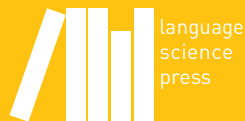


# 语法理论

从转换语法到基于约束的理论

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



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Stefan Müller

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# 目 录

前言	xv
<b>II 研究背景与语法理论</b>	<b>1</b>
1 导言与术语	3
1.1 为什么要研究句法?	3
1.2 为什么要形式化?	5
1.3 构成成分	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	32
1.7.1 主语	32
1.7.2 状语	37
1.7.3 谓语	38
1.7.4 配价类型	39
1.8 德语小句的空间位置模型	40
1.8.1 动词的位置	40
1.8.2 句子的框架结构、前场、中场及后场	41
1.8.3 场内元素的排列	41
1.8.4 递归	45
2 短语结构语法	49
2.1 符号和重写规则	49
2.2 短语结构语法中特征的运用	54
2.3 语义	55
2.4 部分德语句法的短语结构规则	58
2.4.1 名词短语	58
2.4.2 介词短语	67

## 目 录

2.5	$\bar{X}$ 理论	69
3	转换语法-管辖与约束理论	77
3.1	关于表示形式的一般说明	78
3.1.1	转换	78
3.1.2	有关语言习得的假说: 原则与参数理论	80
3.1.3	T 模型	81
3.1.4	$\bar{X}$ 理论	86
3.1.5	英语中的 CP 和 IP	89
3.1.6	德语小句的结构	91
3.2	动词位置	93
3.3	长距离依存	97
3.4	被动	99
3.4.1	结构格与词汇格	99
3.4.2	格指派与格过滤	101
3.5	局部重新排序	104
3.6	总结	107
3.6.1	有关语言习得的解释	107
3.6.2	形式化	108
4	转换语法-最简方案	115
4.1	表示形式的一般说明	115
4.1.1	基本框架	116
4.1.2	配价、特征核对与一致关系	117
4.1.3	短语结构与 $\bar{X}$ 理论	118
4.1.4	小 v	119
4.1.5	CP、TP、vP 和 VP	122
4.1.6	说明语	125
4.2	动词位置	126
4.3	长距离依存	126
4.4	被动	127
4.5	局部重新排序	129
4.6	新的发展与理论变体	130
4.6.1	移位、合并、特征驱动的移位与功能投射	131
4.6.2	标记	139
4.6.3	限定语、补足语和 $\bar{X}$ 理论的剩余部分	144
4.6.4	最简方案、范畴语法和 HPSG 理论	148
4.6.5	原子特征的选择与复杂范畴的选择	155
4.6.6	小结	157
4.7	总结	157
4.7.1	关于语言习得的解释	157
4.7.2	形式化	158



<b>5</b>	<b>广义短语结构语法</b>	<b>161</b>
5.1	表示形式概说	161
5.1.1	复杂范畴、中心语特征原则, 以及 $\bar{X}$ 规则	161
5.1.2	局部重新排序	164
5.1.3	元规则	166
5.1.4	语义	167
5.1.5	状语	169
5.2	作为元规则的被动	170
5.3	动词位置	173
5.4	作为局部依存结果的长距离依存	173
5.5	总结	176
5.5.1	配价与形态	177
5.5.2	配价与部分动词短语前置	177
5.5.3	普遍能力	178
<b>6</b>	<b>特征描写</b>	<b>181</b>
6.1	特征描写	181
6.2	类型	183
6.3	析取	186
6.4	结构共享	187
6.5	循环结构	189
6.6	合一	189
6.7	现象、模型和形式化理论	191
<b>7</b>	<b>Lexical Functional Grammar</b>	<b>195</b>
7.1	General remarks on the representational format	198
7.1.1	Functional structure	198
7.1.2	Completeness	201
7.1.3	Coherence	201
7.1.4	Restrictions on the c-structure/f-structure relation	202
7.1.5	Semantics	203
7.1.6	Adjuncts	205
7.2	Passive	206
7.3	Verb position	209
7.4	Local reordering	210
7.5	Long-distance dependencies and functional uncertainty	212
7.6	Summary and classification	216
<b>8</b>	<b>Categorial Grammar</b>	<b>219</b>
8.1	General remarks on the representational format	220
8.1.1	Representation of valence information	220
8.1.2	Semantics	222
8.1.3	Adjuncts	223
8.2	Passive	224

## 目 录

8.3	Verb position . . . . .	225
8.4	Local reordering . . . . .	227
8.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	228
8.5.1	Type Raising . . . . .	228
8.5.2	Forward and backward composition . . . . .	229
8.5.3	Analysis of long-distance dependencies . . . . .	229
8.6	Summary and classification . . . . .	231
9	中心语驱动的短语结构语法 . . . . .	237
9.1	有关表示形式的一般说明 . . . . .	240
9.1.1	配价信息的表示 . . . . .	240
9.1.2	组成成分结构的表示 . . . . .	242
9.1.3	线性顺序规则 . . . . .	246
9.1.4	中心语属性的投射 . . . . .	247
9.1.5	承继层级体系与概说 . . . . .	249
9.1.6	语义 . . . . .	251
9.1.7	说明语 . . . . .	253
9.2	被动 . . . . .	256
9.2.1	配价信息与格原则 . . . . .	259
9.3	动词位置 . . . . .	260
9.4	局部重新排序 . . . . .	265
9.5	长距离依存 . . . . .	267
9.6	新的进展与理论变体 . . . . .	272
9.6.1	限定语、补足语与论元结构 . . . . .	272
9.6.2	基于线性顺序的 HPSG 理论 . . . . .	275
9.7	总结 . . . . .	275
10	Construction Grammar . . . . .	281
10.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	283
10.1.1	The head-complement construction . . . . .	284
10.1.2	Representation of valence information . . . . .	285
10.1.3	Semantics . . . . .	285
10.1.4	Adjuncts . . . . .	285
10.2	Passive . . . . .	285
10.3	Verb position . . . . .	290
10.4	Local reordering . . . . .	292
10.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	293
10.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	293
10.6.1	Berkeley Construction Grammar . . . . .	293
10.6.2	Sign-Based Construction Grammar . . . . .	297
10.6.3	Embodied Construction Grammar . . . . .	309
10.6.4	Fluid Construction Grammar . . . . .	313
10.6.5	Coordination . . . . .	321
10.6.6	Discontinuous constituents and performance models . . . . .	322

10.6.7	Discontinuity vs. Subject-Head and Head-Filler Schema . . . . .	323
10.6.8	Restricting discontinuity . . . . .	323
10.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	333
<b>11</b>	<b>Dependency Grammar</b>	<b>335</b>
11.1	General remarks on the representational format . . . . .	339
11.1.1	Valence information, nucleus and satellites . . . . .	339
11.1.2	Adjuncts . . . . .	342
11.1.3	Linearization . . . . .	342
11.1.4	Semantics . . . . .	344
11.2	Passive . . . . .	345
11.3	Verb position . . . . .	346
11.4	Local reordering . . . . .	348
11.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	349
11.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	355
11.6.1	Tesnière's part of speech classification . . . . .	355
11.6.2	Connection, junction, and transfer . . . . .	356
11.6.3	Scope . . . . .	362
11.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	362
11.7.1	Linearization . . . . .	363
11.7.2	Dependency Grammar vs. phrase structure grammar . . . . .	371
<b>12</b>	<b>Tree Adjoining Grammar</b>	<b>383</b>
12.1	General remarks on representational format . . . . .	384
12.1.1	Representation of valence information . . . . .	384
12.1.2	Substitution . . . . .	384
12.1.3	Adjunction . . . . .	385
12.1.4	Semantics . . . . .	386
12.2	Local reordering . . . . .	388
12.3	Verb position . . . . .	391
12.4	Passive . . . . .	393
12.5	Long-distance dependencies . . . . .	394
12.6	New developments and theoretical variants . . . . .	394
12.6.1	FTAG . . . . .	395
12.6.2	V-TAG . . . . .	398
12.6.3	The competence-performance distinction and the generative capacity of tree-local MC-LTAG . . . . .	400
12.7	Summary and classification . . . . .	406

<b>III 讨论</b>	<b>409</b>
<b>13 The innateness of linguistic knowledge</b>	<b>411</b>
13.1 Syntactic universals . . . . .	413
13.1.1 Head Directionality Parameter . . . . .	414
13.1.2 $\bar{X}$ structures . . . . .	415
13.1.3 Grammatical functions such as subject and object . . . . .	418
13.1.4 Binding principles . . . . .	420
13.1.5 Properties of long-distance dependencies . . . . .	422
13.1.6 Grammatical morphemes for tense, mood and aspect . . . . .	430
13.1.7 Parts of speech . . . . .	430
13.1.8 Recursion and infinitude . . . . .	431
13.1.9 Summary . . . . .	437
13.2 Speed of language acquisition . . . . .	438
13.3 Critical period for acquisition . . . . .	438
13.4 Lack of acquisition among non-human primates . . . . .	440
13.5 Creole and sign languages . . . . .	440
13.6 Localization in special parts of the brain . . . . .	442
13.7 Differences between language and general cognition . . . . .	443
13.7.1 Williams Syndrome . . . . .	443
13.7.2 KE family with FoxP2 mutation . . . . .	443
13.8 Poverty of the Stimulus . . . . .	444
13.8.1 Gold's Theorem . . . . .	445
13.8.2 Four case studies . . . . .	449
13.8.3 Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing (U-DOP) . . . . .	459
13.8.4 Negative evidence . . . . .	465
13.9 Summary . . . . .	467
<b>14 Generative-enumerative vs. model-theoretic approaches</b>	<b>469</b>
14.1 Graded acceptability . . . . .	471
14.2 Utterance fragments . . . . .	472
14.3 A problem for model-theoretic approaches? . . . . .	474
<b>15 The competence/performance distinction</b>	<b>479</b>
15.1 The derivational theory of complexity . . . . .	481
15.2 Incremental processing . . . . .	484
<b>16 Language acquisition</b>	<b>491</b>
16.1 Principles & Parameters . . . . .	491
16.2 Principles and the lexicon . . . . .	499
16.3 Pattern-based approaches . . . . .	499
16.4 Selection-based approaches . . . . .	506
16.5 Summary . . . . .	507

<b>17</b>	<b>Generative capacity and grammar formalisms</b>	<b>509</b>
<b>18</b>	<b>Binary branching, locality, and recursion</b>	<b>515</b>
18.1	Binary branching . . . . .	515
18.2	Locality . . . . .	518
18.3	Recursion . . . . .	527
<b>19</b>	<b>Empty elements</b>	<b>529</b>
19.1	Views on empty elements . . . . .	529
19.2	Eliminating empty elements from grammars . . . . .	531
19.3	Empty elements and semantic interpretation . . . . .	536
19.4	Evidence for empty elements . . . . .	543
19.5	Transformations, lexical rules, and empty elements . . . . .	543
<b>20</b>	<b>Extraction, scrambling, and passive: one or several descriptive devices?</b>	<b>549</b>
<b>21</b>	<b>Phrasal vs. lexical analyses</b>	<b>559</b>
21.1	Some putative advantages of phrasal models . . . . .	560
21.1.1	Usage-based theories . . . . .	560
21.1.2	Coercion . . . . .	562
21.1.3	Aspect as a clause level phenomenon . . . . .	564
21.1.4	Simplicity and polysemy . . . . .	565
21.2	Evidence for lexical approaches . . . . .	567
21.2.1	Valence and coordination . . . . .	567
21.2.2	Valence and derivational morphology . . . . .	572
21.3	Radical underspecification: the end of argument structure? . . . . .	578
21.3.1	Neo-Davidsonianism . . . . .	578
21.3.2	Little <i>v</i> and idiom asymmetries . . . . .	580
21.3.3	Deverbal nominals . . . . .	582
21.3.4	Idiosyncratic syntactic selections . . . . .	585
21.3.5	Expletives . . . . .	587
21.3.6	An exoskeletal approach . . . . .	588
21.3.7	Is there an alternative to lexical valence structure? . . . . .	592
21.3.8	Summary . . . . .	593
21.4	Relations between constructions . . . . .	593
21.4.1	Inheritance hierarchies for constructions . . . . .	594
21.4.2	Mappings between different levels of representations . . . . .	598
21.4.3	Is there an alternative to lexical rules? . . . . .	601
21.5	Further problems for phrasal approaches . . . . .	601
21.5.1	Particle verbs and commitment to phrase structure configurations . . . . .	601
21.6	Arguments from language acquisition . . . . .	602
21.6.1	Recognizability of constructions . . . . .	602
21.6.2	Coordination and discontinuousness . . . . .	604

## 目 录

21.7	Arguments from psycho- and neurolinguistics . . . . .	609
21.7.1	Lexical rules vs. phrasal constructions . . . . .	609
21.7.2	Light verbs . . . . .	611
21.7.3	Arguments from neurolinguistics . . . . .	612
21.8	Arguments from statistical distribution . . . . .	616
21.8.1	Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing . . . . .	616
21.8.2	Collostructions . . . . .	619
21.9	Conclusion . . . . .	619
21.10	Why (phrasal) constructions? . . . . .	620
21.10.1	Verbless directives . . . . .	620
21.10.2	Serial verbs . . . . .	627
21.10.3	Relative and interrogative clauses . . . . .	628
21.10.4	The N-P-N construction . . . . .	631
22	<b>Universal Grammar and comparative linguistics without UG</b>	<b>635</b>
22.1	Formal tools for capturing generalizations . . . . .	635
22.2	How to develop linguistic theories that capture cross-linguistic general- izations . . . . .	639
23	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>649</b>
24	<b>Solutions to the exercises</b>	<b>653</b>
24.1	Introduction and basic terms . . . . .	653
24.2	Phrase structure grammars . . . . .	654
24.3	Transformational Grammar – Government & Binding . . . . .	658
24.4	Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar . . . . .	660
24.5	Feature descriptions . . . . .	663
24.6	Lexical Functional Grammar . . . . .	664
24.7	Categorial Grammar . . . . .	666
24.8	Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar . . . . .	667
24.9	Construction Grammar . . . . .	668
24.10	Dependency Grammar . . . . .	669
24.11	Tree Adjoining Grammar . . . . .	670
	<b>参考文献</b>	<b>673</b>
	<b>Index</b>	<b>762</b>
	Name index . . . . .	762
	Language index . . . . .	762
	Subject index . . . . .	762



## 第零部分 研究背景与语法理论





## 第九章 中心语驱动的短语结构语法

中心语驱动的短语结构语法 (Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, HPSG) 是由 Carl Pollard 和 Ivan Sag 在上世纪八十年代在斯坦福和 Palo Alto 的惠普研究实验室开发出来的 (Pollard & Sag 1987, 1994)。与 LFG 一样, HPSG 隶属于西海岸语言学。另一个与 LFG 的相似之处在于 HPSG 旨于提供一个语言运用与语言能力相互兼容的理论 (Sag & Wasow 2011, 2015, 以及第 15 章)。

HPSG 语法的形式化描述语言是很好理解的, 而且我们有很多可以处理这种语法的系统 (Dörre & Seiffert 1991; Dörre & Dorna 1993; Popowich & Vogel 1991; Uszkoreit, Backofen, Busemann, Diagne, Hinkelman, Kasper, Kiefer, Krieger, Netter, Neumann, Oepen & Spackman 1994; Erbach 1995; Schütz 1996; Schmidt, Theofilidis, Rieder & Declerck 1996b; Schmidt, Rieder & Theofilidis 1996a; Uszkoreit, Backofen, Calder, Capstick, Dini, Dörre, Erbach, Estival, Manandhar, Mineur & Oepen 1996; Müller 1996c, 2004c; Carpenter & Penn 1996; Penn & Carpenter 1999; Götz, Meurers & Gerdemann 1997; Copestake 2002; Callmeier 2000; Dahllöf 2003; Meurers, Penn & Richter 2002; Penn 2004; Müller 2007a; Sato 2008; Kaufmann 2009)。<sup>1</sup> 目前, Ann Copestake 开发的 LKB 系统和 Gerald Penn (Meurers, Penn & Richter 2002; Penn 2004) 开发的 TRALE 系统拥有最多的用户。DELPH-IN 联盟 (它的语法片段是基于 LKB 的) 和许多的不同的 TRALE 用户已经开发了许多不同语言的小型语法和一些大规模的语法片段。下面列出的就是不同系统中实现的语言:

