

Grammatical theory

From transformational grammar to
constraint-based approaches

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



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For Max

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第零部分 研究背景与语法理论

第六章 特征描写

在上一章，我们谈到了可以用来描写语言对象的特征-值偶对。本章中，我们将介绍在 LFG、HPSG、构式语法、范畴语法、TAG（甚至是最简方案理论的某些形式化 (Veenstra 1998)）等理论中发挥重要作用的特征描写。由此，本章将为后面的章节打下一些基础。

特征结构是可以模拟语言对象属性的复杂实体。大部分使用特征描写的语言学家只描写指定的特征结构中的部分属性。我们将在第 6.7 节详细解释模型与描写之间的差异。

表示特征结构的其他术语有：

- 特征-值结构
- 属性-值结构

其他有关特征描写的术语有：

- 特征-值矩阵 (AVM)
- 特征矩阵

接下来，为了保证本书的形式部分尽可能地简短，我将只讨论必要的细节。我推荐感兴趣的读者参考 Shieber (1986)、Pollard & Sag (1987: Chapter 2)、Johnson (1988)、Carpenter (1992)、King (1994) 和 Richter (2004)。Shieber 的著作对合一语法的介绍浅显易懂。King 和 Richter 介绍了 HPSG 的重要理论基础，这对于在数学方面没有打下良好基础的读者来说是较为容易理解的。尽管如此，要知道这些文献以及相应的理论是建立在坚实的基础上的是非常重要的。

6.1 特征描写

当描写语言符号时，我们必须说明属性的信息。对于名词而言，我们会说它有格、性、数和人称的特征。对于 *Mannes*（男人）这个词来说，我们可以说这些特征的值为 *genitive*（属格）、*masculine*（阳性）、*singular*（单数）及 3（第三人称）。如果我们要将这些信息写成一个特征-值偶对的列表的话，我们就会得到下面的特征描写形式：

6 特征描写

- (1) *Mannes* (男人) 的特征-值偶对:
- | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| CASE (格) | <i>genitive</i> (属格) |
| GENDER (性) | <i>masculine</i> (阳性) |
| NUMBER (数) | <i>singular</i> (单数) |
| PERSON (人称) | 3 (第 3 人称) |

我们也可以用特征描写来描述不同的事物。例如, 我们可以像例 (2) 那样来描述一个人:

- (2)
- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| FIRSTNAME (名) | <i>max</i> |
| LASTNAME (姓) | <i>meier</i> |
| DATE-OF-BIRTH (出生日期) | 10.10.1985 (1985 年 10 月 10 日) |

人与人之间的关系也可以在特征值偶对中表示。例如, Max Meier 的父亲叫做 Peter Meier 这样的事实可以通过对 (2) 的扩展来表示, 如下所示:

- (3)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|--------|-----|--------|-----|
| FIRSTNAME | <i>max</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| LASTNAME | <i>meier</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| DATE-OF-BIRTH | 10.10.1985 (1985 年 10 月 10 日) | | | | | | | | | | |
| FATHER | <table><tr><td>FIRSTNAME</td><td><i>peter</i></td></tr><tr><td>LASTNAME</td><td><i>meier</i></td></tr><tr><td>DATE-OF-BIRTH</td><td>10.05.1960 (1960 年 5 月 10 日)</td></tr><tr><td>FATHER</td><td>...</td></tr><tr><td>MOTHER</td><td>...</td></tr></table> | FIRSTNAME | <i>peter</i> | LASTNAME | <i>meier</i> | DATE-OF-BIRTH | 10.05.1960 (1960 年 5 月 10 日) | FATHER | ... | MOTHER | ... |
| FIRSTNAME | <i>peter</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| LASTNAME | <i>meier</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| DATE-OF-BIRTH | 10.05.1960 (1960 年 5 月 10 日) | | | | | | | | | | |
| FATHER | ... | | | | | | | | | | |
| MOTHER | ... | | | | | | | | | | |
| MOTHER | ... | | | | | | | | | | |

FATHER (父亲) 特征的值是包含 (2) 中同样特征的特征描写。

在特征描写中, 路径 (path) 是一个直接彼此承袭的序列特征。路径值 (value of a path) 是在路径末端的特征描写。由此, FATHER|DATE-OF-BIRTH 的值为 10.05.1960。

我们设想出在诸如 (3) 的表示中包括很多不同的特征。有人可能会问, 如何在 (3) 中加入后代的信息呢?

