60) a. [[Einen Schritt] vor dem Abgrund] blieb er stehen.  
           一 步 在..... 前DEF 深渊 保留 他站  
           ‘他在离深渊一步之遥的地方站住了。’  
       b. [[Kurz] nach dem Start] fiel die Klimaanlage aus.  
           短暂地在..... 后DEF 起飞 坏 DEF 空调 PTCF  
           ‘起飞后不久,空调就停止工作了。’  
       c. [[Schräg] hinter der Scheune] ist ein Weiher.  
           斜的 在..... 后DEF 谷仓 COP AUX 池塘  
           ‘在谷仓的斜对面有一个池塘。’  
       d. [[Mitten] im Urwald] stießen die Forscher auf einen alten Tempel.  
           中间 PREP.DEF 丛林 碰到 DEF 研究人员PREP AUX 古老的寺庙  
           ‘在丛林当中,研究者碰到了一栋古老的寺庙。’

为了分析例(60a,b)中的句子,我们可以提出下面这些规则,如(61)所示:

- (61) a.  $PP \rightarrow NP PP$   
       b.  $PP \rightarrow AP PP$

这些规则利用 PP 来表示动作的方式。最后得到的成分是另一个 PP。我们有必要在(60a,b)中利用这些规则来分析介词短语,但是我们无法应用这些规则来分析(62)中的句子:

- (62) a. \* $[_{PP} \text{einen Schritt } [_{PP} \text{kurz } [_{PP} \text{vor dem Abgrund}]]]$   
           一 步 短 在..... 前DEF 深渊  
       b. \* $[_{PP} \text{kurz } [_{PP} \text{einen Schritt } [_{PP} \text{vor dem Abgrund}]]]$   
           短 一 步 在..... 前DEF 深渊

(61)中的所有规则被用来分析(62)中的例子。由于在规则的左边和右边都有 PP,我们可以按照我们所希望的任一顺序和任意次数来应用这些规则。

为了避免这些不好的方面,我们可以修改前面提出的规则:

(63) a.  $PP \rightarrow NP \bar{P}$

2 短语结构语法

- b.  $PP \rightarrow AP \bar{P}$
- c.  $PP \rightarrow \bar{P}$
- d.  $\bar{P} \rightarrow P NP$

规则 (59) 变成了 (63d))。 (63c) 中的规则证明了 PP 可以包括  $\bar{P}$ 。图 1.7 on page 22 显示了应用 (63c) 和 (63d) 对 (64) 的分析，以及在规则 (63b) 和 (63d) 的约束下形容词位于首位的例子：

(64) vor dem Abgrund  
在.....前DEF 深渊  
‘在深渊前’