- 阿拉伯语 (Arabic) (Haddar, Boukedi & Zalila 2010; Hahn 2011; Masum, Islam, Rahman & Ahmed 2012; Boukedi & Haddar 2014; Loukam, Balla & Laskri 2015; Arad Greshler, Herzig Sheinfux, Melnik & Wintner 2015),
- 孟加拉语 (Bengali) (Paul 2004; Islam, Hasan & Rahman 2012),
- 保加利亚语 (Bulgarian) (Simov, Osenova, Simov & Kouylekov 2004; Osenova 2010a,b, 2011),
- 粤语 (Cantonese) (Fan, Song & Bond 2015),
- 丹麦语 (Danish) (Ørsnes 1995, 2009b; Neville & Paggio 2004; Müller 2009c; Müller & Ørsnes 2011; Müller 2012; Müller & Ørsnes 2015),

---

<sup>1</sup> Uszkoreit et al. (1996) 和 Bolc et al. (1996) 比较了已有的和 1990 年代初开发的系统。Melnik (2007) 比较了 LKB 和 TRALE。也请看 Müller (2015a: Section 5.1)。

- 德语 (German) (Kiss 1991; Netter 1993, 1996; Meurers 1994; Hinrichs et al. 1997; Kordoni 1999a; Tseng 2000; Geißler & Kiss 1994; Keller 1994; Müller 1996c, 1999a; Müller & Kasper 2000; Crysmann 2003, 2005b,c; Müller 2007b; Kaufmann & Pfister 2007, 2008; Kaufmann 2009; Fokkens 2011),
- 英语 (English) (Copestake & Flickinger 2000; Flickinger, Copestake & Sag 2000; Flickinger 2000; Dahllöf 2002, 2003; De Kuthy & Meurers 2003a; Meurers, De Kuthy & Metcalf 2003; De Kuthy, Metcalf & Meurers 2004),
- 世界语 (Esperanto) (Li 1996),
- 法语 (French) (Tseng 2003),
- Ga 语 (Ga) (Kropp Dakubu, Hellan & Beermann 2007; Hellan 2007),
- 格鲁吉亚语 (Georgian) (Abzianidze 2011),
- 希腊语 (Greek) (Kordoni & Neu 2005),
- 豪萨语 (Hausa) (Crysmann 2005a, 2009, 2011, 2012; ?),
- 希伯来语 (Hebrew) (Melnik 2007; Haugereid, Melnik & Wintner 2013; Arad Greshler, Herzig Sheinflux, Melnik & Wintner 2015),
- 印尼语 (Indonesian) (?),
- 日语 (Japanese) (Siegel 2000; Siegel & Bender 2002; Bender & Siegel 2005),
- 韩语 (Korean) (Kim & Yang 2003, 2004, 2006, 2009; Kim, Sells & Yang 2007; Song, Kim, Bond & Yang 2010; Kim, Yang, Song & Bond 2011),
- 马耳他语 (Maltese) (Müller 2009b),
- 现代汉语 (Mandarin Chinese) (Liu 1997; Ng 1997; Müller & Lipenkova 2009, 2013; Fan, Song & Bond 2015),
- 荷兰语 (Dutch) (van Noord & Bouma 1994; Bouma, van Noord & Malouf 2001b; Fokkens 2011),
- 挪威语 (Norwegian) (Hellan & Haugereid 2003; Beermann & Hellan 2004; Hellan & Beermann 2006),
- 波斯语 (Persian) (Müller 2010b; Müller & Ghayoomi 2010),
- 波兰语 (Polish) (Przepiórkowski, Kupść, Marciniak & Mykowiecka 2002; Mykowiecka, Marciniak, Przepiórkowski & Kupść 2003),
- 葡萄牙语 (Portuguese) (Branco & Costa 2008a,b; Costa & Branco 2010),
- 俄语 (Russian) (Avgustinova & Zhang 2009),

- 萨哈泼丁语 (Sahaptin) (Drellishak 2009),
- 西班牙语 (Spanish) (Pineda & Meza 2005a,b; Bildhauer 2008; Marimon 2013),
- 手语 (Sign Language) (德语、法语、英式英语、希腊语)
- 南美手语 (South African Sign Language) (Bungeroth 2002),
- 土耳其语 (Turkish) (Fokkens, Poulson & Bender 2009),
- Wambaya 语 (Wambaya) (Bender 2008a,c, 2010).
- 依地语 (Yiddish) (Müller & Ørsnes 2011),

第一个应用 HPSG 理论实现的语法是在 Palo Alto 的惠普实验室开发的英语语法 (Flickinger, Pollard & Wasow 1985; Flickinger 1987)。德语语法是由海德堡、斯图加特和萨尔布吕肯的 LILOG 项目开发的。随后, 在海德堡、萨尔布吕肯和斯坦福的 *Verbmobil* 项目共同开发了德语、英语和日语的语法。*Verbmobil* 是在德国历时最长的人工智能项目。它是针对旅游计划和日程安排领域的口语的翻译项目 (Wahlster 2000a)。

目前, 在语法开发方面有两大团体: DELPH-IN 联盟 (应用 HPSG 的深层语言处理)<sup>2</sup> 和 CoGETI 网络 (基于约束的语法: 经验、理论与实现)<sup>3</sup>。上面列出的大部分语法片段是由 DELPH-IN 的成员开发的, 而有一些则来自于语法矩阵 (Grammar Matrix)。语法矩阵是为 LKB 开发的一个平台, 它为语法编写者提供了一个类型驱动的原始语法, 该语法对应于所开发的语言的属性 (Bender, Flickinger & Oepen 2002)。核心语法工程 (the CoreGram project)<sup>4</sup> 是一个在柏林自由大学运行的类似项目。它是针对德语、丹麦语、波斯语、马耳他语、现代汉语、西班牙语、法语和印地语的语法开发项目, 这些语法都共享一个核心语法。针对所有语言的约束条件在一个地方表示, 并且应用到所有语法中。而且, 还有针对特定语言类型的限制, 这些限制被一起表示并且根据各自的语法来应用。所以, 语法矩阵是用来供个人语法编写者可以使用、调试以适应其开发的语法所需要的平台, 而核心语法是真正地针对同时使用的不同语言的, 并且它们需要保持同步。有关核心语法的介绍可以参考 Müller (2013a, 2015a)。

还有的系统是将语言学驱动的分析与统计成分结合起来 (Brew 1995; Miyao et al. 2005; Miyao & Tsujii 2008), 或者从语料库中学习语法和辞典 (Fouvy 2003; Cramer & Zhang 2009)。

下面的网址指向可以测试的语法页面:

- <http://www.delph-in.net/erg/>
- <http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/Demos/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.delph-in.net/>. 2015 年 11 月 13 日

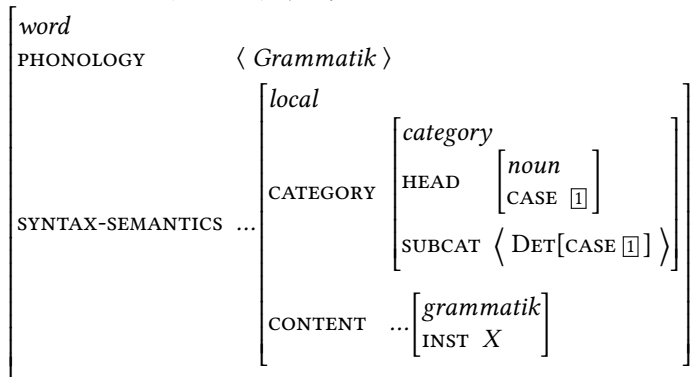
<sup>3</sup> <http://wwwuser.gwdg.de/~cogeti/>. 2015 年 11 月 13 日. 由 DFG 基金 (基金编号: HO3279/3-1) 资助。

<sup>4</sup> <http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/Projects/CoreGram.html>. 06.10.2016.

## 9.1 有关表示形式的一般说明

HPSG 具有下述特征：它是基于词汇的理论，即大部分的语言约束位于词或根节点的描写中。HPSG 基于索绪尔的符号论：语言符号的形式与意义总是一起表示的。类型特征结构被用于模拟所有相关的信息。<sup>5</sup>这些结构可以跟 (1) 中的特征描写一起描述。词汇项、短语和原则都按照同样的形式化方法来模拟和描述。有关词类和规则模式的概括由承继层级体系来表示（请看第 6.2 节）。语音、句法和语义在单一结构中表示。没有像管辖与约束理论中 PF 或 LF 这样单独的表示层次。(1) 节录了一部分 *Grammatik*（语法）这个词的表示形式。

(1) *Grammatik*（语法）的词汇项：



我们可以看到这一特征描写包括词的语音、句法范畴和语义。为了简便，PHONOLOGY (PHON) 的值大部分按照正字法来表示。在完整的理论中，PHON value 是一个包括节律栅和轻重音信息的复杂结构。请看 Bird & Klein (1994)、Orgun (1996)、Höhle (1999)、Walther (1999)、Crysmann (2002: Chapter 6) 和 Bildhauer (2008) 在 HPSG 框架下关于语音学的分析。针对 (1) 中表示的详细信息将在下面的章节中给予解释。

HPSG 从其他理论中借鉴了许多不同的思路，而且近期的分析受到了其他理论框架下理论发展的影响。针对配价信息和功能组合的处理的函子参数结构被范畴语法所采用。函子构成在德语和韩语这类语言中的动词复杂结构的分析中起到了重要的作用。直接统制/线性优先模式 (ID/LP 模式，请看第 5.1.2 节) 和长距离依存（请看第 5.4 节）的 Slash 机制都来源于 GPSG。这里针对德语动词位置的分析受到管辖与约束理论框架下开发的语法的启发（请看第 3.2 节）。

### 9.1.1 配价信息的表示

第 2 章讨论的短语结构语法的缺点是需要大量不同的规则来表示不同的配价类型。(2) 给出了这类规则的一些例子以及相应的动词。

<sup>5</sup> 没有按照顺序阅读的读者和对类型特征描写不太熟悉的读者可以先参考第 6 章。

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (2) | $S \rightarrow NP[nom], V$                   | $X \text{ schläft}$ (X 正在睡觉)                      |
|     | $S \rightarrow NP[nom], NP[acc], V$          | $X Y \text{ erwartet}$ (X 在等 Y)                   |
|     | $S \rightarrow NP[nom], PP[über], V$         | $X \text{ über } Y \text{ spricht}$ (X 在谈论 Y)     |
|     | $S \rightarrow NP[nom], NP[dat], NP[acc], V$ | $X Y Z \text{ gibt}$ (X 把 Z 给 Y)                  |
|     | $S \rightarrow NP[nom], NP[dat], PP[mit], V$ | $X Y \text{ mit } Z \text{ dient}$ (X 与 Z 一起服务 Y) |

为了保证语法不制造出不正确的句子，我们必须确保动词只根据合适的规则来使用。

- (3) a. \* dass Peter das Buch schläft  
       CONJ Peter DET 书 睡觉
- b. \* dass Peter erwartet  
       CONJ Peter 等待
- c. \* dass Peter über den Mann erwartet  
       CONJ Peter 关于 DET 人 等待

所以说，动词（和通常所说的中心语）必须分成不同的配价类型。然后，这些配价类型必须被分配给语法规则。然后，我们必须要进一步明确（2）中及物动词的规则，如下所示：

- (4)  $S \rightarrow NP[nom], NP[acc], V[nom\_acc]$

这里，配价被编码两次。首先，我们说明了哪类成分可以或者必须发生，然后我们在词汇中说明动词所属的配价类型。在第 5.5 节，我们指出了屈折变化过程与配价信息是相关的。所以，我们需要从语法规则中去除多余的配价信息。基于这个原因，HPSG 跟范畴语法一样包括了在中心语所在的词汇项的中心语论元的表示。SUBCAT feature 这个特征带有列表值，它包括为了得到一个完整短语必须要跟中心语组合的宾语的表示。（5）给出了（2）中的动词的例子：

- |     |                      |   |
|-----|----------------------|---|
| (5) | Verb                 | SUBCAT                                      |
|     | <i>schlafen</i> (睡觉) | $\langle NP[nom] \rangle$                   |
|     | <i>erwarten</i> (等待) | $\langle NP[nom], NP[acc] \rangle$          |
|     | <i>sprechen</i> (说话) | $\langle NP[nom], PP[über] \rangle$         |
|     | <i>geben</i> (给)     | $\langle NP[nom], NP[dat], NP[acc] \rangle$ |
|     | <i>dienen</i> (服务)   | $\langle NP[nom], NP[dat], PP[mit] \rangle$ |

SUBCAT 是次范畴化的缩写。通常来说，中心语需要次范畴的论元。请看第 84 页更多关于次范畴化 (subcategorization) 这个术语的内容。

图 9.1 on the following page 给出了 (6a) 的分析，而且图 9.2 on the next page 给出了 (6b) 的分析：

- (6) a. [dass] Peter schläft  
       CONJ Peter 睡觉
- b. [dass] Peter Maria erwartet  
       CONJ Peter Maria 等待  
       ‘Peter 在等 Maria’

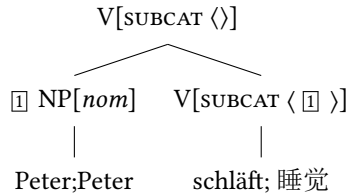


图 9.1: 小句 *dass Peter schläft* (Peter 在睡觉) 内 *Peter schläft* (Peter 睡觉) 的分析

在图 9.1 和 9.2 中, SUBCAT list 的一个元素在每个局部树中与其中心语相组合。与所选择的中心语相组合的元素不再出现在母节点的 SUBCAT list 中。V[SUBCAT < >] 对应于一个完整的短语 (VP 或 S)。带有数字的盒子表示结构共享 (请看第 6.4 节)。结构共享是 HPSG 中最为重要的表达手段。它在诸如配价、一致和长距离依存中发挥着重要的作用。在上面的例子中, 1 表示 SUBCAT list 中的描写与树中的另一个子节点是相同的。在配价列表中的描写通常是部分描写, 也就是说, 不是论元的所有属性都被穷尽地描写出来。所以说, 有可能像 *schläft* (睡觉) 这样的动词可以跟不同种类的语言对象相组合: 主语可以是一个代词、一个专有名词或是一个复杂的名词短语, 唯一关键的地方是我们所说的语言对象要有一个空的 SUBCAT list, 并且具有正确的格属性。<sup>6</sup>

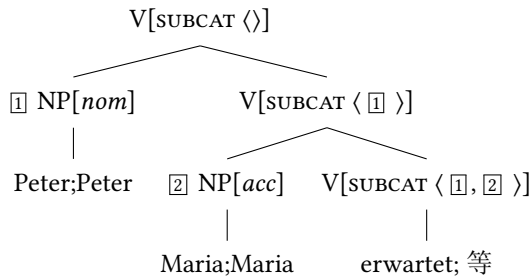


图 9.2: *Peter Maria erwartet* (Peter 在等 Maria) 的分析

### 9.1.2 组成成分结构的表示

正如我们已经指出的, HPSG 中的特征表示是形态规则、词汇项和句法规则的唯一描写机制。我们目前已有的树只是组成成分结构的可视化结果, 他们并不具有任何理论地位。在 HPSG 中也有重写规则。<sup>7</sup> 短语结构规则的工作由特征描写来处理。有关统制的信息通过 DTR 特征 (中心语子节点和非中心语子节点) 表示出

<sup>6</sup> 而且, 它必须与动词保持一致。这里并没有显示出这一点。

<sup>7</sup> 但是, 在某些 HPSG 的计算实现中应用了短语结构规则, 这是为了提高处理的效率。

来，有关优先顺序的信息在 **PHON** 中表示。(7) 展示了特征表示中 **PHON values** 是如何表示的，该特征表示对应于图 9.3 中的树。

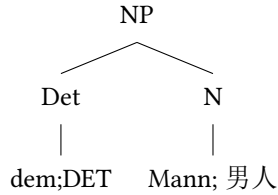


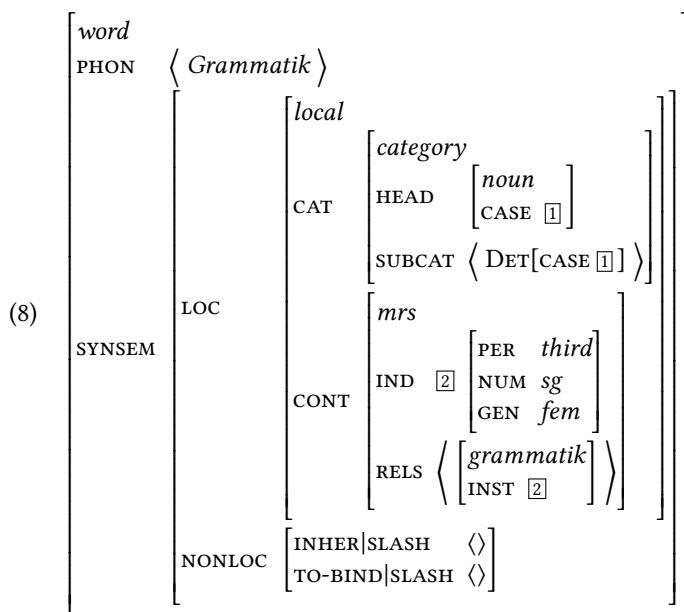
图 9.3: *dem Mann* (这个男人) 的分析

$$(7) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \langle \text{dem Mann} \rangle \\ [\text{PHON} \langle \text{Mann} \rangle] \\ [\text{PHON} \langle \text{dem} \rangle] \end{array} \right\rangle \right]$$