一个显而易见的解决方案就是加入 DAUGHTER (女儿) 和 SON (儿子) 这两个特征:

- (4)
- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| FIRSTNAME | <i>max</i> |
| LASTNAME | <i>meier</i> |
| DATE-OF-BIRTH | 10.10.1985 |
| FATHER | ... |
| MOTHER | ... |
| DAUGHTER | ... |

但是, 这一方法也有让人不满意的地方, 比如它无法直接清晰地说明如何来描写有几个女儿的人。是否应该引入诸如 DAUGHTER-1 或 DAUGHTER-3 这样的特征呢?

(5)

FIRSTNAME	<i>max</i>
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.1985</i>
FATHER	...
MOTHER	...
DAUGHTER-1	...
DAUGHTER-2	...
DAUGHTER-3	...

我们想要设定多少个特征呢？限制是什么？DAUGHTER-32 的值会是什么呢？

在这一点上，我们有必要使用列表。列表用尖括号表示。任意数量的元素可以出现在这些尖括号中。特殊的情况是在这些括号中没有元素。一个没有元素的列表被叫做空列表（empty list）。下例中，Max Meier 有一个女儿叫做 Clara，而她没有女儿。

(6)

FIRSTNAME	<i>max</i>												
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>												
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.1985</i>												
FATHER	...												
MOTHER	...												
DAUGHTER	<table> <tr><td>FIRSTNAME</td><td><i>clara</i></td></tr> <tr><td>LASTNAME</td><td><i>meier</i></td></tr> <tr><td>DATE-OF-BIRTH</td><td><i>10.10.2014 (2004 年 10 月 10 日)</i></td></tr> <tr><td>FATHER</td><td>...</td></tr> <tr><td>MOTHER</td><td>...</td></tr> <tr><td>DAUGHTER</td><td><></td></tr> </table>	FIRSTNAME	<i>clara</i>	LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>	DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.2014 (2004 年 10 月 10 日)</i>	FATHER	...	MOTHER	...	DAUGHTER	<>
FIRSTNAME	<i>clara</i>												
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>												
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.2014 (2004 年 10 月 10 日)</i>												
FATHER	...												
MOTHER	...												
DAUGHTER	<>												

现在，我们还剩下与儿子有关的问题。是否应该加上一个儿子的列表？我们希望区分儿子和女儿吗？显然，孩子的性别是一个重要的属性，但是宾语本身有属性，因为每个人都有性别。由此，(7) 中的描述更为合适。

到这儿，有人可能会问为什么父母没有用列表表示。事实上，我们在语言学的研究中也发现了类似的问题：如何能最好地整理手头工作的信息？有人可能会提出将父母的描写按照不同的特征来表示，并指出这样的表示可以说明一个母亲或者父亲，而不用在列表中搜索各自的描写。

如果元素的序列是无关的，那么我们可以用集合，而不是列表。集合用弧形括号（curly brackets）表示。¹

6.2 类型

在上一节中，我们介绍了包括特征-值偶对的特征描述，并且说明了有必要在特征上赋予复杂的值。在本节，特征描写将扩大到包括类型。赋予了类型的特征

¹ 集合的定义需要很多技术指标。本书中，我只用集合来表示语义信息。这点用列表也可以做到，这就是为什么我在这里没有引入集合，而是使用了列表。

6 特征描写

(7)

FIRSTNAME	<i>max</i>														
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>														
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.1985</i>														
GENDER	<i>male</i>														
FATHER	...														
MOTHER	...														
CHILDREN	<table><tr><td>FIRSTNAME</td><td><i>clara</i></td></tr><tr><td>LASTNAME</td><td><i>meier</i></td></tr><tr><td>DATE-OF-BIRTH</td><td><i>10.10.2014</i></td></tr><tr><td>GENDER</td><td><i>female</i></td></tr><tr><td>FATHER</td><td>...</td></tr><tr><td>MOTHER</td><td>...</td></tr><tr><td>CHILDREN</td><td>⟨⟩</td></tr></table>	FIRSTNAME	<i>clara</i>	LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>	DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.2014</i>	GENDER	<i>female</i>	FATHER	...	MOTHER	...	CHILDREN	⟨⟩
FIRSTNAME	<i>clara</i>														
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>														
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.2014</i>														
GENDER	<i>female</i>														
FATHER	...														
MOTHER	...														
CHILDREN	⟨⟩														