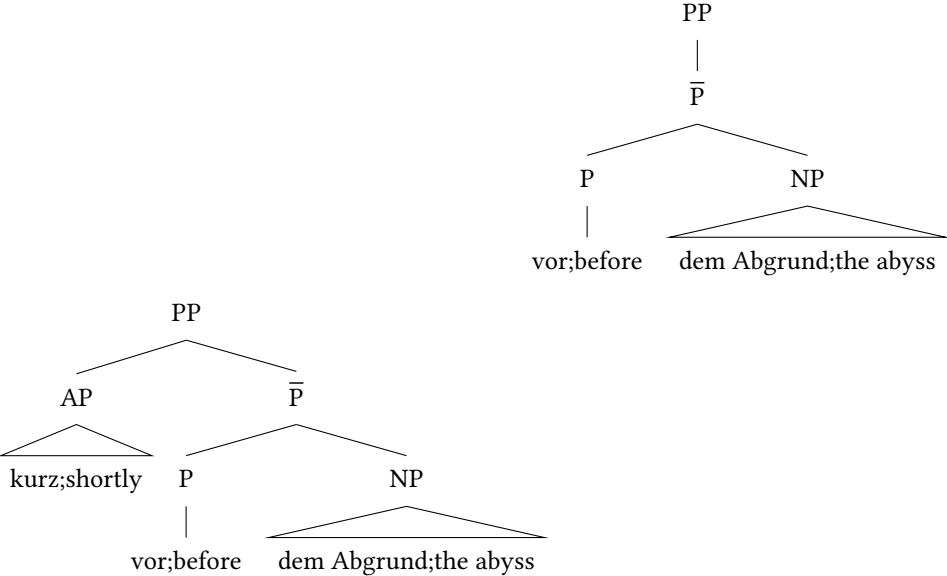


图 2.7: 带和不带方式的介词短语

有读者可能对图 1.7 有疑问，为什么左图中没有表示空方式的短语？这与图 1.6 中所示的空限定语是相似的。图 1.6 中的空限定词是指没有限定词的名词短语与有限定词的名词短语表示的意义是一样的。通常由可见的限定词表示的意义以某种方式整合进名词短语的结构之中了。如果在空限定语中没有表示这层意思的话，将会导致有关语义整合的更为复杂的问题：我们只是需要了解第 1.3 节表示的机制，而且这些信息是比较普遍的。意义是由这些词本身决定的，而不是由规则决定的。如果我们假设在图 1.7 中左边的那棵树那样有一条一元的规则，而不是空限定词的话，那么这个一元规则就应该提供限定词的语义。这种分析也被许多学者提出来。更多的有关空语类的内容参看第 19 章。

与没有限定词的 NP 不同的是, 不带有关程度或方式的介词短语并不缺少任何意义的组成部分。所以说, 我们没有必要假设有一个表示方式的空语类, 并对整个 PP 有语义贡献。由此, (63c) 中的规则说明了介词短语包括  $\bar{P}$ , 即由 P 和 NP 构成。

## 2.5 $\bar{X}$ 理论

如果我们回顾前面章节中介绍的规则, 我们会发现中心语永远和他们的补足语相组合, 以构成一个新的成分 (65a,b), 然后再与其它成分 (65c,d) 相组合:

- (65) a.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow N PP$   
 b.  $\bar{P} \rightarrow P NP$   
 c.  $NP \rightarrow Det \bar{N}$   
 d.  $PP \rightarrow NP \bar{P}$

研究英语的语法学家发现平行结构可以用来表示那些以形容词或动词作为中心语的短语。在这里, 我先讨论形容词短语, 之后在第 3 章讨论动词短语。与德语一样的是, 英语中可以带补足语的形容词是有严格的限制的, 即这些带补足语的形容词短语在英语中不能实现在名词性成分之前。如下例 (66) 所示:

- (66) a. He is proud.  
 b. He is very proud.  
 c. He is proud of his son.  
 d. He is very proud of his son.

与介词短语不同的是, 带补足语带形容词通常是可选的。proud (骄傲) 可以带或不带 PP。表达程度的 very (很) 也是可以选择的。

The rules which we need for this analysis are given in (67), with the corresponding structures in Figure 1.8 on page 24.

- (67) a.  $AP \rightarrow \bar{A}$   
 b.  $AP \rightarrow AdvP \bar{A}$   
 c.  $\bar{A} \rightarrow A PP$   
 d.  $\bar{A} \rightarrow A$

正如在第 1.2 节所显示的, 我们可以对具体的短语结构规则进行扩展, 并最终得到更具有普遍性的规则。按照这一方式, 诸如人称、数和性这些属性不再按照范畴符号来进行编码, 而是采用更为简单的符号, 如 NP、Det 和 N。我们只需要明确那些在给定规则的语境中相关的特征的值。我们可以进一步抽象为: 与其采用明确的范畴符号, 如词范畴的 N、V、P 和 A, 以及短语范畴的 NP、VP、PP 和 AP, 不如简单地采用词类的变量, 并用 X 和 XP 来表示。

这种抽象的方式就叫做  $\bar{X}$  theory (或者 X-bar 理论, *bar* 这个术语是指符号上面的线)。该理论由 Chomsky (1970) 提出, 并由 Jackendoff (1977) 完善。这种形式的

2 短语结构语法

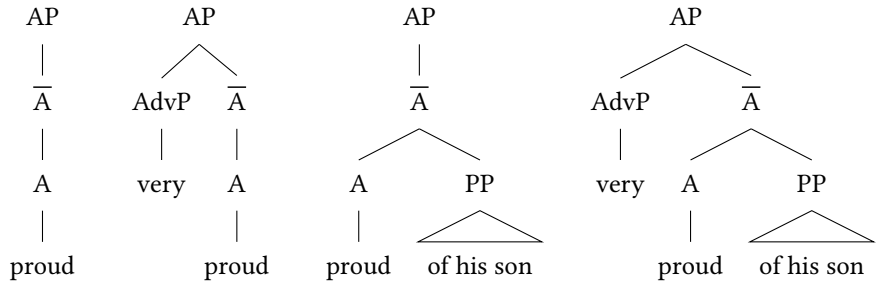


图 2.8: English adjective phrases

抽象规则在很多不同的理论中发挥了重要的作用。比如说：管辖与约束理论（第章）、扩展的短语结构语法（第章）和词汇功能语法（第章）。在中心语驱动的短语结构语法中， $\bar{X}$  理论也祈祷了重要的作用，但是并没有采纳 $\bar{X}$  范式的所有限制条件。