在 (7) 中，只有一个中心语子节点 (**HEAD-DTR**)。中心语子节点是包括中心语的子节点。在带有子节点 *das* (这) 和 *Bild von Maria* (Maria 的照片) 的结构中，后者是中心语子节点。原则上，可以有多个非中心语子节点。如果我们假设带有及物动词的句子是一个平铺结构的话，如图 2.1 on page 50 所示，那么我们就有三个非中心语子节点。我们也可以假设一个没有中心语的二叉结构 (请看 Müller 2007b: Chapter 11 关于关系小句的分析)。在这类结构中，我们可以有不只一个非中心语子节点，具体来说是两个。

在我们展示只有那些论元与中心语的要求相匹配的中心语-论元结构是如何被允准的之前，我将先说明 HPSG 中特征描写的一般结构。在本章开头给出的结构在这里的 (8) 重复显示出来，并且加上了目前讨论相关的所有细节：





外层有特征 PHON 和 SYNSEM。正如前面提到的, PHON 包括语言对象的语音表示。SYNSEM 的值是包括可以被其他中心语所选择的句法和语义信息的特征结构。短语符号的子节点在 SYNSEM 之外表示。这就确保了在选择中具有一定程度的局部性。中心语不能进入它所选择的元素的内部结构 (Pollard 和 Sag 1987: 143-145、1994: 23)。也可以参考第 10.6.2.1 节和第 18.2 节关于局部性的讨论。在 SYNSEM 内部, 有关于局部语境的信息 (LOCAL, 简写为 LOC), 以及长距离依存的信息 (NONLOCAL 或简写为 NONLOC)。局部相关的信息包括句法 (CATEGORY 或 CAT) 和语义 (CONTENT 或 CONT) 信息。句法信息包括决定短语的核心属性的信息, 即中心语信息。这在 HEAD 下面有所表示。更多细节将在第 9.1.4 节讨论。此外, 语言对象的词类属于短语的中心语属性。同样, HEAD、SUBCAT 属于 CAT 内部的信息。符号的语义内容用 CONT 来表示。CONT value 的类型是 *mrs*, 它表示最小递归语义学 (Minimal Recursion Semantics) (Copestake, Flickinger, Pollard & Sag 2005)。一个 MRS 结构包括一个索引和限制该索引的关系列表。在 NONLOCAL 特征中, 这里只给出了 SLASH。还有处理关系小句和疑问小句的特征 (citealpps2、Sag 1997、Ginzburg & Sag 2000、Holler 2005), 不过不在这里讨论。

正如我们看到的, *Grammatik* (语法) 这个词的描写相对复杂。理论上, 我们可以列出在一个单独的特征-值偶对的列表中直接列出给定对象的所有属性。但是, 这会带来一些问题, 这些特征-值偶对组的认定很难表示。应用 (8) 中的特征向量, 我们表示这样的事实, 在诸如 (9) 中的那些对称并列结构中, 所有连词的 *CAT values* 是相同的。

- (9) a. [der Mann] und [die Frau]  
DET 男人 和 DET 女人

- b. Er [kennt] und [liebt] diese Schallplatte.  
他.NOM 认识 和 爱 这.ACC 专辑
- c. Er ist [dumm] und [arrogant].  
他 COP 哑的 和 傲慢

(9b) 应该跟 (10) 中的例子相比较。在 (10a) 中，动词分别选择了一个宾格宾语和一个与格宾语，并且在 (10b) 中，动词选择了一个宾格宾语和一个介词宾语：

- (10) a. \*Er kennt und hilft dieser Frau / diese Frau.  
他.NOM 认识 和 帮助这.DAT 女人 这.ACC 女人  
想说：“他认识并帮助这个女人。”
- b. \*weil er auf Maria kennt und wartet  
因为他PREP Maria 认识 和 等待  
想说：“因为他认识 Maria，并等她”

不过，(10a) 的英文译文是合适的，因为 *knows* 和 *helps* 都带一个宾格宾语。而 (10a) 是不合格的，因为 *kennt* 带一个宾格宾语，而 *hilft* 带一个与格宾语。相似地，(10b) 也是不合格的，因为 *kennt* 带一个宾格宾语，而 *wartet* 带一个包括介词 *auf* 的介词短语。

如果配价和词类信息没有在一个共同的子结构中表示的话，我们就需要分别说明，诸如 (9) 的话语需要所有的连词具有相同的配价和词类信息。

在介绍了特征向量之后，我们现在可以转向中心语-论元模式的内容了：

#### Schema 1 (中心语-论元模式 (二叉结构, 初级版本))

$$\text{head-argument-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT } \boxed{1} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT } \boxed{1} \oplus \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS } \langle [ \text{SYNSEM } \boxed{2} ] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

模式 1 表明了具有类型 *head-argument-phrase* 的语言对象必须具有的属性。模式 1 中的箭头表示逻辑蕴含，并不是我们从短语结构语法中所知的重写规则的箭头。‘ $\oplus$ ’ (附加关系) 是包括两个列表的关系。(11) 显示了包括两个元素的列表的可能分叉结构：

$$(11) \langle x, y \rangle = \langle x \rangle \oplus \langle y \rangle \text{ or } \langle \rangle \oplus \langle x, y \rangle \text{ or } \langle x, y \rangle \oplus \langle \rangle$$

列表  $\langle x, y \rangle$  可以进一步被划分为两个列表，每个列表包括一个元素，或者相反地被划分为空列表和  $\langle x, y \rangle$ 。

模式 1 可以这样来解读：如果一个对象属于类型 *head-argument-phrase*，那么它必须具有蕴含右手边的属性。在具体的术语中，这意味着这些对象总是具有对应于  $\boxed{1}$  的配价列表，他们具有一个中心语子节点，该子节点具有一个可以划分为两个

子列表①和②的配价列表，而且他们具有一个非中心语子节点，它的句法和语义属性（SYNSEM value）与中心语子节点②的 SUBCAT list 的最后一个元素是兼容的。（12）提供了与（6a）中的例子相对应的特征描写。

$$(12) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{head-argument-phrase} \\ \text{PHON} \langle \text{Peter schläft} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT} \langle \rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \langle \text{schläft} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT} \langle \text{① NP[nom]} \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \langle \text{Peter} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} \text{ ①} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

NP[nom] 是复杂特征描写的缩写。模式 1 将中心语子节点的 SUBCAT list 划分为一个单一元素列表和其他部分。由于 *schläft*（睡觉）在它的 SUBCAT list 中只有一个元素，剩余的是空列表。这个剩余部分也是母节点的 SUBCAT value。

### 9.1.3 线性顺序规则

统制模式并没有说有关子节点顺序的问题。正如在 GPSG 中，线性顺序规则被分开处理。线性顺序规则可以指定子节点的属性，他们在模式中的功能（中心语、论元、说明语、...）或者两者都有。如果我们假定所有的中心语具有特征 INITIAL，那么位于他们所带论元之前的中心语将的 INITIAL 值为‘+’，而位于他们所带论元之后的中心语的值为‘-’。（13）中的线性顺序规则确保了诸如（14b,d）的不合乎语法的顺序被规则排除了。<sup>8</sup>

- (13) a. Head[INITIAL +] < Argument  
b. Argument < Head[INITIAL-]

介词的 INITIAL 值为‘+’，而且必须位于论元的前面。位于末尾的动词的值为‘-’，由此他们必须位于他们所带的论元后面。

- (14) a. [in [den Schrank]]  
PREP DET 壁橱  
b. \*[[den Schrank] in]  
DET 壁橱 PREP  
c. dass [er [ihn umfüllt]]  
CONJ 他 它 倒  
d. \*dass [er [umfüllt ihn]]  
CONJ 他 倒 它

<sup>8</sup> 名词短语会给（13）带来问题：截至目前，限定词被看作是论元，并且包括在中心语名词的 SUBCAT list 中。限定词在名词的左边出现，而名词的所有其他论元在右边出现。这个问题可以通过重新界定线性顺序规则（Müller 1999a: 164–165）来解决，或者通过为限定词引入一个特殊的配价属性来解决（Pollard & Sag 1994: Section 9.4）。有关使用这一特征的方法，请看第 9.6.1 节。

## 9.1.4 中心语属性的投射

正如在第 1.5 节所讨论的, 中心语的某些属性对于整个短语的分布是非常重要的。比如说, 动词形式是对于动词的投射分布重要的那些特征。某些动词要求带有特殊形式的动词性论元:

- (15) a. [Dem Mann helfen] will er nicht.  
 DET 男人 帮助 想 他不  
 ‘他不想帮助这个男人。’  
 b. [Dem Mann geholfen] hat er nicht.  
 DET 男人 帮助 AUX 他不  
 ‘他没帮助这个男人。’  
 c. \* [Dem Mann geholfen] will er nicht.  
 DET 男人 帮助 想 他不  
 d. \* [Dem Mann helfen] hat er nicht.  
 DET 男人 帮助 AUX 他不

*wollen* (想) 总是带一个不带 *zu* 的不定式, 而 *haben* 则要求分词形式的动词。*glauben* (认为) 可以与定式小句共现, 但是不能跟不带 *zu* 的不定式共现:

- (16) a. Ich glaube, Peter kommt morgen.  
 我 认为 Peter 来 明天  
 ‘我认为 Peter 明天会来。’  
 b. \* Ich glaube, Peter morgen kommen.  
 我 认为 Peter 明天 来  
 c. \* Ich glaube, morgen kommen.  
 我 认为 明天 来

这说明动词的投射不能只包括词类的信息, 也要包括动词形式的信息。图 9.4 on the following page 在定式动词 *gibt* (给) 的基础上说明了这一点。

GPSG 的中心语特征规约确保了子节点的中心语特征与那些中心语子节点上的特征是一致的。HPSG 语法有一个类似的规则。与 GPSG 不同的是, 中心语特征明确地被包含于特征结构中的一组特征。他们被列于路径 *SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD* 下。(17) 说明了词汇项 *gibt* (给) 的信息:

- (17) *gibt* (给):
- $$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON} \langle \text{gibt} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } \textit{fin} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \text{NP}[\textit{nom}], \text{NP}[\textit{dat}], \text{NP}[\textit{acc}] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

中心语特征原则 (Head Feature Principle) 具有如下的形式:

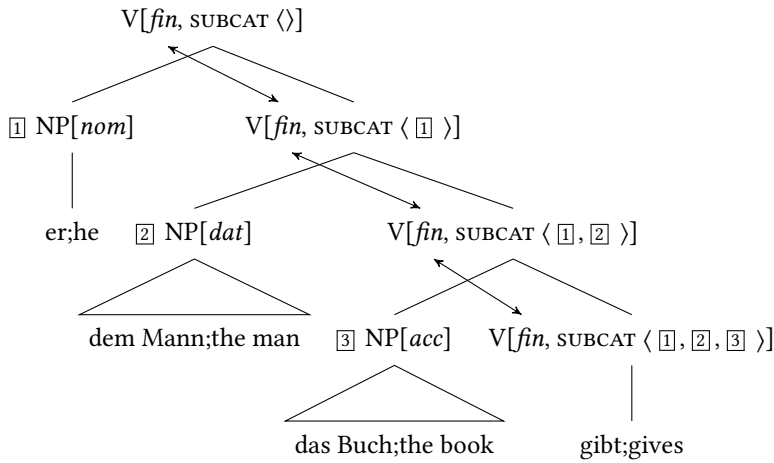


图 9.4: 动词的中心语特征的投射

**Principle 1 (中心语特征原则)**

任何中心语短语的 **HEAD** 值与其中心语子节点的 **HEAD** 值是结构共享的。

图 9.5是具有结构共享的图 9.4的变体。

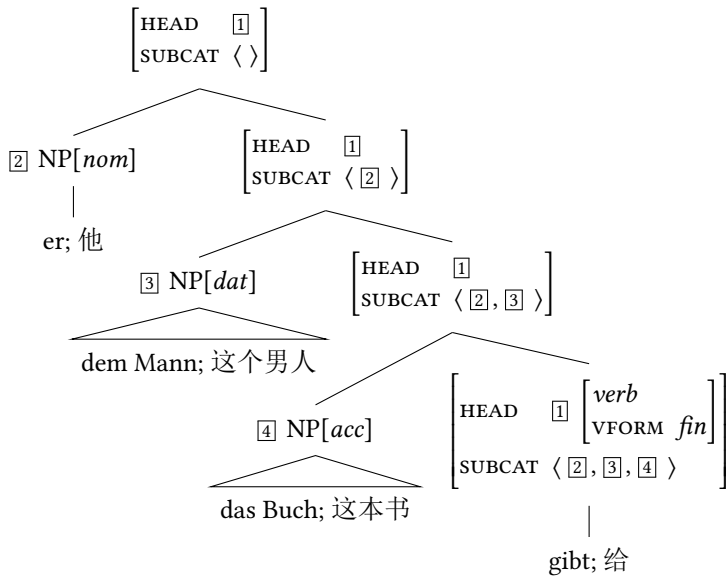


图 9.5: 具有结构共享的动词的中心语特征投射

下一节将说明该原则是如何形式化的，以及它是如何整合进 HPSG 的理论框架之中的。

### 9.1.5 承继层级体系与概说

截至目前，我们已经看到了承继范式的一个例子，在接下来的章节中会有更多的内容，比如说中心语-说明语结构的范式，以及长距离依存问题的解决。中心语特征原则是一个普遍性的原则，它必须满足所有这些模式所允准的结构的要求。正如上面所提及的，所有的结构都必须有一个中心语。在形式上，这可以通过将句法结构分成带有中心语和不带中心语两类来进行区分，并且将类型 *headed-phrase* 赋予到那些具有中心语的结构上。类型 *head-argument-phrase*（第 245 页上的模式 1 的描写类型）是 *headed-phrase* 的一个子类型。某个类型 *x* 的宾语总是具有 *x* 的上位类型的宾语的所有属性。回想第 6.2 节所举的例子：类型 *female person* 的宾语具有类型 *person* 的所有属性。进而，类型 *female person* 的宾语具有额外的、不跟 *person* 的其他子类型共享的更为具体的属性。

如果我们在上位类型上进行约束，那么这会自动影响到它的所有下位类型。由此，中心语特征原则就按照下面的内容来表示：

$$(18) \text{ headed-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD } \boxed{1} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

箭头对应于上面提到的逻辑蕴涵。所以说，(18) 可以这样来解读：如果一个结构属于类型 *headed-phrase*，那么它必须满足这样的条件，*SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD* 的值与 *HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|HEAD* 的值是相同的。

在 *sign* 下的类型层级的表示如图 9.6 所示。

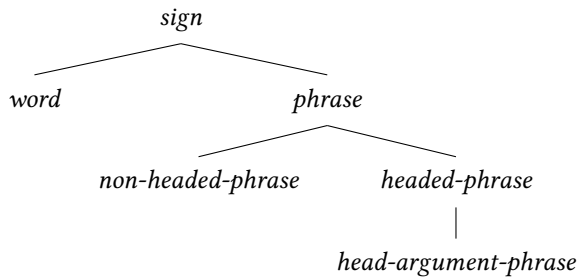


图 9.6: *sign* 的类型层级： *headed-phrase* 的所有子类型都承袭了约束条件

*word* 和 *phrase* 是语言符号的子类型。短语可以划分为带有中心语的短语（*headed-phrase*）和不带中心语的短语（*non-headed-phrase*）。还有短语的子类型 *non-headed-phrase* 和 *headed-phrase*。我们已经讨论了 *head-argument-phrase*，还有 *headed-phrase* 的其他子类型将在后面的章节中详细讨论。与 *word* 和 *phrase* 相似的是，类型 *root* 和 *stem* 也在词汇和形态的结构中起到了重要的作用。限于本书的篇幅，我们不可能在这里深入讨论这些类型，但是可以参考第 22 章的内容。

(19) 中的描写显示了第 245 页的中心语论元模式，还有从 *headed-phrase* 承继而来的类型 *head-argument-phrase* 的限制。