描写也叫做类型特征描写。类型是说的哪些特征可以或者必须属于一个具体的结构。前面讲到的描写表示了类型 *person*（人）的对象。

(8)

<i>person</i>	
FIRSTNAME	<i>max</i>
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>10.10.1985</i>
GENDER	<i>male</i>
FATHER	...
MOTHER	...
CHILDREN	⟨..., ...⟩

类型用斜体表示。
类型的具体化决定了所模拟的对象具有什么样的属性。这样一个理论才能描写这些属性。诸如 OPERATING VOLTAGE（工作电压）这样的属性与类型 *person*（人）是无关的。如果我们知道一个给定对象的类型，那么我们也会知道该对象一定具有一定的属性，即使我们还不知道他们具体的值。这样，(9) 仍是对 Max Meier 的描写，即使它并不包括任何有关 Max 的生日信息：

(9)

<i>person</i>	
FIRSTNAME	<i>max</i>
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>
GENDER	<i>male</i>

但是，我们知道 Max Meier 一定是在某天出生的，因为这是对类型 *person*（人）的描述。对于 (9) 这类结构来说，“Max 的生日是什么？”这个问题是有意义的，而“Max 有哪种工作电压？”这个问题就是无意义的。如果我们知道一个对象是属于类型 *person*（人）的，那么就会有如下的基本结构：

(10)

<i>person</i>	
FIRSTNAME	<i>firstname</i>
LASTNAME	<i>lastname</i>
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>date</i>
GENDER	<i>gender</i>
FATHER	<i>person</i>
MOTHER	<i>person</i>
CHILDREN	<i>list of person</i>

在(10)和(9)中, FIRSTNAME(名)这类特征的值用斜体表示。这些值也是类型。但是, 它们与 *person*(人)这类特征不同, 因为它们没有特征。这些特征叫做原子式(atomic)。

特征按照层级来进行组织。对于 *person*(人)来说, 可以界定次类型 *woman*(女人)和 *man*(男人)。这会决定给定对象的性别。(11)显示了类型 *woman*(女人)的特征结构, 这与类型 *man*(男人)的特征结构是类似的。

(11)

<i>female person</i>	
FIRSTNAME	<i>firstname</i>
LASTNAME	<i>lastname</i>
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>date</i>
GENDER	<i>female</i>
FATHER	<i>person</i>
MOTHER	<i>person</i>
CHILDREN	<i>list of person</i>

在这点上, 我们应该自问是否需要 GENDER(性别)这个特征。必要信息已经在 *woman*(女人)这个类型中显示出来了。具体信息是由具体特征所表示的还是它是储存在没有对应个人特征的类型中这一问题会在语言学的分析中浮现出来。这两个方面的差异是巨大的, 因为通过类型模拟的信息的事实没有直接通过结构共享而获得, 这点在第 6.4 节有所讨论。

类型层级体系在捕捉语言学的一般性特征方面发挥了重要的作用, 这就是为什么类型层级体系和约束与信息的承继需要在后面的例子中进行解释的原因。我们可以将类型层级体系看成是一种有效的组织信息的方式。在百科辞典中, 个体之间是相互联系的, 比如说猴子和老师这两个词条的联系在于二者都指向哺乳动物。针对哺乳动物的描写同样也适用于从属于它的概念中。同样, 如果我们希望描写不同的电子设备, 我们可以应用图 6.1 on the next page 中的层级体系。图中最高点是最为普遍的类型“电子设备”(electrical device)。电子设备具有一定的属性, 比如说带有特定能量消耗的能量供给。“电子设备”的所有此类型都“承继”了这一属性。这样, “打印设备”和“扫描设备”也具有可供特定能量消耗的能力供给。“打印设备”可以制造信息, 而“扫描设备”可以阅读信息。“复印机”既可以制造信息也可以阅读信息。复印机具有扫描机和打印机的属性。这在图 6.1 中通过两个上位类型和“复印机”之间的联系来表示。如果一个类型同时也是几个上位类型的子类型, 那么我们就可以说这是多重承继(multiple inheritance)。如果一个设置可以打印, 但是不能扫描, 它们就属于类型打印机(printer)。该类型有