例（68）说明了应用 $\bar{X}$  规则的可能的实例， $X$  范畴被放在了  $N$  的位置上，就好像这些词串的例子都是由这些规则生成的：

(68) $\bar{X}$ rule	with specific categories	example strings
$\bar{X} \rightarrow \text{specifier } \bar{X}$	$\bar{N} \rightarrow \text{DET } \bar{N}$	the [picture of Paris]
$\bar{X} \rightarrow \bar{X} \text{ adjunct}$	$\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{N} \text{ REL\_CLAUSE}$	[picture of Paris] [that everybody knows]
$\bar{X} \rightarrow \text{adjunct } \bar{X}$	$\bar{N} \rightarrow \bar{A} \bar{N}$	beautiful [picture of Paris]
$\bar{X} \rightarrow X \text{ complement}^*$	$\bar{N} \rightarrow N \bar{P}$	picture [of Paris]

任何一个词类都可以替代  $X$ （如  $V$ ,  $A$  或  $P$ ）。在上面的规则中，没有横杠的  $X$  表示一个词汇项。如果想把横杠明确地显示出来，就需要写成  $X^0$ 。正如（15）中的规则所示，我们并没有明确指定限定词或名词的格的值，而是简单地要求在规则右边的值与之相符，（68）中的规则要求规则右边（ $X$  or  $\bar{X}$ ）的元素的词类与规则左边（ $\bar{X}$  or  $\bar{X}$ ）的元素的词类是一致的。

一个词汇项能跟它所有的补足语相组合。最后一条规则中的“\*”表示它后面的符号可以不受限制地重复。一个特殊的情况是补足语的缺失。在 *das Bild* 中，*Bild* 没有  $PP$  担当补足语，由此变成了 $\bar{N}$ 。词汇项及其补足语结合的结果是  $X$  的一个新的投射层：投射层 1，并由一个横杠来表示。之后， $\bar{X}$  可以跟说明语相组合。这一过程发生在 $\bar{X}$  的左边或右边。这一组合过程的结果仍然是一个 $\bar{X}$ ，也就是说，将一个说明语组合进来并没有改变投射层。最大投射由两个横杠表示。我们也可以将  $XP$  写成带有两个横杠的  $X$ 。一个  $XP$  包括一个指定语和 $\bar{X}$ 。在有些理论中，句子中的主语和  $NP$  中的限定词都是指定语。进而，形容词短语中的程度修饰词和介词短语中的方式指示词也被算作是指定语。

非中心语的位置只能满足最大投射，所以补足语、说明语和指定语总是有两个横杠。图 1.9 on page 25 显示了短语结构的最小结构和最大结构。

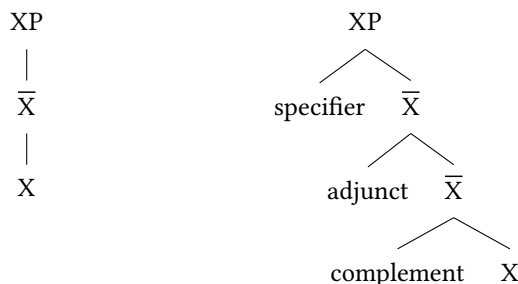


图 2.9: 短语的最小和最大结构

有些范畴没有指定语或者只有一个。说明语也是可选的，所以，并不是所有结构都包括带有说明语子节点的 $\bar{X}$ 。除了右边图上的分支所示的，带说明语的XP和中心语-说明语有时也是成立的。在(68)中，只有一条规则是针对中心语在补足语之前的情况，当然，补足语在中心语之前的顺序也是可能的，如图1.9所示。

图1.10 on page 26 显示了对NP结构 *das Bild*（这张图片）和 *das schöne Bild von Paris*（这张巴黎的美丽图片）的分析。图1.10中的NP结构和图1.8中的树形图都是最小产出结构的例子。图1.10中左边的属性图也是没有说明语的结构的一个例子。图1.10中的右手结构是最大产出结构的一个例子：指定语、说明语和补足语都是齐全的。

图1.10中的分析说明了规则中的所有非中心语都是短语。这样，我们就需要认为这是一个限定短语，即使限定词没有跟其他元素相组合。限定词的一元结构并不好看，但是它是自足的。<sup>11</sup>在图1.10中，*Paris*（巴黎）这个NP的一元分支看起来也有点奇怪，但是如果我们把它放进更为复杂的名词短语之中，他们就不那么奇怪了：