(19) 中心语-论元模式 + 中心语特征原则：

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{head-argument-phrase} \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad [1] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad [2] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad [1] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad [2] \oplus \langle [3] \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \langle [ \text{SYNSEM} [3] ] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

(20) 给出了由模式 1 允准的结构的描写。与配价信息一样的是，中心语信息在 (20) 中得到了确认，而且中心语特征原则是如何确保特征的投射也是比较明显的：整个结构 ([1]) 的中心语的值对应于动词 *gibt* (给) 的中心语的值。

$$(20) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{head-argument-phrase} \\ \text{PHON} \langle \text{das Buch gibt} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad [1] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad [2] \langle \text{NP[nom], NP[dat]} \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON} \langle \text{gibt} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad [1] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM} \text{ fin} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad [2] \oplus \langle [3] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \langle \text{das Buch} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} [3] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{CAS} \text{ acc} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \dots \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \dots \end{array} \right]$$

对于整个句子 *er das Buch dem Mann gibt* (他把这本书给这个男人) 来说，我们得到了由例 (21) 描述的结构 (在图 9.5 中已经显示过了)：

$$(21) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM} \text{ fin} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

该描写对应于第 49 页的短语结构语法中的句子符号 S，但是 (21) 还额外地包括了动词形式的信息。

我们将承继模式作为例子来说明我们是如何对语言对象进行概括的,但是,我们也在理论的其他方面来捕捉这些信息:如范畴语法、HPSG 的词库包括大量的信息。词汇项(根与词)可以被分成不同的类别,进而被赋予不同的类型。按照这一方式,我们可以描写所有的动词、不及物动词和及物动词具有的共同信息。请看第 638 页的图 22.1。

这里我们介绍了 HPSG 理论的一些基本概念,在下面的章节中,我们将分析词的语义是如何表示的,以及短语的意义是如何通过组合性原则来表示的。

### 9.1.6 语义

在 GB、LFG 和 TAG 这些理论和 HPSG 与 CxG 这些理论中的一个重要的差别在于语言对象的语义内容是按照特征结构来模拟的,这跟所有其他的属性是一样的。正如前面提到的,语义信息在路径  $\text{SYNSEM|LOC|CONT}$  下。(22) 给出了 *Buch* (书) 的  $\text{CONT}$  value 的例子。这一表示是基于最简递归语义 (MRS) 的:<sup>9</sup>

$$(22) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{mrs} \\ \text{IND } \boxed{1} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PER } 3 \\ \text{NUM } \textit{sg} \\ \text{GEN } \textit{neu} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{RELS } \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{buch} \\ \text{INST } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

IND 表示标引, RELS 是关系的列表。诸如人称、数和性的特征是名词性标引的一部分。iscase 这些指标在决定指称或共指关系中是非常重要的。比如说, (23) 中的 *sie* (她) 指称 *Frau* (女人), 但是不指 *Buch* (书)。另一方面, *es* (它) 不能指称 *Frau* (女人)。

- (23) Die Frau<sub>i</sub> kauft ein Buch<sub>j</sub>. Sie<sub>i</sub> liest es<sub>j</sub>.  
 DET 女人 买 一书 她 读 它  
 ‘这个女人买了一本书。她在读它。’

通常来说,代词必须在人称、数和性上与其所指代的成分相一致。相应的标引需要保持一致。在 HPSG 中,这点通过结构共享来实现。也可以说是共指关系 (*coindexation*)。(24) 给出了反身代词的共指关系的一些例子:

- (24) a. Ich<sub>i</sub> sehe mich<sub>i</sub>.  
 我 看见我自己  
 b. Du<sub>i</sub> siehst dich<sub>i</sub>.  
 你 看见 你自己  
 c. Er<sub>i</sub> sieht sich<sub>i</sub>.  
 他 看见 他自己

<sup>9</sup> Pollard & Sag (1994) 和 Ginzburg & Sag (2000) 利用了情景语义学 (Barwise & Perry 1983; Cooper, Mukai & Perry 1990; Devlin 1992)。另一种已经在 HPSG 理论中应用的方法是词汇资源语法 (Richter & Sailer 2004)。有关 HPSG 理论中早期的未充分分析请看 Nerbonne (1993)。



- d.  $Wir_i$  sehen  $uns_i$ .  
我们看见 我们自己
- e.  $Ihr_i$  seht  $euch_i$ .  
你们看见你们自己
- f.  $Sie_i$  sehen  $sich_i$ .  
他们看见 他们自己

共指的哪个部分是可能的还是必须的这个问题是由约束理论决定的。Pollard & Sag (1992, 1994)指出, HPSG 中的约束理论在实现约束关系时并没有像 GB 理论中关于树的构型问题那样引起许多的问题。但是, HPSG 理论中的约束理论还是有一些公开的问题的 (Müller 1999a: Section 20.4)。

(25) 给出了动词 *geben* (给) 的 CONT value 信息:

$$(25) \left[ \begin{array}{l} mrs \\ IND \quad [1] \quad event \\ \\ RELS \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l} geben \\ EVENT \quad [1] \\ AGENT \quad index \\ GOAL \quad index \\ THEME \quad index \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

一般认为, 带有 *event* 类型的事件变量的动词是在 IND 下表示的, 这跟名词对象的标引是一样的。截至目前, 我们没有将配价列表中的元素指派给语义表示中的论元角色。这一联系叫做联接 (linking)。(26) 说明了 HPSG 理论中, 联接是如何运作的。名词短语的论元的指称标引与中心语决定的关系的语义角色中的一种情况是结构共享的。

(26) *gibt* (给):

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} CAT \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} verb \\ VFORM \quad fin \end{array} \right] \\ SUBCAT \quad \left\langle NP[nom]_{[1]}, NP[dat]_{[2]}, NP[acc]_{[3]} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \\ CONT \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} mrs \\ IND \quad [4] \quad event \\ \\ RELS \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l} geben \\ EVENT \quad [4] \\ AGENT \quad [1] \\ GOAL \quad [2] \\ THEME \quad [3] \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

因为我们使用诸如施事 (agent) 和受事 (patient) 这样的术语来表示论元角色, 我们就可以说明配价类型的概况和论元角色的实现。比如说, 我们将动词分成带有一个施事的动词、带有一个施事和主题的动词, 以及带有施事和受事的动词等。这

些不同的配价或联接模式可以在类型层级体系中表示，而且这些类别可以被指派到具体的词汇项上，即我们可以让他们继承各自类型的约束条件。带有施事、主题和目标的动词的类型的约束条件可以按照 (27) 中的形式来表示：

$$(27) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{CAT|SUBCAT} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \boxed{2}, \boxed{3} \right\rangle \\ \text{CONT} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{IND} \boxed{4} \text{ event} \\ \text{RELS} \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{agent-goal-theme-rel} \\ \text{EVENT} \boxed{4} \\ \text{AGENT} \boxed{1} \\ \text{GOAL} \boxed{2} \\ \text{THEME} \boxed{3} \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$\boxed{1}$  表示带有标引 $\boxed{1}$ 的未被指定的句法范畴的对象。具有 *geben'* 关系的类型是 *agent-goal-theme-rel* 的一个子类型。在 (27) 中，是词 *geben* (给) 的词汇项，而不是词根 *geb-* 具有联接的范式。更多有关 HPSG 理论中的联接理论，请看 Davis (1996)、Wechsler (1991) 和 Davis & Koenig (2000)。

目前，我们只看到了词汇项的意义是如何表示的。语义原则决定了短语的语义贡献的计算：整个表达式的标引对英语中心语子节点的标引，而且整个符号的 **RELS value** 对应于子节点的 **RELS values** 的加合，以及由统制模式引入的任何关系。最后一点很重要，这是因为模式可以对语义有所贡献的假设可以说明有些情况下一个短语的整体意义不仅仅只是其组成成分的简单加合。与之相关的例子经常在构式语法中进行讨论。HPSG 理论主张语义的组合性，即表示特定模式的语义部分可以整合进一段话语的整体意义之中。例子请参考第 21.10 节。

动词及其论元的语义贡献之间的联系是在词汇项中建立起来的。这样，我们可以确保动词的论元角色被指派到句中正确的论元上面。但是，这并不是语义所担负的唯一责任。它必须能够生成不同的意义解读，这与量词辖域的歧义（请看第 84 页），以及其他谓词下面谓词的语义嵌套的处理是有关系的。所有这些要求都在 MRS 中得到满足。受限于篇幅，我们不展开说明。读者可以参考 Copestake, Flickinger, Pollard & Sag (2005) 的文章，以及讨论部分中第 19.3 节的内容。

### 9.1.7 说明语

与中心语通过 SUBCAT 来选择论元类似的是，说明语也可以通过使用特征 (MODIFIED) 来选择他们的中心语。修饰名词和关系小句的形容词和介词短语选择一个几乎完整的名词性投射，即一个名词只需要与限定词相组合以构成一个完整的 NP。(28) 显示了每个 *synsem* 对象的描写。与  $\bar{X}$  理论中（请看第 2.5 节）类似的符号  $\bar{N}$  表示这个特征描写的缩写形式。

(28) AVM 被简写为  $\bar{N}$ ：

$$\left[ \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \text{ noun} \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \text{DET} \rangle \end{array} \right] \right]$$

(29) 显示了 *interessantes* (有趣的) 的部分词汇项:

(29) *interessantes* (有趣的) CAT value :

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ \text{MOD } \bar{N} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

*interessantes* (有趣的) 是一个形容词, 它不带任何论元成分, 由此它有一个空的 SUBCAT list。诸如 *treu* (忠诚的) 这样的形容词在他们的 SUBCAT list 中会有一个与格 NP。

(30) ein dem König treues Mädchen

— DET.DAT 国王 忠诚的女孩

‘对国王忠诚的女孩儿’

在 (31) 中可以看到 CAT value :

(31) *treues* (忠诚的) 的 CAT value :

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ \text{MOD } \bar{N} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{NP}[\text{dat}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

*dem König treues* (对国王的忠诚) 构成了一个形容词短语, 它修饰 *Mädchen* (女孩儿) 这个词。

与属于 CAT 的选择性特征 SUBCAT 不同的是, MOD 是一个中心语特征。原因是选择修饰中心语的特征必须在说明语的最大投射中出现。 $\bar{N}$ -短语 *dem König treues* (对国王的忠诚) 必须包括在整个 AP 的表达式中, 就像它在词汇层面的 (29) 中的形容词的词汇项中出现一样。形容词短语 *dem König treues* 具有跟基本形容词 *interessantes* (有趣的) 一样的句法属性。

(32) *dem König treues* 的 CAT value :

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adj} \\ \text{MOD } \bar{N} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

因为 MOD 是一个中心语特征, 中心语特征原则会保证整个投射的 MOD value 与 *treues* (忠诚的) 的词汇项的 MOD value 是一致的。

作为修饰语所选择的中心语的另一种情况是, 我们可以假定在中心语自身上的所有可能的说明语。这一观点由 Pollard & Sag (1987: 161) 提出。Pollard & Sag (1994: Section 1.9) 对前面的分析进行了修订, 因为不能说明修饰语的语义。<sup>10</sup>

图 9.7 在下一页表示了中心语-说明语结构中的选择信息。

<sup>10</sup> 不过, 可以参考 Bouma, Malouf & Sag (2001a)。Bouma, Malouf & Sag (2001a) 提出了一个整合的分析, 其中说明语可以选择中心语, 说明语也可以被中心语所选择。最简递归语义是支持这一分析的语义理论。应用这种语义分析方法, 就可以避免由 Pollard & Sag (1987) 带来的修饰语的语义问题。

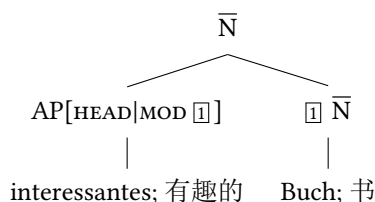


图 9.7: 中心语-说明语结构 (选择)

中心语-说明语结构是由模式 2 所允准的。

### Schema 2 (中心语-说明语模式 (初级版本))

*head-adjunct-phrase*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM \boxed{1} \\ NON-HEAD-DTRS \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{l} SYNSEM|LOC|CAT \left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD|MOD \boxed{1} \\ SUBCAT \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

说明语 ( $\boxed{1}$ ) 的选择性特征的值与中心语子节点的 *SYNSEM value* 是相同的。这样就可以确保中心语子节点具有说明语所确定的属性。非中心语子节点的 *SUBCAT value* 是空列表, 这也就是为什么只有完全饱和的说明语允许出现在中心语-说明语结构中。这样, 诸如 (33b) 的短语就被规则排除出去了:

- (33) a. die Wurst in der Speisekammer  
           DET 香肠 PREP DET 食品箱  
       b. \*die Wurst in  
           DET 香肠 PREP

例 (33a) 需要进一步的解释。如 (33a) 中使用的介词 *in* 具有下面的 *CAT value* :

(34) *in* 的 *CAT value* :

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD \left[ \begin{array}{l} prep \\ MOD \bar{N} \end{array} \right] \\ SUBCAT \langle NP[dat] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

在将 *in* 和名词短语 *der Speisekammer* (食品箱) 相组合后, 我们会得到:

- (35) *in der Speisekammer* (在食品箱里) 的 *CAT value* :

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} HEAD \left[ \begin{array}{l} prep \\ MOD \bar{N} \end{array} \right] \\ SUBCAT \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

该表达式对应于形容词 *interessantes* (有趣的), 而且也可按照同样的方式来使用, 如忽略 PP 的位置: PP 修饰  $\bar{N}$ 。

那些只能用作论元, 不能修饰任何成分的中心语具有 *none* 的 MOD value。这样, 他们就不会出现在中心语说明语结构中的非中心语子节点的位置上了, 因为中心语子节点的 MOD value 需要与中心语子节点的 SYNSEM value 兼容。

## 9.2 被动

HPSG 理论 遵循 Bresnan 的思想 (请看第 7.2 节), 并将被动放在词汇中处理。<sup>11</sup> 一条词汇规则将词根作为输入, 并允准了分词形式并且最凸显的论元 (所谓的指定论元) 受到了抑制。<sup>12</sup> 因为语法功能并不属于 HPSG 理论中的一部分, 我们不需要任何映射的原则来将宾语映射到主语上。无论如何, 我们还是要解释被动下格的变化。如果有人在词汇项中完整地区分了指定论元的格, 那么这个人就需要确保及物动词的宾格论元在被动式中被实现为主格。(36) 展示了这样的词汇规则是什么样子的:

(36) 从 Kiss (1992) 而来的人称被动的词汇规则:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{stem} \\ \text{PHON } \boxed{1} \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \text{verb} \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{NP}[\text{nom}], \text{NP}[\text{acc}]_{\boxed{2}} \rangle \oplus \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \mapsto \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON } f(\boxed{1}) \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } \left[ \text{VFORM } \text{passive-part} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \text{NP}[\text{nom}]_{\boxed{2}} \rangle \oplus \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

词汇规则将动词词根<sup>13</sup> 作为它的输入, 这就要求有一个主格论元、一个宾格论元以及其他可能的论元成分 (如果  $\boxed{3}$  不是一个空列表的话), 并且允准一个需要带有主格论元和  $\boxed{3}$  中可能论元成分的词汇项。<sup>14</sup> 该词汇规则的输入指定了输出词的

<sup>11</sup> 有些例外是受到构式语法影响的一些分析, 如 Tseng (2007) 和 Haugereid (2007)。但是, 这些方法是有问题的, 因为他们无法解释 Bresnan 的形容词性被动。对于 Haugereid 的分析的其他问题, 请看 Müller (2007c) 和第 21.3.6 节。

<sup>12</sup> 更多有关指定论元的内容请看 Haider (1986a)。德语中被动的 HPSG 分析相当程度上受到了 Haider 的影响。Haider 使用指定论元来模拟所谓的非宾格和非作格动词之间的区别 (Perlmutter 1978): 非宾格动词与非作格动词和及物动词的区别在于他们没有指定论元。我们在这里不列出非宾格方面的文献。读者可以去看 Haider 的原始研究以及 Müller (2007b) 中与被动有关的内容。

<sup>13</sup> 术语 *stem* 包括词根 (*helf-*, “帮助”)、派生词 (*besing-*, “唱”) 和复合词。这样词汇规则就可以用在像 *helf-* 的词根和诸如 *besing-* 的派生形式之中了。