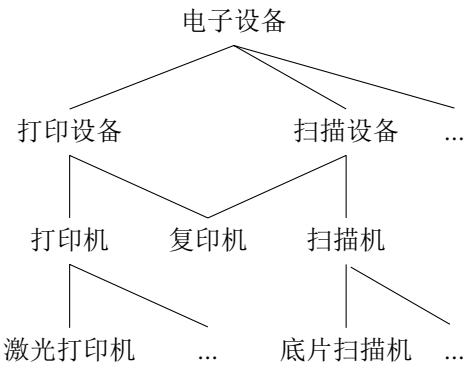


图 6.1: 多重承继的非语言学例子

更多的具体次类型，相应地可以有具体的属性，比如说“激光打印机”。新的特征可以被加进次类型中，但是也可以将承继的特征的值做得更具体。比如说，可以用“底片扫描机”扫描的材料比它的上位类型“扫描机”具有更多的限制，因为底片扫描机只能扫描底片。

模拟的对象都有一个最大的具体类型。在上例中，这是指我们可以有类型“激光打印机”和“底片打印机”的对象，而不是类型“打印设备”。这是因为，“打印设备”并不具有最大的具体化，因为该类型有两个次类型。

带有多重承继的类型层级体系是表达语言一般化的重要手段。在这些层级的最高点出现的词或短语的类型对应于语言学对象的约束条件，这对于所有语言中的语言对象来说都是合理的。这种一般类型的子类型可以具体到某些语言或语言类型。

6.3 析取

如果有人想表达一个具体物体具有不同属性的事实可以用析取来表示。如果有人想组织一场毕业二十年的聚会，但是不记得一些老同学的名字了，可以在网络中搜索“Julia (Warbanow 还是 Barbanow)”。在特征描写中，这个“还是”表示为‘ \vee ’。

(12)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} person \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } julia \\ \text{LASTNAME } warbanow \vee barbanow \end{array} \right]$$

一些网络的搜索引擎不允许使用带有“或者”的搜索。这种情况下，我们需要给出两个不同的搜索选项：一个是“Julia Warbanow”，而另一个是“Julia Barbanow”。这就对应于下面用析取连接的描写形式：

$$(13) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } \textit{julia} \\ \text{LASTNAME } \textit{warbanow} \end{array} \right] \vee \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } \textit{julia} \\ \text{LASTNAME } \textit{barbanow} \end{array} \right]$$

因为我们将类型层级看作是一种表达的手段，我们有时可以不做具体的析取，而是用上级类型：以“打印机” \vee “复印机”为例，我们可以简单地写“打印设备”，如果我们按照图 6.1 on the preceeding page 所示的类型层级的话。

6.4 结构共享

结构共享是形式化中重要的一部分。它用来表示结构中某些相同的部分。关于值的统一性的语言学方面的例子就是一致关系。在例 (14) 的句子中，名词短语的数的值必须与动词保持一致：

- (14) a. Der Mann schläft.
DET 男人 睡觉
‘这个男人正在睡觉。’
- b. Die Männer schlafen.
DET 男人 睡觉
‘这些男人正在睡觉。’
- c. *Der Mann schlafen.
DET 男人 睡觉
想说“这些男人正在睡觉。”

相同的值通过带有数字的盒子来表示。这些盒子可以看作是变量。

当我们描述对象时，我们可以说明相等或相同的值。关于值的同一性的说明是更为强势的。让我们用下面的 Max 的父亲和母亲的孩子们的信息的例子来进行说明：

6 特征描写

$$(15) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{max} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{DATE-OF-BIRTH} \quad \textit{10.10.1985} \\ \text{FATHER} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{peter} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{CHILDREN} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{klaus} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MOTHER} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{anna} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{CHILDREN} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{klaus} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