- (69) a. *das Paris der dreißiger Jahre*  
 DEF 巴黎 PREP.DEF 三十 年  
 ‘30年代的巴黎’
- b. *die Maria aus Hamburg*  
 DEF Maria 从 汉堡  
 ‘来自汉堡的 Maria’

一元投射有些不够优雅，但是我们并不需要多于担心，因为在(56)有关词汇项的讨论中，大部分情况下一元分支节点都可以被避免，或者说我们争取避免这样的结构。如果不这样做的话，我们就会得到假歧义结构。在下面的章节中，我们将讨论范畴语法和中心语驱动的短语结构语法，这些语法理论没有针对限定词、形容词和名词的一元规则。

再者，其他的 $\bar{X}$ 理论与本书所讨论的理论也有不同的看法。特别是，针对非中心语永远作为最大投射这一条将不予理会。Pullum (1985) 和 Kornai & Pullum (1990)

<sup>11</sup> 有的 $\bar{X}$ 理论并不认为限定词有复杂的结构，请看Muysken (1982)。



2 短语结构语法

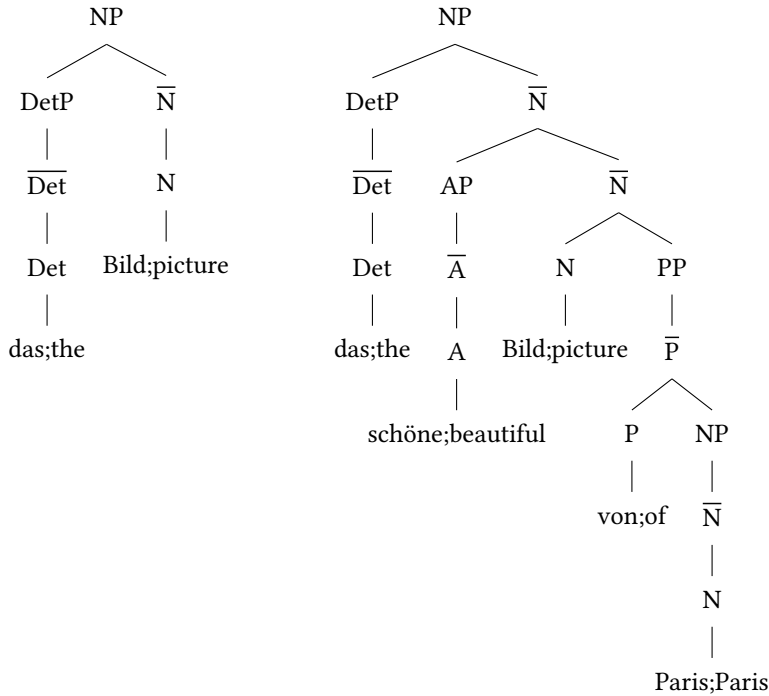


图 2.10:  $\bar{X}$  analysis of *das Bild* ‘the picture’ and *das schöne Bild von Paris* ‘the beautiful picture of Paris’

认为，有些理论并不一定没有严格的 $\bar{X}$ 理论限制多。也可以参考第 13.1.2 节中的讨论。

思考题

- 1. 为什么只用原子式范畴的短语结构语法不足以描写自然语言呢？
- 2. 让我们来看一下（6）中的文法，为了分析到例（70）中的符号 V，我们应该采取哪些（替换符号的）步骤。

(70) er das Buch dem Mann gibt  
他DEF 书 DEF 人 给  
‘他给这个人这本书。’

你的回答应该与（3）中的分析保持一致。

3. 请应用谓词逻辑来表示例 (71) 的意义:

- (71) a. Ulrike kennt Hans.  
           Ulrike knows Hans  
       b. Joshi freut sich.  
           Joshi COP. 高兴<sub>REFL</sub>  
           ‘Joshi 很高兴。’

## 练习题

1. 在第 5 页, 我认为对于句子 (1) 的分析, 可以有无限多种可能的文法。为什么这种说法是正确的?
2. 请想办法说明哪一个文法或哪些文法是最好的?
3. 在第 1.4.1 节, 我们给出了名词短语的一部分句法。为什么说例 (72) 中的规则是有问题的?