<sup>14</sup> 该规则假定了双及物动词的论元是按照主格、宾语和与格的顺序排列的。在本章中, 我假设了主格、与格和宾格的顺序, 这对应于德语论元的未标记语序。Kiss (2001) 指出, 未标记语序的表示可以用来说明德语的辖域事实。而且, 论元的顺序对应于英语的顺序, 这在捕捉跨语言的共性方面是具有优势的。在早先的工作中, 我认为语序是主格、宾格和与格这样排列的, 因为这个顺序表示了凸现

VFORM value。这是非常重要的，因为助动词和核心动词必须一起出现。比如说，不能用完成分词来取代被动分词，因为在 Kiss 的理论中，他们的格是不同的。

- (37) a. Der Mann hat den Weltmeister geschlagen.  
 DET 男人 AUX DET 世界. 冠军 打  
 ‘这个男人打了世界冠军。’  
 b. \*Der Mann wird den Weltmeister geschlagen.  
 DET 男人 AUX DET 世界. 冠军 打  
 c. Der Weltmeister wird geschlagen.  
 DET 世界. 冠军 AUX 打  
 ‘世界冠军被人打了。’

词汇规则的解释有一些规定：在输入符号中没有提及的所有信息都被输入符号替代了。这样，动词的意义在被动规则中没有被提及，这就使得被动规则是一个保留意义的规则。输入和输出的 CONT values 没有在规则中提及，所以是相同的。这里重要的是它们保留的联接信息。比如说，以动词词根 *schlag-*（打）所应用的规则为例：

- (38) a. *schlag-*（打）的输入：

SYNSEM LOC	PHON $\langle$ <i>schlag</i> $\rangle$	
	CAT $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad \langle \text{NP}[\textit{nom}]_{\boxed{1}}, \text{NP}[\textit{acc}]_{\boxed{2}} \rangle \end{array} \right]$	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \quad \boxed{3} \textit{event} \\ \text{RELS} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \textit{schlagen} \\ \text{EVENT} \quad \boxed{3} \\ \text{AGENT} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{PATIENT} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$
CONT		

的层级体系，而这在德语语法的大部分方面都是具有相关性的。例子有：省略 (Klein 1985)、话题省略 (Fries 1988)、自由关系小句 (Bausewein 1990; Pittner 1995; Müller 1999b)、描述性次级谓词 (Müller 2004d, 2002a, 2008a)、约束理论 (Grewendorf 1985; Pollard 和 Sag: 1992, 1994: Chapter 6)。这一语序也对应于 Keenan & Comrie (1977) 和 Pullum (1977) 提出的旁格的层级体系。为了说明这一层级体系，需要提出一个带有主格、宾格和与格语序的列表。下面将要提出的被动规则与这两种论元语序都是相容的。

b. *geschlagen* (被打) 的输出:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \langle \textit{geschlagen} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{verb} \\ \textit{VFORM} \textit{passive-part} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \textit{NP[nom]}_{[2]} \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \left[ \begin{array}{l} [3] \textit{event} \\ \textit{schlagen} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{RELS} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{EVENT} [3] \\ \text{AGENT} [1] \\ \text{PATIENT} [2] \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

施事的角色联接到 *schlag-* 的主语。在被动之后, 主语受到抑制, 联接到 *schlag-* 的受事角色上的论元成为分词的主语。论元联接没有受到这个影响, 并且名词性论元被正确地指派到受事角色上。

正如Meurers (2001)所指出的, 词汇规则也可以捕捉到特征描写。(39) 给出了(36)的特征描写表示。在(36)的规则的手左边囊括进了(39)中的 LEX-DTR

$$(39) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{acc-passive-lexical-rule} \\ \text{PHON } f([1]) \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[ \textit{VFORM} \textit{passive-part} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \textit{NP[nom]}_{[2]} \rangle \oplus [3] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{LEX-DTR} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{stem} \\ \text{PHON } [1] \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \textit{NP[nom]}, \textit{NP[acc]}_{[2]} \rangle \oplus [3] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

值。因为这类词汇规则被完整地整合到形式化系统中, 对应于这些词汇规则的特征结构也有他们自己的类型。如果一个给定规则的应用结果是一个屈折变化的词, 那么这个词规则的类型(我们所举的例子中的 *acc-passive-lexical-rule*)就是 *word* 的次类型。由于词汇规则具有类型, 就可以对词汇规则进行概括。

目前我们讨论的词汇规则适用于人称被动。但是, 对于非人称被动, 我们就需要第二条词汇规则了。而且, 我们需要针对被动和完成时准备两条不同的词汇项, 尽管在德语中他们的形式是一样的。在下面, 我将讨论被动的理论所需的基本假设, 该假设可以充分地解释人称被动和非人称被动, 并且只需要用分词形式的一个词汇项来说明就足够了。

### 9.2.1 配价信息与格原则

在第 3.4.1 节, 结构格与结构之间是有差异的。在 HPSG 的文献中, 一般按照 Haider (1986a) 的观点, 认为与格是一个词汇格。对于带有词汇格标记的论元来说, 他们的格的值直接在论元的描写中有所表示。带有结构格的论元也在词汇中说明了, 他们带有结构格, 只不过没有给出真正的格的值。为了保证语法不会得到任何错误的结论, 它必须要确保结构格根据他们出现的语境而得到一个独一无二的值。这点由格原则来处理:<sup>15</sup>

#### Principle 2 (格原则)

- 在一个包括主语和补足语的动词中心语的列表中, 第一个带有结构格的成分是主格。
- 该列表中的所有其他带有结构格的成分是宾格。
- 在主格的上下文中, 带有结构格的成分被赋予了属格。

例 (40) 给出了定式动词的原型配价列表:

- (40) a. *schläft* (睡觉): SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{str}]_j \rangle$   
 b. *unterstützt* (支持): SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{str}]_j, \text{NP}[\text{str}]_k \rangle$   
 c. *hilft* (帮助): SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{str}]_j, \text{NP}[\text{ldat}]_k \rangle$   
 d. *schenkt* (给): SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{str}]_j, \text{NP}[\text{ldat}]_k, \text{NP}[\text{str}]_l \rangle$

*str* 表示词汇与格的 *structural* 和 *ldat*。格原则确保了上面所列动词的主语实现为主格, 而带有结构格的宾语被赋予了宾格。

对于结构格和词汇格之间的区别, 我们可以构造一个被动—词汇规则来表示人称被动和非人称被动:

- (41) 人称被动和非人称被动的词汇规则 (简化版):

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{stem} \\ \text{PHON } \boxed{1} \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT } \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \text{verb} \\ \text{SUBCAT} & \langle \text{NP}[\text{str}] \rangle \oplus \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \mapsto \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON } f(\boxed{1}) \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT } \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \left[ \text{VFORM } \textit{ppp} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} & \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

<sup>15</sup> 这里的格原则被简化了。所谓的“升”格需要特殊的处理。更多细节可以参考 Meurers (1999c)、Przepiórkowski (1999a) 和 Müller (2007b: Chapter 14, Chapter 17)。这些著作中给出的格原则与 Yip, Maling & Jackendoff (1987) 提出的理论非常相似, 由此该原则也可以解释他们的工作中所讨论的语言的格系统, 尤其是爱尔兰语复杂的格系统。



这条词汇规则真正做到了我们在被动的预备理论的方面上所期待的功能：它抑制了带有结构格的最凸显的论元，即对应于主动句的主语的论元。动词—助动词结构的标准分析认为主动词和助动词构成了一个动词性复杂结构 (Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1994; Pollard 1994; Müller 1999a, 2002a; Meurers 2000; Kathol 2000)。嵌套的论元被助动词替代。在加入被动助动词分词后，我们可以得到如下的 SUBCAT 列表：

- (42) a. *geschlafen wird* (被睡觉) : SUBCAT  $\langle \rangle$   
 b. *unterstützt wird* (被支持) : SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{str}]_k \rangle$   
 c. *geholfen wird* (被帮助) : SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{ldat}]_k \rangle$   
 d. *geschenkt wird* (被给) : SUBCAT  $\langle \text{NP}[\text{ldat}]_k, \text{NP}[\text{str}]_l \rangle$

(42) 与 (40) 是不同的，因为首位的 NP 是不同的。如果 NP 具有结构格，它就会得到主格。如果没有带结构格的 NP，如例 (42c) 所示，那么格不会变化，即由词汇确定的。

我们在这儿无法得到完美的分析。不过，需要指出的是，对于与分词相同的词汇项被用于 (43)。

- (43) a. Er hat den Weltmeister geschlagen.  
       他 AUX DET 世界. 冠军 打  
       ‘他把世界冠军打了。’  
 b. Der Weltmeister wurde geschlagen.  
       DET 世界. 冠军 AUX 打  
       ‘世界冠军被打了。’

助动词决定了哪些论元被实现了 (Haider 1986a, Müller 2007b: Chapter 17)。(41) 中的词汇规则允准了可以用在被动和完成式中的形式。这样，vFORM value 属于 *ppp*，它表示完成式被动分词 (participle perfect passive)。

我们应该注意到，该分析适用于没有成分移动的被动。这里没有涉及 GB 分析中的问题。论元的重新排序 (请看第 9.4 节) 是独立于被动化的。与 GPSG、Categorial Grammar 或 Bresnan 的 LFG 分析不同的是，在词汇映射理论 (请看第 208 页) 引入之前完全没有提及宾格宾语。被动可以直接分析为主语的抑制。任何别的成分都与语法的其他原则具有互动关系。

### 9.3 动词位置

我这里要说明的动词位置分析是基于 GB 分析的。在 HPSG 中，有许多不同的方法来描述动词的位置，但是，依我看，GB 分析的 HPSG 变体是唯一合适的 (Müller 2005b,c, 2015b)。(44) 的分析可以总结如下：在动词首位的小句中，动词末位上有一个语迹。在首位的位置上有一个动词的特殊形式选择了动词语迹的投射。特殊的词汇项由词汇规则允准。动词和语迹之间的连接被看作是 GPSG 中的长距离依存问题，并通过树中的信息或特征结构 (结构共享) 的识别来实现。

- (44) Kennt<sub>k</sub> jeder diesen Mann <sub>-k</sub>?  
       认识 每人 这 男人  
       ‘每个人都认识这个男人吗?’

图 9.8给出了这一问题的整体情况。位于动词末位的动词语迹跟动词在句法和语义

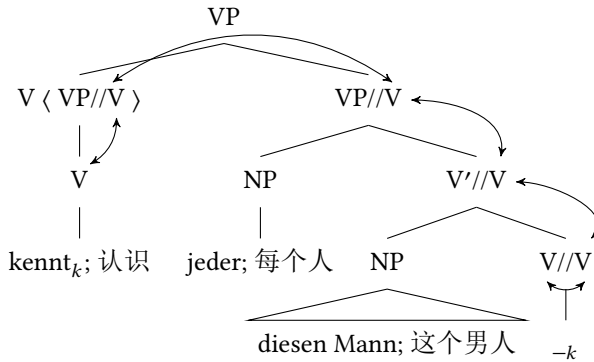


图 9.8: HPSG 中动词位置的分析

上非常相似。缺失动词的信息表示为特征 DOUBLE SLASH（缩写为：DSL）的值。这是一个中心语特征，并且传递到了最大投射上（VP）。位于首位的动词在它的缺失了动词（VP//V）的 SUBCAT list 中包含一个 VP。这是跟规则的输入中的同样的动词，它正常出现在末位上。在图 9.8中，由两个最大的动词投射：作为中心语带有语迹的 *jeder diesen Mann*<sub>-k</sub> 和作为中心语带有 *kennt* 的 *kennt jeder diesen Mann*<sub>-k</sub>。

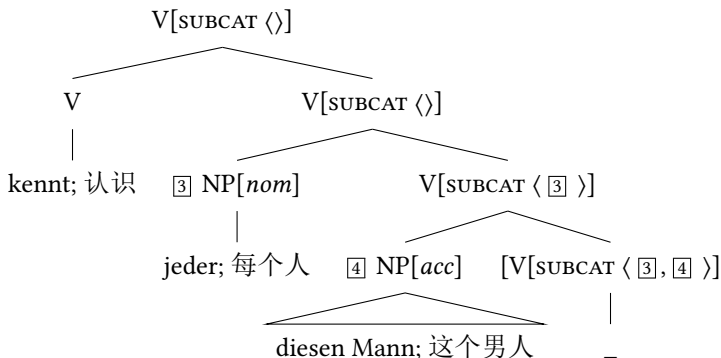
该分析将在下面的内容中得到更多细节上的解释。对于图 9.8中的语迹来说，我们需要假定（45）中的词汇项。

(45) *kennt*（认识）的动词语迹：

PHON	⟨ ⟩																						
SYNSEM LOC	<table> <tr> <td>CAT</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>SUBCAT</td> <td>⟨ NP[<i>nom</i>]<sub>[1]</sub>, NP[<i>acc</i>]<sub>[2]</sub> ⟩</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>CONT</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td>IND</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>RELS</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	CAT	<table> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>SUBCAT</td> <td>⟨ NP[<i>nom</i>]<sub>[1]</sub>, NP[<i>acc</i>]<sub>[2]</sub> ⟩</td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>	VFORM <i>fin</i>	SUBCAT	⟨ NP[ <i>nom</i> ] <sub>[1]</sub> , NP[ <i>acc</i> ] <sub>[2]</sub> ⟩	CONT	<table> <tr> <td>IND</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>RELS</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	IND	<sub>[3]</sub>	RELS	<table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table>	<i>kennen</i>		EVENT	<sub>[3]</sub>	EXPERIENCER	<sub>[1]</sub>	THEME	<sub>[2]</sub>
	CAT	<table> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>SUBCAT</td> <td>⟨ NP[<i>nom</i>]<sub>[1]</sub>, NP[<i>acc</i>]<sub>[2]</sub> ⟩</td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>	VFORM <i>fin</i>	SUBCAT	⟨ NP[ <i>nom</i> ] <sub>[1]</sub> , NP[ <i>acc</i> ] <sub>[2]</sub> ⟩															
	HEAD	<table> <tr> <td><i>verb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM <i>fin</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>verb</i>	VFORM <i>fin</i>																			
	<i>verb</i>																						
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SUBCAT	⟨ NP[ <i>nom</i> ] <sub>[1]</sub> , NP[ <i>acc</i> ] <sub>[2]</sub> ⟩																						
CONT	<table> <tr> <td>IND</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>RELS</td> <td> <table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	IND	<sub>[3]</sub>	RELS	<table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table>	<i>kennen</i>		EVENT	<sub>[3]</sub>	EXPERIENCER	<sub>[1]</sub>	THEME	<sub>[2]</sub>										
IND	<sub>[3]</sub>																						
RELS	<table> <tr> <td><i>kennen</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EVENT</td> <td><sub>[3]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXPERIENCER</td> <td><sub>[1]</sub></td> </tr> <tr> <td>THEME</td> <td><sub>[2]</sub></td> </tr> </table>	<i>kennen</i>		EVENT	<sub>[3]</sub>	EXPERIENCER	<sub>[1]</sub>	THEME	<sub>[2]</sub>														
<i>kennen</i>																							
EVENT	<sub>[3]</sub>																						
EXPERIENCER	<sub>[1]</sub>																						
THEME	<sub>[2]</sub>																						

这个词汇项与普通动词 *kennt* 的区别只在于它的 PHON value。带有语迹的分析的句法过程如图 9.9 on the next page所示。

将语迹与 *diesen Mann*（这个男人）和 *jeder*（每个人）的组合遵守了我们目前提到的规则与原则。这就要求我们立刻回答是什么允准了图 9.9中的动词以及它具有的地位。

图 9.9: *Kennt jeder diesen Mann?* (每个人都认识这个男人吗?) 的分析

如果我们想要捕捉到这样的事实，位于首位的定式动词像一个补足语的话 (Höhle 1997)，那么就可以给予图 9.9 中 *kennt* 以中心语地位，而且允许 *kennt* 选择一个饱和的、动词位于末位的动词投射。位于首位的定式动词与补足语是不同的，因为他们需要一个动词语迹的投射，而补足语需要显性动词的投射。

- (46) a. *dass [jeder diesen Mann kennt]*  
 CONJ      每人    这    男人    认识  
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人’  
 b. *Kennt [jeder diesen Mann \_]*  
 认识    每人    这    男人  
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人吗?’