请注意 FATHER|CHILDREN 和 MOTHER|CHILDREN 的路径下面，我们找到一个包括名为 Klaus 的人的描述。有关该特征描述是 Peter 和 Anna 的一个孩子还是两个孩子的问题是无法回答的。当然，我们是在分析前面关系中的两个不同的孩子，只不过他们碰巧都叫做 Klaus。

通过结构共享，我们可以确定出例（16）中两个值的同一性。在例（16）中，

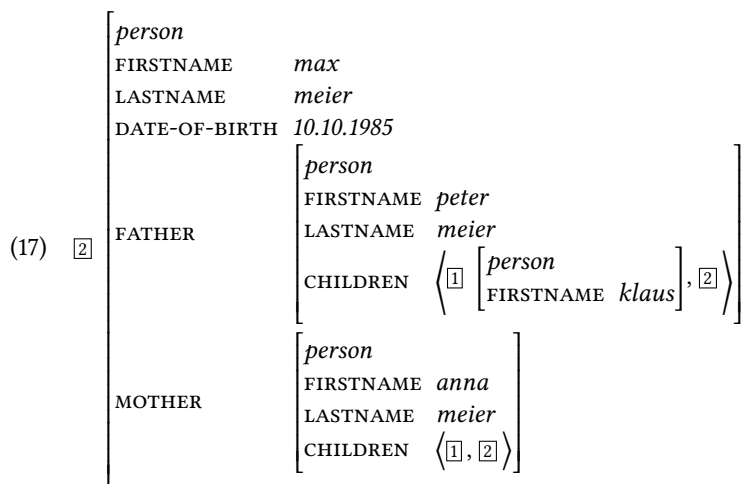
$$(16) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{max} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{DATE-OF-BIRTH} \quad \textit{10.10.1985} \\ \text{FATHER} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{peter} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{CHILDREN} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{klaus} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MOTHER} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{person} \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} \quad \textit{anna} \\ \text{LASTNAME} \quad \textit{meier} \\ \text{CHILDREN} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1}, \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Klaus 是父母双亲的独生子女。出现在 $\boxed{1}$ 之后的所有括号内的信息在所有的位置上都是等同出现的。我们可以把 $\boxed{1}$ 看作是一个指针或坐标，它指向只被描写过一次的结构。还有一个问题没有得到回答：Max 呢？Max 也是他父母的一个孩子，也应该出现在他父母所有的孩子的列表之中。在（16）中有两个点所在的地方有三个点。这些省略符号表示 Peter Meier 和 Anna Meier 的其他孩子的信息。我们的世界知识

告诉我们他们必须有同一个叫做 Max Meier 的孩子。在下一节，我们会看到这在形式表达中是如何表示的。

6.5 循环结构

我们引入了结构共享来表示 Max 的父母都有一个叫做 Klaus 儿子的事实。但是，将 Max 分别放在他的父母的孩子列表之中是不够的。我们还想捕捉到这样的事实，即在这些列表中的每一个表中出现的都是同一个 Max，而且，我们想要确保被描写的孩子与描写的整体对象是一致的。否则，描写就会允许这样的情况，Max 的父母可以有第二个叫做 Max 的孩子。例 (17) 中给出的描述可以正确地捕捉所有的事实。例 (17) 中所描写的结构叫做循环结构，因为如果我们按照一个具体的路



径就会进入一个循环：如路径 FATHER|CHILDREN|...|FATHER|CHILDREN|...²可以重复无限的次数。

6.6 合一

语言规则在特征描写的帮助下可以写成与 HPSG 和构式语法中的词汇项完全相同的格式。对于短语中可以用作子节点的一个词或者较大的短语实体来说，这个词或者短语必须具有语法规则中与子节点们的描写相兼容的属性。如果这种兼容性存在的话，那么我们可以说各自的对象是可以合一的 (unifiable)。³ 如果我们