- (72) a.  $NP \rightarrow Det \bar{N}$   
       b.  $\bar{N} \rightarrow N$   
       c.  $Det \rightarrow \epsilon$   
       d.  $N \rightarrow \epsilon$

4. 为什么在词典中把 books 标记为 NP 是不合适的?
5. 为什么对于 books 这类名词来说, 下面的规则并不适用?

- (73)  $NP \rightarrow Modifier^* books Modifier^*$

(73) 中的规则说明了有无限数量的修饰语与名词 books 相组合, 并且其后也有无限数量的修饰语。我们可以应用这个规则来生成例 (74) 中的短语:

- (74) a. books  
       b. interesting books  
       c. interesting books from Stuttgart

请在你的回答中考虑到并列的数据。请假设对称的并列结构 要求其并列的短语或词具有相同的句法属性。

6. Fillmore et al. (2012) 提出, 对于例 (75) 中的无名词结构, 应该将其看作是由限定词 the 和形容词想组合的短语结构。

- (75) a. Examine the plight of the very poor.  
       b. Their outfits range from the flamboyant to the functional.

## 2 短语结构语法

### c. The unimaginable happened.

例（76）说明了对应于其结构的短语结构规则：

(76) NP → the Adj

Adj 表示 poor 这样的单词或者 very poor 这样的复合体。

再来看（45）和（46）中的德语数据，并说明为什么这么分析，而且例（77）中的更为普遍的分析不能扩展到德语的应用之中。

(77) NP → Det Adj

7. 为什么 $\bar{X}$ 理论不能说明没有额外假设的德语形容词短语呢？（这一问题只适合于操德语（为母语）者。）
8. 请写出能够分析例（78）中的句子，并且能排除例（79）的句子的短语结构文法。

- (78) a. Der Mann hilft der Frau.  
DEF.NOM 男人 帮助DEF.DAT 女人  
‘这个男人帮助这个女人。’
- b. Er gibt ihr das Buch.  
他.NOM 给 她.DAT DEF 书  
‘他给她这本书。’
- c. Er wartet auf ein Wunder.  
他.NOM 等 PREP 一 奇迹  
‘他在等一个奇迹。’

- (79) a. \*Der Mann hilft er.  
DEF.NOM 人 帮助他.NOM
- b. \*Er gibt ihr den Buch.  
他.NOM 给 她.DAT DEF.M 书.N

9. 为了分析下述句子，你应该对上述习题中完成的文法做哪些修改？

- (80) a. Der Mann hilft der Frau jetzt.  
DEF.NOM 男人 帮助DEF.DAT 女人 现在  
‘这个男人在帮助这个女人。’
- b. Der Mann hilft der Frau neben dem Bushäuschen.  
DEF.NOM 男人 帮助DEF.DAT 女人在..... 旁DEF 公交车候车亭  
‘这个男人帮助公交车候车亭旁边的那个女人。’

- c. Er gibt ihr das Buch jetzt.  
他.NOM 给 她.DAT DEF.ACC 书 现在  
'他现在给她这本书。'
- d. Er gibt ihr das Buch neben dem Bushäuschen.  
他.NOM 给 她.DAT DEF.ACC 书 在..... 旁DEF 公交车候车亭  
'他给她公交车候车亭旁的那本书。'
- e. Er wartet jetzt auf ein Wunder.  
他.NOM 等 现在PREP 一 奇迹  
'他在等一个奇迹。'
- f. Er wartet neben dem Bushäuschen auf ein Wunder.  
他.NOM 等 在..... 旁DEF.DAT 公交车候车亭PREP 一 奇迹  
'他在等公交车候车亭旁的一个奇迹。'

10. 请安装 Prolog 系统 (eg SWI-Prolog<sup>12</sup>) 并测试你的语法。详细的使用说明可以在对应的手册中的定子句文法 (Definite Clause Grammar, DCG) 的关键词下面找到。

## 延伸阅读

在短语结构语法中加入特征的扩展最早是由Harman (1963)在 1963 年提出的。

本章所讨论的有关名词短语的短语结构语法覆盖了名词短语句法的大部分内容, 但是仍不能解释某些特定的 NP 结构。而且, 练习 (3) 也说明了目前文法的一些问题。Netter (1998)和Kiss (2005)在 HPSG 理论框架下讨论了这一问题, 并提出了解决方案。

针对语义信息整合进短语结构语法中的讨论是比较少的。有关谓词逻辑的讨论以及它如何整合进短语结构语法中, 还有量词辖域的讨论, 可以参考 Blackburn & Bos (2005)。

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.swi-prolog.org>

## 第零章 讨论



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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, Categorical 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 possess 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

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ISBN 978-3-944675-21-3



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