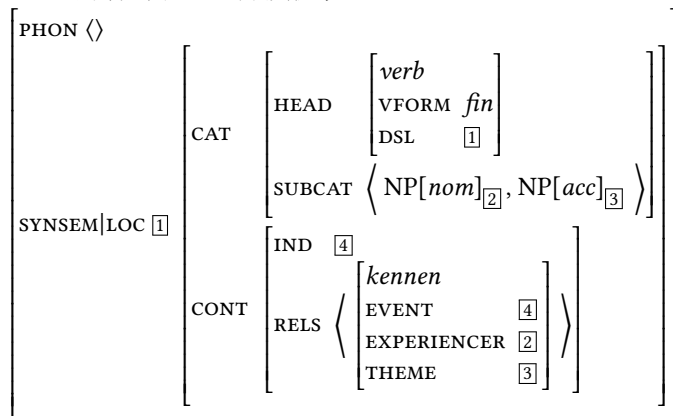
通常来说，并不是 *kennen* (认识) 选择一个完整的句子，而且没有其他任何东西对于分析 (46b) 中的作为中心语的 *kennt* 来说是必要的。进而，我们必须确保带有 *kennt* 的动词投射与包括属于 *kennt* 的动词投射相组合。比如说，如果它能包括一个属于 *gibt* (给) 的语迹，那么我们就可以分析 (47b) 中的句子了：

- (47) a. *Gibt [der Mann der Frau das Buch \_gibt]?*  
 给    DET 男人    DET 女人    DET 书  
 ‘这个男人给这个女人书了吗?’  
 b. *\*Kennt [der Mann der Frau das Buch \_gibt]?*  
 认识    DET 男人    DET 女人    DET 书

在前面的讨论中，前置动词和动词语迹的依存关系通过同指来表示。在 HPSG 中，同指总是由结构共享来实现的。位于首位的动词必须要求语迹具有确切地具有动词应该具有的那些属性，即它位于末尾。由此，必须共享的信息都是局部相关的句法和语义信息，即在 *LOCAL* 下的所有信息。因为 *PHON* 不是 *LOCAL* 特征的一部分，它没有被共享，这就是为什么语迹的 *PHON* 值和动词的值可以不同的原因。截至目前，该分析中有一个重要的细节缺失了：语迹的 *LOCAL* 值不能与首位动词的要求直接结构共享，因为动词 *kennt* 只能选择语迹的投射的属性，而被选择的投射

的 SUBCAT list 是空列表。这就导致 (47b) 的讨论中所指出的问题。由此, 必须保证动词语迹的所有信息在它的投射的最高点上可获得。这可以通过中心语特征的引入来获得, 它的值与语迹的 LOCAL value 值是相同的。这个特征被称为 DSL。正如在上面已经提及的, DSL 表示双重斜杠 (double slash)。它被这样称呼的原因是, 它有一个跟 SLASH feature 相似的功能, 我们可以在后面的章节中讲到这个功能。<sup>16</sup> (48) 显示了动词语迹的修订版本:

(48) *kennt* 的动词语迹 (初级版本):



通过对 (48) 中的 LOCAL value 和 DSL 的值的共享, 动词语迹的句法和语义信息在它的最大投射上表示出来, 而且位于首位的动词可以核查这个语迹的投射是否是兼容的。<sup>17</sup>

对于动词位于首位的具体的词汇项由下面的词汇规则允准:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 特征 DSL 是由 Jacobson (1987a) 在范畴语法的框架下提出用来描写英语倒装的中心语移动的。Borsley (1989) 采用了这一观点, 并将其译为 HPSG 的术语, 这样就可以看到, 在 CP/IP 系统的 HPSG 变体中, 中心语移位是如何用 DSL 模拟的。DSL 特征在 HPSG 的中心语移位过程的引入是由这样的事实驱动的, 与第 9.5 节讨论的长距离依存不同的是, 这类移位是局部的。这种将动词语迹作为中心语的部分的信息的渗透来自于 Oliva (1992)。

<sup>17</sup> 需要注意的是, (48) 中的描写是循环的, 因为标签 [ ] 用于它自己内部。请看第 6.5 节关于循环特征描写的内容。循环描写是用来表示语言对象的最为直接的方式, 这个语言对象带有缺失的局部属性, 并且将这些信息作为 DSL feature 的值按照中心语路径传递上去。当我们看到第 265 页上的 (50) 的动词语迹的最终版本时, 这种思路会显得更为清晰。

<sup>18</sup> 这个词汇规则分析不能解释 (i) 这类的句子:

- (i) Karl kennt und liebt diese Schallplatte.  
Karl 认识 和 爱 这 专辑

这与词汇规则不能用于并列的结果是有关联的, 它构成了一个复杂的句法对象。如果我们将词汇规则分别应用到每个动词上的话, 那么我们会得到动词的不同类型, 他们分别选择 *kennen* (认识) 和 *lieben* (爱) 的动词语迹。由于连词的 CAT values 在并列中互相指认, 包括 *kennt* 和 *liebt* 的 V1 的变体的并列可以被排除出去, 因为被选择的 VPs 的 DSL values 包括各自动词的意义, 而且是不兼容的 (Müller 2005b: 13)。除了词汇规则, 我们需要假定一个一元的句法规则, 它应用到短语 *kennt und liebt* (认识和爱) 上。正如我们看到的, 这里假定的 HPSG 形式化的词汇规则对应于一元规则, 这样 (49) 和相应的句法规则的区别很大程度上是表达上的差异。

(49) 位于首位的动词的词汇规则:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC } \boxed{1} \\ \text{CAT|HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } \textit{fin} \\ \text{INITIAL } - \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \mapsto \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \\ \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } \textit{fin} \\ \text{INITIAL } + \\ \text{DSL } \textit{none} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{LOC|CAT} \\ \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{DSL } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

由这个词汇规则允许的动词选择了动词语迹的最大投射，它跟输入动词具有相同的局部属性。这是由输入动词的 *LOCAL* 和选择的动词投射的 *DSL* 值的共指来实现的。只有末位 (*INITIAL*-) 中的定式动词可以作为这一规则的输入。输出是位于首位 (*INITIAL*+) 的动词。相应的扩展分析如图 9.10 所示。V1-LR 表示动词首位的词汇规则。

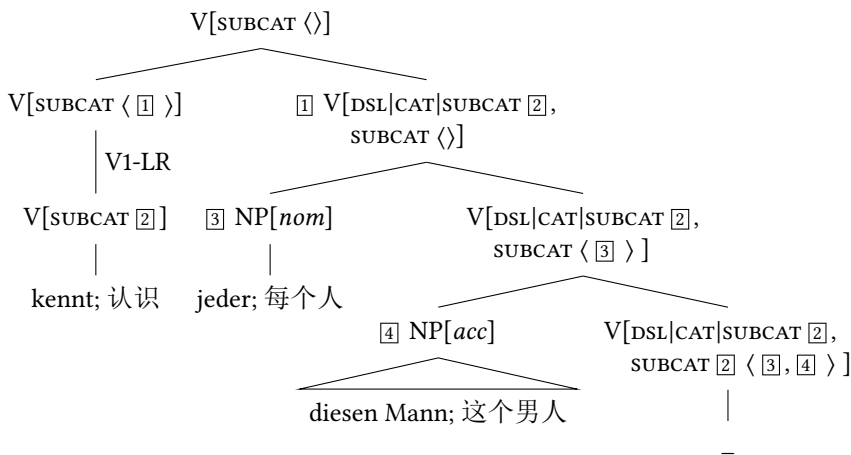


图 9.10: *Kennt jeder diesen Mann?* (每个人都认识这个男人吗?) 的分析的可视化

(49) 中的词汇规则允准了选择 VP (图 9.10 中的 1) 的动词。这个 VP 的 *DSL* value 对应于动词的 *LOCAL* value，它是词汇规则的输入。*DSL* value 的部分也是图 9.10 (2) 中表示的配价信息。因为 *DSL* 是一个中心语特征，VP 的 *DSL* value 与动词语迹是相同的，而且由于动词语迹的 *LOCAL* value 与 *DSL* value 是相同的，动词 *kennen* 的 *SUBCAT* 信息在语迹中也是可获得的。语迹与其论元的组合跟普通动词相比是完全

一样的。

如果我们必须为每个动词假定一个具体的语迹，这样就不令人满意了。幸运的是，这是不必要的，因为（50）中的一个普通的语迹对于带有动词移位的句子的分析来说是足够的了。

(50) 按照Meurers (2000: 206–208)观点的一般动词语迹：

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON } \langle \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC } \boxed{1} \left[ \text{CAT|HEAD|DSL } \boxed{1} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

这刚看上去可能有些出人意料，但是如果我们仔细看词汇规则（49）和树中 DSL 特征的渗透的互动关系，那么动词投射的 DSL value 就更加清晰了，由此，动词语迹的 LOCAL value 由输入动词的 LOCAL value 决定。在图 9.10 中，*kennt* 是动词移位词汇规则的输入。相应的结构共享可以确保，在（44）的分析中，动词语迹的 LOCAL value 确切地对应于（48）中给出的内容。

动词位置分析的最为重要的内容的总结如下所示：

- 词汇规则允准了每个定式动词的具体的词汇项。
- 该词汇项占据了首位，并且要求它的论元是动词语迹的完整投射。
- 动词语迹的投射必须具有 DSL value，以对应于词汇规则的输入动词的 LOCAL value。
- 由于 DSL 是一个中心语特征，被选择的 DSL value 也在语迹中表示。
- 正如语迹的 DSL value 与它的 LOCAL value 是相同的，语迹的 LOCAL value 与词汇规则的输入动词的 LOCAL value 是一致的。

在讨论完动词开头的句子之后，我们现在来看局部重新排序的内容。

## 9.4 局部重新排序

针对中场的语序分析有许多种可能性：我们可以假定一个 GPSG 中的平铺结构 (Kasper 1994)、或者假定一个二叉结构，并且允许论元按照任意语序来填充。Kathol (2001) 和 Müller (1999a, 2002a, 2004c) 提出了一个折衷的看法：带有具体列表的二叉结构，这个列表包括属于一个中心语的论元和说明语。论元和说明语在这些列表内部按照自由语序排列。请看 Reape (1994) 和本书的第 11.7.2.2 节有关这些方法的形式化表示。所有这些平铺分析和折衷分析都被证明是错误的（请看 Müller 2005b, 2014c 和 Müller 2007b: Section 9.5.1），由此，我只讨论二叉结构的分析。

图 9.11 on the next page 表示了（51a）的分析。

- (51) a. [weil] jeder diesen Mann kennt  
因为 每人 这 人 认识

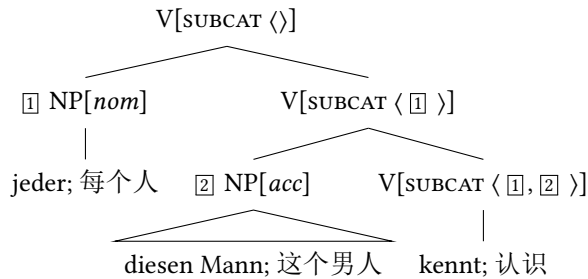


图 9.11: HPSG 中的成分序列分析: 无标记语序

- b. [weil] diesen Mann jeder kennt  
 因为 这 人 每人 认识  
 ‘因为每个人都认识这个男人’

正如第 9.1.2 节所解释的, 动词的论元与 SUBCAT list 的最后一个成分开头的动词相组合。有标记语序的分析如图 9.12 所示。这两棵树的区别只在于从 SUBCAT list 中取

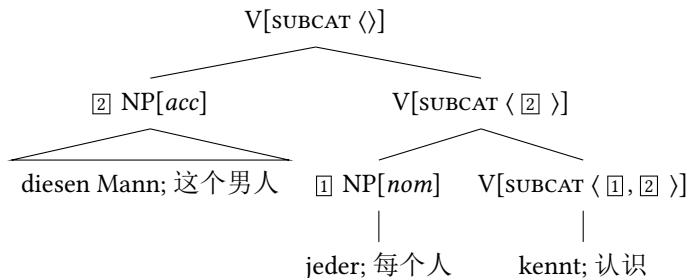


图 9.12: HPSG 中成分序列的分析: 有标记语序

走的成分的顺序: 在图 9.11 中, SUBCAT list 的最后一个成分先被释放, 而图 9.12 中是第一个成分。

下面的模式是中心语-论元模式的修订版:

### Schema 3 (中心语-论元模式 (二叉结构))

*head-argument-phrase*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT } [1] \oplus [3] \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SUBCAT } [1] \oplus \langle [2] \rangle \oplus [3] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS } \langle [ \text{SYNSEM } [2] ] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

在第一版的中心语-论元模式中, 总是 SUBCAT list 中的最后一个成分与中心语相组

合, SUBCAT list 通过附加 (append) 被分成了三个部分: 一个任意长度的列表 (①)、一个只包括一个成分 (⟨②⟩) 的列表, 以及一个更长的任意长度的列表 (③)。列表①和 (③) 被组合起来, 并且结果是母节点的 SUBCAT value。具有固定语序的语言 (如英语) 与德语这类语言是不同的, 因为他们从一个方向开始释放论元 (更多有关英语的主语内容, 请看第 9.6.1 节), 而自由语序的语言可以按照任意顺序将动词与论元相组合。在固定语序的语言中, 要么是①要么是③总是空列表。由于德语结构没有受到与①或③相关的限制, 也就是①和③要么是空列表, 要么包括某些成分, 这一直觉是指自由语序的语言比固定语序的语言具有更少的限制。我们可以将这个与第 4.6.1 节的 Kayne 式的分析相比较, 这里它被认为是所有语言都是从基础语序 [specifier [head complement]] 推导而来的 (请看图 4.20 on page 135 关于德语作为 SVO 语言的分析 (Laenzlinger 2004))。在这些分析中, 诸如英语的语言包括最为基本的格, 而自由语序的语言需要花费一些理论上的努力来得到正确的语序。与之相对比的是, 这里提出的分析需要更多理论上的限制, 如果这个语言在它的成分排列上具有更多的限制的话。被允许结构的复杂度在 HPSG 理论的方法下并没有语言与语言之间的区别。语言只是在他们所属的分支类型上是不同的。<sup>19, 20</sup>

这里展示的分析应用了任意顺序的论元的组合, 这与 GB/MP 框架下的 Fanselow (2001) 的分析, 以及 Hoffman (1995: Section 3.1) 和 Steedman & Baldridge (2006) 的范畴语法的分析是很相似的。Gunji 早在 1986 年就针对日语提出了类似的 HPSG 分析。

## 9.5 长距离依存

长距离依存分析应用了最初由 GPSG 中发展而来的技术: 关于缺失成分的信息被传递到树上 (或者特征结构中)。<sup>21</sup> 在前置的成分的位置上一般会有一个语迹。图 9.13 on the following page 表示了 (52) 的分析。

- (52) [Diesen Mann]<sub>j</sub> kennt<sub>i</sub> <sub>-j</sub> jeder <sub>-i</sub>.  
       这     男人    认识     每人  
       ‘每个人都认识这个男人。’

原则上, 我们也可以假定宾语是从未标记的位置上提取出来的 (请看第 3.5 节关于未标记位置的内容)。提取的语迹可以在主语后面:

<sup>19</sup> 这并没有排除这样的事实, 我们讨论的这个结构具有不同的属性, 只要把他们的处理度考虑进来的话。请看 Gibson (1998); Hawkins (1999) 和第 15 章。

<sup>20</sup> Haider (1997b: 18) 指出, 这里提出的这类分析中, VX 语言的分支类型与 XV 语言的分支类型不同。这影响了 c-统制关系, 并且这样对 GB/MP 下的约束理论产生了影响。但是, 分支的方向与 HPSG 的分析是无关的, 因为约束原则被界定为使用了 o-统制 (Pollard & Sag 1994: Chapter 6), 而 o-统制对应于旁格层级, 即 SUBCAT list 中元素的语序, 而不是这些元素与中心语相组合的语序。

<sup>21</sup> 在 HPSG 中, 没有什么真正地在特征结构和树中按照字面意义“向上传递”了。这可以看作是确定性理论 (如 HPSG 理论) 与像转换语法一样的推导性理论之间的最为重要的差别 (请看第 15.1 节)。不过, 它对于解释性的目的是有意义的, 它为了解释这个分析就好像这个结构是自底向上构建的, 但是语言知识独立于处理的方向。在最近的计算实现中, 结构的构建更多是自底向上的, 但是还有其他自顶向下工作的系统。非局部依存的分析中唯一重要的事情是缺失成分的信息, 这个成分在所有的中间节点上与填充语和空位的信息是一致的。



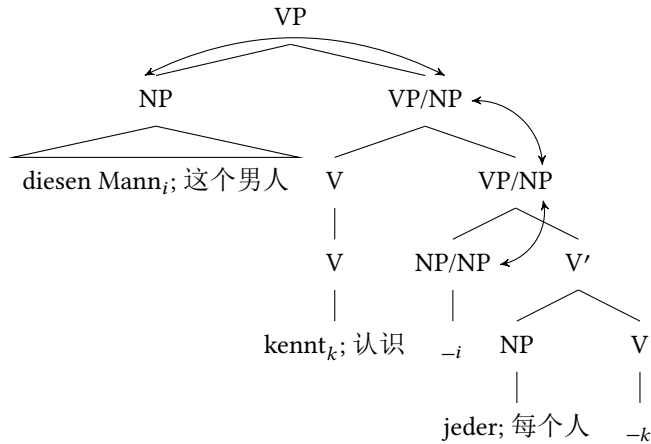


图 9.13: HPSG 中的长距离依存分析

- (53) [Diesen Mann]<sub>j</sub> kennt<sub>i</sub> jeder <sub>-j -i</sub>.  
这 男人 认识 每人  
‘每个人都认识这个男人。’

Fanselow (2004b)认为, 某些特定的短语可以不具有特殊的语用功能而在前场被替换。比如说, 主动句中的(虚位)主语(54a)、时间副词(54b)、句子副词(54c)、心理动词的与格宾语(54d), 以及被动中的宾语(54e)可以在前场被替换, 即使他们既不是话题, 也不是焦点。

- (54) a. Es regnet.  
它 下雨  
‘下雨了。’  
b. Am Sonntag hat ein Eisbär einen Mann gefressen.  
PREP 星期天 AUX 一 北极熊 一 人 吃  
‘在星期天, 有一头北极熊吃了一个人。’  
c. Vielleicht hat der Schauspieler seinen Text vergessen.  
也许 AUX DET 男演员 他的 台词 忘记  
‘也许, 这个男演员已经忘记他的台词了。’  
d. Einem Schauspieler ist der Text entfallen.  
一.DAT 男演员 AUX DET.NOM 台词 忘记  
‘一位男演员忘记台词了。’  
e. Einem Kind wurde das Fahrrad gestohlen.  
一.DAT 孩子 AUX DET.NOM 自行车 偷  
‘一辆自行车从一个孩子那里被偷走了。’

Fanselow 认为信息结构的影响与中场的重新排序有关。所以通过 (55) 中宾格宾语的排序, 我们可以得到特定的效果:

- (55) Kennt diesen Mann jeder?  
 认识 这 男人 每人  
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人吗?’