² 这里的点是指到列表中值为 CHILDREN (孩子) [2] 的路径。请看练习 3。

³ 合一 (unification) 这个概念需要小心使用，它只在语言理论的形式化基础的某些假说下才是合适的。非正式的情况下，这一术语经常用于没有在技术上界定合一的形式化系统中。在 HPSG 中，它大部分是指对两个描写的约束导向一个单一的描写。我们在这里想直观说明的是，所描写的对象需要同时满足所有描写的约束条件 (约束满足)。因为合一 (unification) 这个术语应用范围较广，本节也采用这一概念。在后面的理论讨论中，除了基于合一的方法，我们不会再使用该术语。相反，这里给出的约束满足 (constraint satisfaction) 这个概念在后面的章节中发挥了重要的作用。

6 特征描写

将两个描写合一，可以得到包含这两个描写的信息，而没有额外信息的描写结果。

合一的工作原理可以通过描写人的特征描写来进行说明。我们可以想象 Bettina Kant 去私家侦探 Max Müller 那里，她想找一个人。通常来说，到私家侦探的办公室的人只有他们想找的人的一部分描写信息，比如说性别、头发颜色或者出生日期。也许还会知道那个人的汽车的登记号码。

这样，侦探就会期望他或者她能够提供出符合描写的信息。如果我们要找一位金发的叫 Meier 的女性 (18a)，那么我们就不想得到一位有红色头发的男性的描写 (18b)。例 (18) 中的描写就是不兼容的，而且不能合一：

- (18) a.
$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{person} & \\ \text{LASTNAME} & \textit{meier} \\ \text{GENDER} & \textit{female} \\ \text{HAIRCOLOR} & \textit{blonde} \end{array} \right]$$
- b.
$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{person} & \\ \text{LASTNAME} & \textit{meier} \\ \text{GENDER} & \textit{male} \\ \text{HAIRCOLOR} & \textit{red} \end{array} \right]$$

例 (19) 中描写的结果可能是寻找一位金发的、叫 Meier 的女性个体：

- (19)
$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{person} & \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} & \textit{katharina} \\ \text{LASTNAME} & \textit{meier} \\ \text{GENDER} & \textit{female} \\ \text{DATE-OF-BIRTH} & \textit{15.10.1965} \\ \text{HAIRCOLOR} & \textit{blonde} \end{array} \right]$$

Katharina Meier 还可以有其他侦探不知道的属性。重要的是侦探所知的属性与委托人要寻找的属性是一致的。进而，侦探使用可靠的信息而不是制造出有关寻找对象的任何信息是非常重要的。(18a) 中搜查的合一与 (19) 中侦探可获得的信息实际上是 (19)，而不是 (20)，如下所示：

- (20)
$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \textit{person} & \\ \text{FIRSTNAME} & \textit{katharina} \\ \text{LASTNAME} & \textit{meier} \\ \text{GENDER} & \textit{female} \\ \text{DATE-OF-BIRTH} & \textit{15.10.1965} \\ \text{HAIRCOLOR} & \textit{blond} \\ \text{CHILDREN} & \langle \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

(20) 包括了孩子的信息，它既不属于 (18a)，也不属于 (19)。事实上，Katharina Meier 可能没有孩子，但是也有可能其他叫做 Katharina Meier 的人具有其他相同的属性。根据这一新创的信息，我们可以排除一个或者多个可能的候选人。

也有可能，我们的侦探 Max Müller 在他的文件中没有发色的信息。他的文件可以包括如下这些信息：

(21)

<i>person</i>	
FIRSTNAME	<i>katharina</i>
LASTNAME	<i>meier</i>
GENDER	<i>female</i>
DATE-OF-BIRTH	<i>15.10.1965</i>

这些数据与搜索的标准是相容的。如果我们要将 (18a) 和 (21) 进行合一，我们可以得到 (19)。如果我们假设侦探做得不错，那么现在就会知道她最初要找的人的属性，还有一些新发现的属性。

6.7 现象、模型和形式化理论

在前面的章节中，我们介绍了带有类型的特征描写。这些特征描写描述了类型特征结构，这些结构模拟了观察到的语言结构。在类型的定义中，我们决定了应该被描写的语言对象的属性。类型层级体系与类型的定义一起也叫做符号形式 (signature)。语法学家在特征描写中典型地使用了类型。这些描写包括语言对象必须具有的约束条件。如果没有约束，那么所有的符号形式中与具体化相容的值都是可能的值。例如，我们可以省略诸如 *Frau* (女人) 这一语言对象的格的描写，因为 *Frau* 可以出现在四种格之中，如例 (22) 所示：

- (22)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------|---------------|------|
| a. | Die | Frau schläft. | (主格) |
| | DET.NOM | 女人睡觉 | |
| b. | Wir gedenken der | Frau. | (属格) |
| | 我们想念 | DET.GEN 女人 | |
| c. | Er hilft der | Frau. | (与格) |
| | 他 帮助 | DET.DAT 女人 | |
| d. | Er liebt die | Frau. | (宾格) |
| | 他 爱 | DET.ACC 女人 | |

在给定的模型中，只有全部明确的表达式，即模型包括四种形式的 *Frau*，每种形式带有一种不同的格。对于阳性名词 *Mann* (男人) 来说，我们可以在描写中给出格的信息，因为属格-单数形式 *Mann-es* 与其他的单数形式是不同的，这可以在 (22) 的例子中加入 *Mann* 来看到。例 (23) 给出了 *Frau* (女人) 和 *Mann* (男人) 的特征描写：

- (23)
- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | Frau (女人) : |
| | [GENDER <i>fem</i>] |
| b. | Mann (男人) : |
| | [GENDER <i>mas</i> |
| | CASE <i>nominative</i> ∨ <i>dative</i> ∨ <i>accusative</i>] |

与 (23b) 不同的是，(23a) 并不包括格属性，这是因为我们不需要说明 *Frau* 的描写中有任何格的信息。由于所有的名词性对象都需要一个格属性，很清楚的是

Frau 的结构必须也有一个格特征。格特征的值属于类型 *case* (格)。*case* 是一个一般类型, 它包括次级类型 *nominative* (主格)、*genitive* (属格)、*dative* (与格) 和 *accusative* (宾格)。具体的语言对象总是将这些最大限度上确定的类型作为他们的格的值。(23) 的特征结构如图 6.2 和图 6.3 所示。

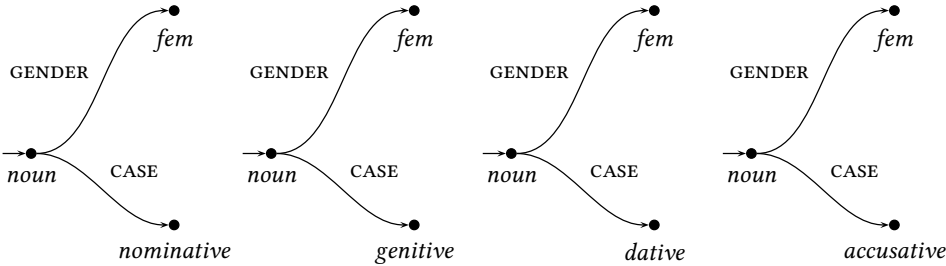


图 6.2: (23a) 中的 *Frau* (女人) 的特征结构描写

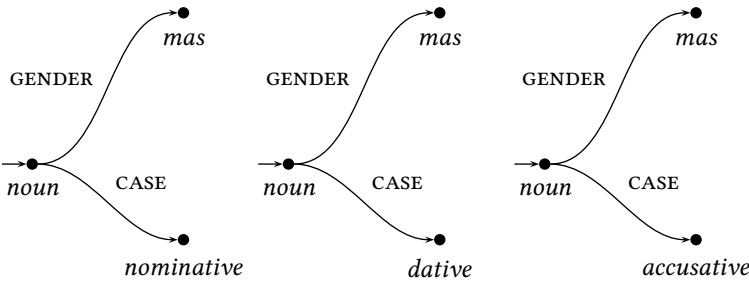


图 6.3: (23b) 中的 *Mann* (男人) 的特征结构描写

在这些表达式中, 每一个节点都有一定的类型 (*noun*、*fem*、*nominative* ...), 并且特征结构中的类型总是最大限度地具体化, 即他们没有深层的次类型。总有一个进入节点 (上例中的 *noun*), 以及其他用特征标签标注的用箭头连接起来的节点 (*GENDER*、*CASE*)。

如果我们回到上面章节中人的例子, 我们可以发现模型与描写之间的差异, 如下所示: 如果我们有一个人的模型, 它包括名、姓、出生日期、性别和发色, 那么它自然得到的结果是我们模拟的每个对象都会有生日。但是, 如果这些信息在表示约束或构成搜索时没有发挥重要的作用时, 我们可以在描写中决定省略这些细节。