如果有人认为有前置成分移到了 *Vorfeld*, 而且他们不具有连接到他们上的结构限制的信息, 而且这些结构限制的信息与中场的重新排序是有联系的, 那么这个在中场的首位成分被前置的假设解释了为什么 (54) 中的例子没有标记的结构信息。前场的成分在中场的首位也是没有标记的:

- (56) a. Regnet es?  
 下雨 它  
 ‘下雨了吗?’
- b. Hat am Sonntag ein Eisbär einen Mann gefressen?  
 AUX PREP 星期天 一 北极熊 一 人 吃  
 ‘一个北极熊在星期天吃了一个人吗?’
- c. Hat vielleicht der Schauspieler seinen Text vergessen?  
 AUX 也许 DET 男演员 他的 台词 忘记  
 ‘这位男演员忘记他的台词了吗?’
- d. Ist einem Schauspieler der Text entfallen?  
 AUX 一.DAT 男演员 DET.NOM 台词 忘记  
 ‘一个男演员忘记台词了吗?’
- e. Wurde einem Kind das Fahrrad gestohlen?  
 AUX 一.DAT 孩子 DET.NOM 自行车 偷  
 ‘有辆自行车从孩子那里偷走了吗?’

所以, 我认为前置论元的语迹在未标记的语序中不是中场-首位的, 而是最后与中心语相组合, 正如在第 9.4 节所描述的那样。当然, 这也同样适用于那些在未标记语序的中场-首位的所有提取的论元: 以 (57) 为例, 语迹最后与中心语组合:

- (57) [Jeder]<sub>j</sub> kennt<sub>i</sub> \_<sub>j</sub> diesen Mann \_<sub>i</sub>.  
 每人 认识 这 男人  
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人。’

在介绍完基本思想之后, 我们现在来看技术上的细节: 与我们在第 9.3 节讨论的动词移位不同的是, 成分移位是非局部的, 这就是为什么两个移位类型按照不同的特征 (SLASH vs. DSL) 来模拟的原因。DSL 是一个中心语特征, 而且跟所有其他中心语特征一样, 投射到投射层的最高点 (更多有关中心语特征原则的内容, 请看第 248 页)。另一方面, SLASH 是一个属于 SYNSEM|NONLOC 下表示的 NONLOC 特征的特征。NONLOC 特征的值是带有特征 INHERITED (或者简写为 INHER) 和 TO-BIND

的结构。*INHER* 的值是一个包括长距离依存中的成分的信息。(58) 给出了 Pollard & Sag (1994: 163) 提出的结构:<sup>22</sup>

$$(58) \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{nonloc} & \\ \text{QUE} & \text{list of } n\text{pros} \\ \text{REL} & \text{list of indices} \\ \text{SLASH} & \text{list of local structures} \end{array} \right]$$

*QUE* 对于疑问句的分析是很重要的, 就像 *REL* 对于关系小句的分析是非常重要的。由于这些内容不在本书的范围内, 所以后面我们会省略这些内容。*SLASH* 的值是 *local* 对象的一个列表。

正如动词移位的分析中, 我们假定在宾格宾格通常出现的位置上有一个语迹, 而且这个语迹共享了那个宾语的属性。由此, 动词可以在局部满足它的配价要求。对于语迹是否与真正的论元相组合的信息在复杂的符号内部表示, 并且在树上传递。这样, 长距离依存的问题就可以通过树中更高的位于前场的成分得到解决。

长距离依存通过语迹而引入, 它在其 *SLASH* list 中有一个对应于必有论元的 *LOCAL* value 的特征。(59) 显示了对于 (52) 的分析必需的语迹的描述:

(59) *kennen* 的宾格宾语的语迹 (初级版本):

$$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{word} & \\ \text{PHON} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{LOC} & \left[ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{1} \text{ CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{HEAD} & \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{CAS } \text{acc} \end{array} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NONLOC} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{INHER|SLASH} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{TO-BIND|SLASH} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

由于语迹没有内部结构 (没有子节点), 他们属于类型 *word*。语迹跟宾格宾语具有相同的属性。宾格宾语没在语迹占据的位置上出现的事实通过 *SLASH* 的值来表示。

下面的原则管的是 *NONLOC* 的信息被传递到了树上。

### Principle 3 (非局部特征原则)

在中心语短语中, 对于每个非局部特征来说, 母节点的 *INHERITED* 值是一个列表, 该列表是子节点的 *INHERITED* 值减去中心语子节点的 *TO-BIND* 列表中的成分的连接。

中心语-填充语模式 (模式 4) 允准了图 9.14 在下一页中的最高节点。该模式组合了一个定式的、动词首位的小句 (*INITIAL+*), 这个小句在带有非中心语的子节点的 *SLASH* 中有一个成分, 它的 *LOCAL* 值与 *SLASH* 成分的值是相同的。在这个结构中, 没有论元被满足了。没有任何动词可以从填充语子节点本身提取出来, 这通过非

<sup>22</sup> Pollard & Sag 认为, *QUE*、*REL* 和 *SLASH* 的值是集合, 而不是列表。集合背后的数学原理更为复杂, 这就是为什么我在这里认为是列表。

## Schema 4 (中心语-填充语模式)

$$\text{head-filler-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } fin \\ \text{INITIAL } + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBCAT } \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NONLOC} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{INHER|SLASH } \langle [1] \rangle \\ \text{TO-BIND|SLASH } \langle [1] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SYNSEM} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{LOC } [1] \\ \text{NONLOC|INHER|SLASH } \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

中心语子节点的 SLASH 值的确定而实现的。图 9.14 给出了前置到前场的分析的具体变体。*kennt* (认识) 的动词移位语迹跟一个名词性 NP 和一个提取的语迹相组合。

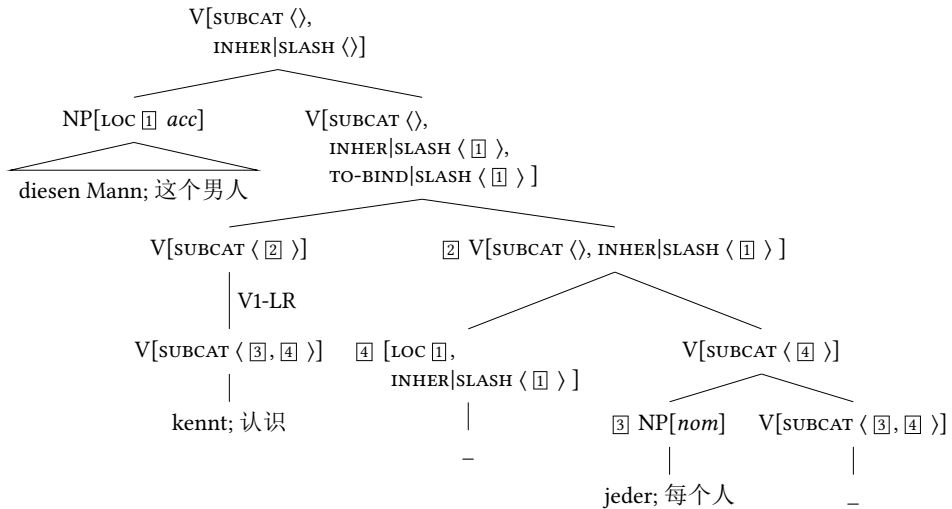


图 9.14: 针对动词首位语序的结合了动词移位分析的 *Diesen Mann kennt jeder.* (每个人都认识这个男人。) 的分析

提取的语迹表示我们例子中的宾格宾语。宾格宾语在动词 [4] 的 SUBCAT list 中有所描述。按照动词移位的机制, 在 *kennt* 的词汇项最初包括的配价信息 ( $\langle [3], [4] \rangle$ ) 在动词语迹中有所表示。动词语迹的投射与提取语迹的组合跟非前置的论元具有相同的方式。提取语迹的 SLASH value 被传递到树上, 并且通过中心语-补足语模式而完成。

(59) 为语迹提供了词汇项，它可以用作 *kennen* (认识) 的宾格宾语。正如动词移位分析，没有必要在词库中包括许多具有不同属性的提取语迹。一个更为普遍的词汇项将满足如下条件，如 (60) 中的例子所示：

(60) 提取语迹：

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LOC} \quad [1] \\ \text{NONLOC} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{INHER|SLASH} \quad \langle [1] \rangle \\ \text{TO-BIND|SLASH} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

这与这样的事实是有关系的，中心语可以令人满意地决定它所带论元的 *LOCAL* 属性，而且也可以决定它需组合的语迹的局部属性。在带有语迹 *SYNSEM value* 的中心语的 *SUBCAT list* 中的宾语的指认与这样的信息的指认是相关的，这些信息是关于前置的成分用来确保那些只能在前场实现的成分是哪符合中心语的 *SUBCAT list* 的描述的成分。同样的要求也适用于前置的状态：因为通过 *SLASH* 特征前场内成分的 *LOCAL value* 与语迹的 *LOCAL value* 是一致的，那么就有足够的关于语迹的属性信息。

上述分析的核心观点可以总结如下：关于语迹的局部属性的信息属于语迹本身，然后出现在所有统制它的节点上，直到它到达了填充语。这一分析可以为所谓的提取路径标记语言提供解释，其中某些成分表现出了屈折变化，这取决于他们是否是跟一个从长距离依存中提取出的某个成分相组合。Bouma, Malouf & Sag (2001a) 将爱尔兰语、Chamorro、Palauan、冰岛语、Kikuyu、Ewe、Thompson Salish、Moore、法语、西班牙语和依地语这类语言作为例子，并且提供了相应的参考信息。由于在 HPSG 的分析中，信息是逐步传递的，所有参与到长距离依存的节点可以接触到那个依存关系里的成分。

## 9.6 新的进展与理论变体

本节讨论第 9.6.1 节的配价信息表示的修订与完善，并且简短地提到了 HPSG 理论的重要变体，即第 9.6.2 节的基于线性的 HPSG。

### 9.6.1 限定语、补足语与论元结构

在本章，*SUBCAT* 被认为是唯一的配价特征。这对应于 Pollard & Sag (1994: Chapter 1-8) 的理论地位。对于组成成分的组合，还需要至少一个额外的配价特征和一个对应的模式。这个额外的特征叫做限定语 (*SPECIFIER*, *SPR*)，它被用来表示英语 (Pollard & Sag 1994: Chapter 9) 和德语 (Müller 2007b: Section 9.3) 语法中限定词与名词的组合。一般认为，名词选择它的限定词。对于名词 *Zerstörung* (毁坏) 来说，我们有如下的 *CAT value*：

$$(61) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{noun} \\ \text{INITIAL } + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \text{DET} \rangle \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \text{NP}[\text{GEN}], \text{PP}[\textit{durch}] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

模式 5 可以像中心语-论元模式那样来将名词和限定语相组合。

#### Schema 5 (限定语-中心语模式)

*head-specifier-phrase*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SYNSEM|LOC|CAT|SPR } [1] \\ \text{HEAD-DTR|SYNSEM|LOC|CAT} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \quad [1] \oplus \langle [2] \rangle \\ \text{SUBCAT} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \langle [\text{SYNSEM } [2]] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

应用限定语模式的对 (62) 中的 NP 的分析如图 9.15 所示。

- (62) die Zerstörung der Stadt durch die Soldaten  
 DET 毁灭 PREP.DET 城市 PREP DET 士兵

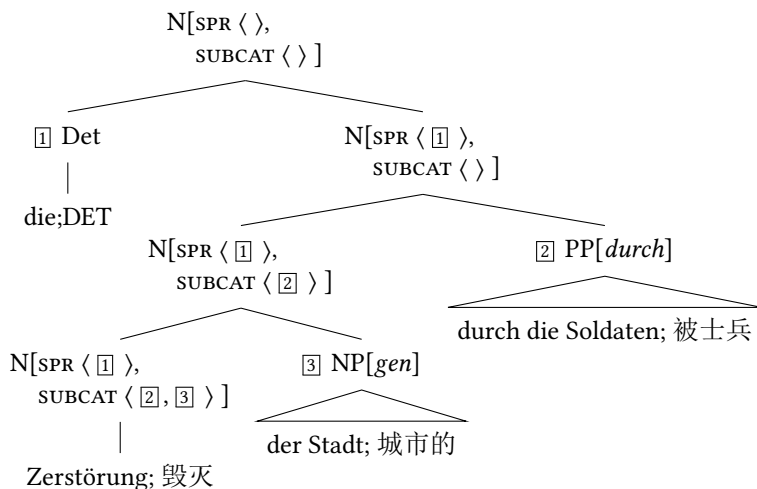


图 9.15: 带有配价特征 SPR 的 NP 分析

根据第 9.1.3 节讨论的线性规则, 可以保证名词在补足语之前, 因为名词的 INITIAL value 是 ‘+’。(63) 中的 LP-规则规定了限定词位于名词的左边。

- (63) 限定语 < 中心语

在英语语法中, *SPR feature* 也用来表示动词对主语的选择 (Sag, Wasow & Bender 2003: Section 4.3)。在 (64) 这样的句子中, 动词首先与它的所有补足语相组合 (在较新的工作中 *SUBCAT* 和 *COMPS* 中的成分), 然后在第二步应用 5 模式来将主语组合进来。

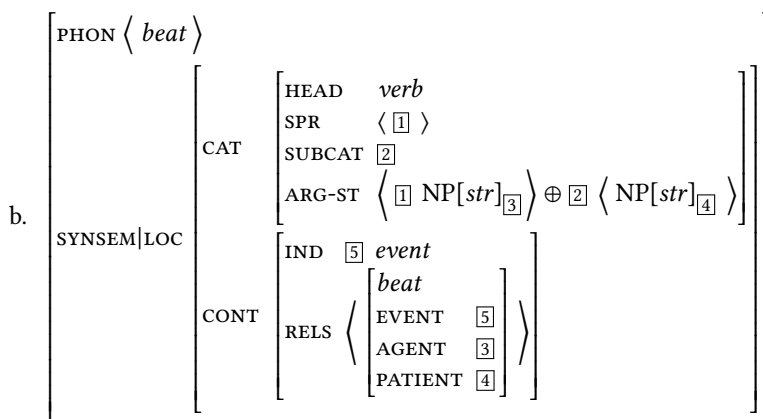
- (64) Max likes ice cream.  
Max 喜欢冰 奶油  
'Max 喜欢冰淇淋.'