语言现象、模型和形式化理论之间的联系如图 6.4 on the following page 所示。模型是用来模拟语言现象的。进而, 它必须由我们的理论所允准。理论决定了模型并且对可能的现象进行预测。

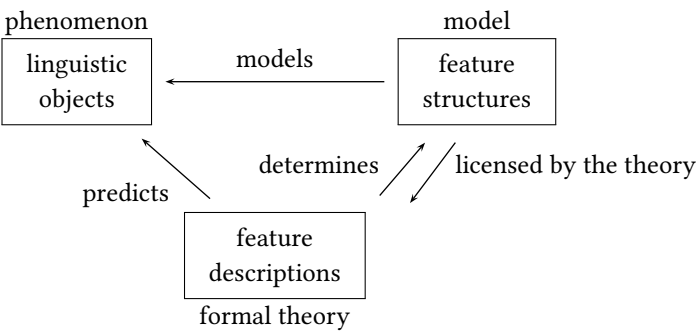


图 6.4: 现象、模型和形式化理论

思考题

- 1. 使用类型的原因是什么？
- 2. 什么是承继？多重承继有何特殊之处？
- 3. 下面的结构是相容的吗？也就是说，他们能用来描述相同的对象吗？

(24)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FIRSTNAME } max \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \\ \text{FATHER } \left[\begin{array}{l} person \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } peter \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FIRSTNAME } max \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \\ \text{FATHER } \left[\begin{array}{l} person \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } peter \\ \text{LASTNAME } müller \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(25)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FIRSTNAME } max \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \\ \text{FATHER } \left[\begin{array}{l} person \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } peter \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FIRSTNAME } max \\ \text{LASTNAME } meier \\ \text{MOTHER } \left[\begin{array}{l} person \\ \text{FIRSTNAME } ursula \\ \text{LASTNAME } müller \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

练习题

- 1. 请设想如何通过特征描写来描写乐器。
- 2. 请设计一个词类 (*det*、*comp*、*noun*、*verb*、*adj*、*prep*) 的类型层级体系。请设想可以组织类型层级的方式，这样我们可以对第87页的图 3.1中的二元特征的概括进行表示。

6 特征描写

3. 在本章，我们介绍了列表。这看起来好像是形式化的扩展，但是它并不是，因为可以将列表标记转化为只需要特征-值偶对的标记。请思考如何做到这一点。
4. (附加练习) 附加关系 (append) 将在第 9 章发挥作用。该关系用来将两个列表组合成第三个列表。诸如附加 (append) 的关系约束实际上构成了形式化的一种扩展。使用关系约束可以将任意数量的特征值与其他值联系起来，即我们可以写出这样的程序，它根据其他值计算出具体的值。这就导致了一个问题，在语言学理论中我们是否需要如此强有力的描写工具，并且如果我们允许使用它们，我们将会承担什么样的复杂度的代价。可见，我们最好选择那些不需要关系约束的理论，而不是那些需要关系约束的理论（请看Müller 2007b: Chapter 20对相关理论的比较）。

列表的串联可以在没有关系约束要求的特征结构中实现。请找到这是如何做到的，并提供你的数据来源，记录下你找到解决方案的途径。

延伸阅读

本章为读者设计了简单易懂的有关类型特征结构的介绍。结构的数学属性、类型层级体系以及这些结构的组合性概率不在这里详细说明，但是至少这些属性的一部分对于计算语言学的工作以及开发个人自己的分析来说都是非常重要的。更多的内容，我推荐感兴趣的读者阅读以下文献：Shieber (1986)是对合一语法理论的简短介绍。它针对重要的语法类型给出了相对全面的综述，如 DCG、LFG、GPSG、HPSG、PATR-II。Johnson (1988)按照数学的精确形式描述了非类型特征结构的形式化。Carpenter (1992) 重点分析了类型特征结构在数学上的表示。由King (1999)开发的 HPSG-语法构成了Richter (2004)的形式化的基础，该语法目前被看作是 HPSG 的标准形式化语法。

第零部分 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.

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