正如我们在第 9.4 节看到的, 在定式句子的分析中按照相同的配价列表来表示主语和论元是有意义的。按照这种方式, 我们可以捕捉到这样的事实, 其中与论元相组合的动词不是固定的。尽管我们可以通过假定主语通过 *SPR* 来选择可以捕捉到不同的语序, 事实上置换是一个影响到所有论元的现象, 这一方式是没有覆盖在基于 *SPR* 的分析中的。进而, 主语的提取在英语这类语言中是不可能的, 但是在德语中是可能的 (相关参考资料和测试例子请看第 510 页)。我们可以通过假定英语中主语是通过 *SPR* 来选择的, 而 *SPR list* 中成分的提取是被禁止的这样的观点来说明他们的不同之处。因为德语中主语是表示在 *COMPS list* 上的, 这样就可以捕捉到他们与带有可能提取的宾语共存的事实。

Pollard & Sag (1994: Chapter 9) 提出的进一步的扩展是引入一个额外的列表, 它在较新的研究中叫做 *ARG-ST*。*ARG-ST* 表示论元结构。*ARG-ST list* 对应于我们在本章遇到的 *SUBCAT list*。它包括中心语的论元, 它们按照旁格等级来确定顺序。这个列表中的成分连接到中心语的语义内容中的论元角色 (请看第 9.1.6 节)。约束理论应用于 *ARG-ST list*。这一层次的表达可能对大部分语言来说都是一样的: 每一种语言都有语义谓词和语义论元。大多数语言利用在选择中发挥作用的句法范畴, 所以既有句法选择, 也有语义选择。<sup>23</sup> 语言之间的区别在于这些论元是如何实现的。在英语中, 配价列表中的第一个元素匹配到 *SPR list* 上, 而剩余的论元匹配到 *SUBCAT* (和近期工作中所说的 *COMPS list*) 上。在德语中, 动词的 *SPR list* 一直是空的。(65) 表示了德语和英语中相关的例子。

- (65) a. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{PHON} \langle \textit{schlag} \rangle \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{verb} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{SUBCAT} \quad [1] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad [1] \langle \text{NP}[\textit{str}]_{[2]}, \text{NP}[\textit{str}]_{[3]} \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{CONT} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{IND} \quad [4] \textit{event} \\ \text{RELS} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \textit{schlagen} \\ \text{EVENT} \quad [4] \\ \text{AGENT} \quad [2] \\ \text{PATIENT} \quad [3] \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

<sup>23</sup> Koenig & Michelson (2012) 指出, 奥奈达语 (北易洛魁语) 的分析没有囊括句法配价的表示。如果这个分析是正确的, 句法论元结构就不具有语言共性了, 而是大部分语言的特征而已。



我们可以将 ARG-ST list 看作是等同于 GB 理论的深层结构：语义角色按照这个列表来指派的。区别在于这里没有经历转换过程的有序的树。这样，有关所有的语言是从 VO 还是 OV 的语序生成而来的问题就变成无关的了。

### 9.6.2 基于线性顺序的 HPSG 理论

本章介绍的模式将邻接的成分组合起来。这里，关于邻接的假设可以忽略了，而非连续成分可以被允准。允许非连续成分的 HPSG 的变体通常被叫做基于线性的 HPSG 理论（Linearization-based HPSG）。最早的形式化体系是由 Mike Reape (1991, 1992, 1994) 开发的。支持线性方法的学者有 Kathol (1995, 2000); Donohue & Sag (1999); Richter & Sailer (1999b); Crysmann (2008); Beavers & Sag (2004); Sato (2006); Wetta (2011)。我也提出了基于线性的分析 (Müller 1999a, 2002a)，并在 Reape 的思想的基础上实现了大规模的语法片段 (Müller 1996c)。基于限定的方法对于德语句子结构的分析与 GPSG 采用的方法是十分相似的，因为它认为动词、论元和说明语是相同线性范畴的成员，由此可以按照任意顺序来排列。比如说，动词可以位于论元和说明语的前面或后面。所以说，在动词位于末位的位置上没有空成分是十分必要的。如果我们允许在动词位置的分析中不带空成分的话，那么就不清楚明显的多重前置该怎么处理了，尽管这些数据可以在本章提出的方法中被直接地获得。整个问题在 Müller (2015b) 中有更为详细的讨论。我在这里不对 Reape 的形式化进行解释，但是会在第 11.7.2.2 节来讨论，那里我们将对依存语法中的非连续、非投射的结构与基于线性的 HPSG 理论进行对比。明显的多重前置以及他们对简单的基于线性的方法提出的挑战将在第 11.7.1 节进行讨论。

## 9.7 总结

在 HPSG 中，特征描写被用于模拟语言对象的所有属性：根、词、词汇规则和统制模式都用相同的形式工具来描写。与 GPSG 和 LFG 不同的是，这里没有独立的短语结构规则。由此，尽管 HPSG 代表中心语驱动的短语结构语法，这里并没有短语结构语法。在 HPSG 的实现中，短语结构的支撑通常用来提高处理的效率。但是，这并不属于理论的一部分，而且在语言学上并不是必须的。



HPSG 与范畴语法 的不同之处在于，它假定了更多的特征，也在于被组合在一起的特征的方式在理论中起到了重要的作用。

在 HPSG 中，长距离依存并没有像范畴语法那样应用函数组合来分析，而是相反地跟 GPSG 一样利用树间的信息渗透。按照这样的方式，我们可以分析第 8.6 节讨论的那些随伴结构，这些结构中每个关系连词只有一个词汇项，而且相关的局部属性与指示代词的属性是相同的。(66) 中的关系小句被分析为一个定式小句，其中 PP 被提取出来：

- (66) der Mann, [<sub>RS</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> an den] [<sub>S/PP</sub> wir gedacht haben]]  
 DET 男人 PREP 谁 我们想 AUX  
 ‘我们想起的那个男人’

对于关系小句来说，我们要求第一个子节点包括一个关系代词。正如第 233 页的英语例子，这个代词事实上可以嵌套的非常深。关于 *an den* (谁的) 包括一个关系代词的信息的事实通过明确 NONLOC|INHER|REL 的值而表现在关系代词 *den* 的词汇项中。非局部特征原则将信息向上传递，这样有关关系代词的信息就包括在短语 *an den* 的表示中了。当这个关系小句被放在一起的时候 (Pollard & Sag 1994: Chapter 5, Sag 1997)，这个信息就完成使命了。我们不可能在 (66) 和 (67) 的分析中对 *den* 使用相同的词汇项，这与范畴语法是不同的，关系代词并不需要知道它可以使用的语境的任何信息。

- (67) der Mann, [<sub>RS</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> den] [<sub>S/NP</sub> wir kennen]]  
 DET 男人 CONJ 我们认识  
 ‘我们认识的那个男人’

任何想要表示这里所述的分析的理论必须要有这样的机制，要使得在复杂短语中有关关系代词的信息是可获取的。如果我们在我们的理论中有这样一个机制，正如 LFG 和 HPSG 中的那样，那么我们也可以将之用于长距离依存的分析。这样，诸如 LFG 和 HPSG 的理论在描述工具方面与其他理论相比就会显得有些吝啬，尤其是在针对关系短语的分析之中。

在 HPSG 历史的第一个十年中 (Pollard & Sag 1987, 1994; Nerbonne, Netter & Pollard 1994a)，尽管这里已经提到了一些区别，HPSG 与范畴语法仍是非常相似的，因为它是一个强势的基于词汇的理论。短语的句法构造与语义内容都是由中心语决定的 (所以叫做中心语驱动的)。一旦遇到无法直接进行中心语驱动的分析，因为在讨论的短语中没有中心语，那么通常的做法就是假定空中心语。一个例子就是 Pollard & Sag (1994: Chapter 5) 中的关系小句的分析。由于空中心语可以被指派给任意句法配价和任意的语义 (关于这一点的讨论，请看第 19 章)，我们并没有好的理由来解释人们为什么要假定空的中心语，比如说这个空位置可以在其他语境中得到实现。但是，空中心语的提出并不是为了维护理论的假设。基于此，Sag (1997) 提出了不用任何空成分的关系小句的分析。正如 (66) 和 (67) 草拟的分析一样，关系小句是直接由分句组合而成的，以构成关系小句。对于英语中可观察到的不同类型的关系小句，Sag 提出了不同的统制规则。他的分析偏离了强势的词汇主义：在 Pollard & Sag (1994) 中，只有六条统制模式，而在 Ginzburg & Sag (2000) 中有 23 条。

在最近的会议论文集中,也可以看到对于短语模式的区分的倾向。提出的观点从对空元素的删除到激进地采取短语的分析都有。<sup>24</sup>

即使向短语分析的倾斜会导致一些有问题的分析,事实上仍有一些语法的部分是需要短语分析的(请看第21.10节)。对于 HPSG 来说,这意味着它不再是中心语驱动的,而且既不是中心语驱动的,也不是短语结构语法。

HPSG 利用了类型特征描写来描述语言对象。概化可以通过带有多重承继的体系来表示。承继关系在构式语法中也起到了重要的作用。在诸如 GPSG、范畴语法和 TAG 中,它并不是理论解释的一部分。在实现中,宏语(macros)通常用来表示共现的特征值偶对(Dalrymple, Kaplan & King 2004)。按照假定的构架,这类宏语不适合短语的描写,因为,在诸如 GPSG 和 LFG 的理论中,短语结构规则的表达是不同于其他特征值偶对的(但是,请看 Asudeh, Dalrymple & Toivonen (2008, 2013)用于 c-结构标记的宏和承继关系)。进而,在类型和宏之间还有更深的区别,这些区别具有更为正式的本质:在类型系统的,可以在一定条件下从具体特征和具体值的存在中推导出具体结构的类型。对于宏来说,并不是这样,因为它们只是简称。不过,由这个区别引起的语法分析的后果是微不足道的。

HPSG 理论不同于 GB 理论及其后续的变体,因为它并没有假定转换关系。在上世纪 80 年代,有一些 GB 的表示变体被提出来,即他们认为没有 D-结构, S-结构是在自然对移位成分的原始位置的标记中创造出来的。相反,有人直接假定带有语迹的 S-结构,而且连 S-结构到逻辑形式的映射也被放弃了(Koster 1978、Haider 1993: Section 1.4、Frey 1993: 14)。这个观点对应于 HPSG 理论中的观点,而且一个框架内的许多分析都可以翻译到对方的理论中。

在 GB 理论中,术语主语和宾语没有起到直接的作用:我们可以用这些术语来进行描述,但是主语和宾语并没有根据特征或相似的机制来标记。无论如何,我们也是可以做出区分的,因为主语和宾语通常都实现在树中不同的位置上(主语位于 IP 的限定语位置上,而宾语作为动词的补足语)。在 HPSG 理论中,主语和宾语也不是理论的原始对象。因为配价列表是有序的,然后,这就意味着可以将 ARG-ST 成分与语法功能联系起来:如果有一个主语,这发生在配价列表的第一个位置上,然后宾语紧随其后。<sup>25</sup>对于基于转换语法的(68b)的分析来说,目标是为了连接(68a)中的基本语序和(68b)中的派生语序。一旦我们构造出了基本语法,那么什么是主语什么是宾语就非常清楚了。所以说,应用到(68a)中的基础结构的转换是需要被反转的。

- (68) a. [weil] jeder diesen Mann kennt  
           因为 每人 这 男人 认识  
           ‘因为每个人都认识这个男人’  
       b. [weil] diesen Mann jeder kennt  
           因为 这 男人 每人 认识

在 HPSG 和其他无转换的模型中,目标是为了将按照(68b)中的顺序排列的论元指派到配价列表中的描写上。配价列表(或者新方法中的 ARG-ST)对应于 GB 的

<sup>24</sup> 更多讨论,请看 Müller (2007c) 和第 21.3.6 节。

<sup>25</sup> 当构成复杂谓词时,宾语出现在第一个位置上。请看 Müller (2002a: 157) 关于带有 *erlauben* (允许) 这类动词的长被动。通常来说具有下面的条件:主语是第一个带有结构格的论元。

深层结构 (Deep Structure)。不同之处在于, 中心语本身没有被包括进论元结构中, 而这就是 D-结构的情况。

Bender (2008c)已经说明了我们可以如何从 Wambaya 这类非构型语言中通过指向中心语的论元结构来分析现象。在 Wambaya 中, 通常在英语或德语中算作是成分的词语可以非连续地出现, 它是一个形容词, 并在语义上属于名词短语, 而跟名词短语中其他部分共享相同的格、数和性的值。它可以出现在那些没有连接到剩余的名词短语的句子的位置上。Nordlinger (1998)分析了 LFG 中的相关数据。在她的分析中, 成分的不同部分指向句子的 f-结构, 并且直接保证了名词短语的所有部分都具有相同的格。Bender 采用了 HPSG 的一个变体, 其中在论元与其中心语组合后, 其配价信息没有从配价列表中移除, 而这个信息仍在配价列表中, 并且朝向中心语的最大投射向上传递 (Meurers 1999c、Przepiórkowski 1999b、Müller 2007b: Section 17.4)。Higginbotham (1985: 560)和Winkler (1997)提出了 GB 理论相似的观点。通过对完整配价信息的投射, 它在整个句子中都是可获得的, 并且非连续的成分可以指向它 (如通过 MOD), 而且可以构建出各自的限制。<sup>26</sup> 在这个分析中, HPSG 中的论元结构对应于 LFG 中的 f-结构。LFG 的扩展的中心语范畴也可以在 HPSG 中来模拟, 其中多重中心语可以共享相同的 f-结构。为此, 我们可以利用函数组合, 因为它在有关范畴语法那一章的内容上表示出来了 (请看第 8.5.2 章)。这点被译成 HPSG 理论的确切方式限于篇幅就不在这里解释了。读者可以参考Hinrichs & Nakazawa (1994)的原始作品, 以及Müller (2007b: Chapter 15)中的解释。

配价信息在 HPSG 理论中发挥了重要的作用。动词的词汇项在原则上预先裁定了该项目可以出现的结构的集合。应用词汇规则, 有可能将一个词汇项与其他词汇项联系起来。这些可以用在结构的其他集合中。所以我们可以看到在可能的结构的集合中建立联系的词汇规则的功能。词汇规则对应于转换语法中的转换。这点在第 19.5 节有更为详细的讨论。词汇规则的效果也可以通过空成分来取得。这也将成为第 19.5 节要讨论的内容。

在 GPSG 中, 元规则被用来允准那些为词汇中心语创造额外配价模式的规则。原则上, 元规则也可以用于没有词汇中心语的规则。这点被Flickinger (1983)和Gazdar et al. (1985: 59)通过特殊的限制而排除了。Flickinger, Pollard & Wasow (1985: 265)指出这类限制是不必要的, 如果有人应用词汇规则而不是元规则的话, 因为前者只能用于词汇中心语。

对于 HPSG 和 Stabler 的最简语法的比较, 请看第 4.6.4 节。

## 思考题

1. 在 HPSG 中, 句法树的地位是什么?
2. 在例子 (69) 的分析中, 格指派是如何发生的? ?

(69) Dem Mann wurde ein Buch geschenkt.  
 DET.DAT 男人 AUX 一.NOM 书 给  
 ‘这个男人被给了一本书。’

<sup>26</sup> 也请看Müller (2008a)关于德语和英语中描写性谓词的分析, 他们分别指向中心语的实现的和未实现的论元的列表。这一分析也可以在第 18.2 节得到解释。

### 3. 什么是联接 (linking)，它在 HPSG 中是如何表示的？

## 练习题

1. 请给出 (70) 的特征描写，*dass* 不用分析。

(70) [dass] Max lacht  
CONJ Max 笑

2. 第 9.1.7 节中名词和所修饰形容词的组合的分析只是分析的一个草稿。比如说，没有解释我们如何能够确定形容词和名词在格上保持一致。请思考一下如何可以扩展这个分析，这样就可以分析 (71a) 中的形容词名词组合了，而不是 (71b) 中的对象：

(71) a. eines interessanten Mannes  
一.GEN 有趣的.GEN 男人.GEN  
b. \*eines interessanter Mannes  
一.GEN 有趣的.NOM 男人.GEN

## 延伸阅读

这里，理论各部分的表示跟其他理论一样都是相对来说比较简短的。对于 HPSG 理论更为全面的介绍，包括特征构架的动机，请看 Müller (2007b)。特别是，这里简略说明了被动的分析。更为全面的分析包括非宾格动词、形容词分词、情态不及物动词、不同的被动变体以及长被动 的内容，这些可以参考 Müller (2002a: Chapter 3) 和 Müller (2007b: Chapter 17)。

HPSG 理论的综述可以参考 Levine & Meurers (2006)、Przepiórkowski & Kupść (2006)、Bildhauer (2014) 和 Müller (2015c)。

## 第零部分 讨论



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# 语法理论

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.

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