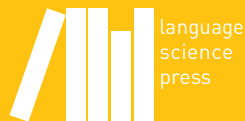


语法理论

从转换语法到基于约束的理论

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



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献给 Max

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第零部分 研究背景与语法理论

第十一章 依存语法

依存语法是本书介绍的最古老的一种语法理论。它的现代版本是由法国语言学家 Lucien Tesnière (1893–1954) 进一步发展而来的。他的奠基性著作 *Eléments de syntaxe structurale* (《句法理论要素》) 是在 1938 年完成的, 这是在 Ajdukiewicz 发表范畴语法的论文的三年前 (1935), 但是真正的出版被推迟到 1959 年, 也就是在他去世五年后。因为配价是依存语法的核心, 它有时也叫做配价语法。Tesnière 的思想在今天广为流传。几乎所有的现代理论都有配价和依存的概念 (Ágel & Fischer 2010: 262–263, 284)。

尽管有一些英语方面的文献 (Anderson 1971; Hudson 1984), 依存语法在欧洲中部更为流行, 尤其是在德国 (Engel 1996: 56–57)。Ágel & Fischer (2010: 250) 指出了一个可能的原因: Tesnière 的原始著作直到最近才有英译本 (Tesnière 2015), 但是德语译本都已经有了 35 年了 (Tesnière 1980)。由于依存语法的重点在于依存关系, 而不是成分的线性顺序, 通常认为它更适于分析自由语序的语言, 这也是它在斯拉夫语言的研究中比较流行的一个原因: 在 1960 年开始的由 Sgall、Hajičová 和 Panevova 代表的新布拉格学派将依存语法深入发展了 (全面的信息请参考 Hajičová & Sgall 2003)。Igor A. Mel'čuk 和 A. K. Žolkovskij 在 1960 年的苏联开始研究一个叫做 Meaning-Text Theory 的模型, 它也用于机器翻译项目中 (Mel'čuk 1964, 1981, 1988; Kahane 2003)。在 1970 年 Mel'čuk 离开了苏联, 前往加拿大, 现在蒙特利尔工作。

依存语法在德国及世界范围内的学者中广为流传。它在教授德语作为外语的教学中非常成功 (Helbig & Buscha 1969, 1998)。在东德的莱比锡工作的 Helbig 和 Buscha 开始编辑配价辞典 (Helbig & Schenkel 1969), 之后的研究者在曼海姆的德语语法研究所 (the Institut für Deutsche Sprache) 工作也开始了类似的辞典编纂工程 (Schumacher et al. 2004)。

下面列出的是可能在德国工作或工作过的语言学家的不完整列表: Vilmos Ágel (2000), 卡塞尔; Klaus Baumgärtner (1965, 1970), 莱比锡之后是斯图加特; Ulrich Engel (1977, 2014), IDS 曼海姆; Hans-Werner Eroms (1985, 1987, 2000), 帕绍; Heinz Happ, 图宾根; Peter Hellwig (1978, 2003), 海德堡; Jürgen Heringer (1996), 奥格斯堡; Jürgen Kunze (1968, 1975), 柏林; Henning Lobin (1993), 基森; Klaus Schubert (1987), 希尔德斯海姆; Heinz Josef Weber (1997), 特里尔; Klaus Welke (1988, 2011), 洪堡大学; Edeltraud Werner (1993), 哈雷-维滕贝格。

尽管从 1959 年起连续几十年间, 在许多国家都有相关的研究, 但是阶段性的

全球性会议直到 2011 年才开始举办。^{1,2}

依存语法很早就被用于计算实现的工程中。Meřuk 在苏联研究及其翻译, 而 David G. Hays 在美国研究机器翻译。Jürgen Kunze 在东德的德国科学院任计算语言学主席耶在 1960 年开始机器翻译的研究。Kunze (1975) 这本书讲述了语言学研究的早期北京。还有许多研究者从 1973 年到 1986 年在萨尔布吕肯的合作研究中心 100 — 电子语言学研究 (SFB 100, Elektronische Sprachforschung) 工作。这个研究中心的主要内容也是机器翻译。这些工程研究了俄语到德语、法语到德语、英语到德语以及世界语到德语的翻译。对于这一范围内萨尔布吕肯的工作, 请看 Klein (1971)、Rothkegel (1976) 和 Weissgerber (1983)。Muraki et al. (1985) 在一个分析日语和生成英语的工程中使用了依存语法。Richard Hudson 从 1980 年开始研究基于依存语法框架的词语法 (Hudson 1984, 2007), 而 Sleator 和 Temperley 从 1990 年开始研究链语法 (Sleator & Temperley 1991; Grinberg et al. 1995)。Fred Karlsson 的约束语法 (1990) 应用到许多语言 (可用的大规模的语法片段有丹麦语、葡萄牙语、西班牙语、英语、瑞典语、挪威语、法语、德语、世界语、意大利语和荷兰语) 和学校的教学、语料库标注和机器翻译中。在项目网站上可以观看在线的演示视频。³

近年来, 依存语法在计算语言学中越来越受到欢迎。原因是有标注语料库 (树库) 都包括依存信息。⁴ 统计剖析器在这样的树库中进行训练 (Yamada & Matsumoto 2003; Attardi 2006; Nivre 2003; Kübler et al. 2009; Bohnet 2010)。不过支持基于短语成分模型的句法学家会关注于二叉的分支结构还是平铺模型, 说明语的高附加性或低附加性, 空成分和无空成分这些问题, 并且会对这些问题进行激烈的讨论。话语中的依存关系是比较清楚的。由此, 我们可以很容易地保持标注的一致性, 并在这些标注的语料上训练统计剖析器。

除了统计模型, 还有所谓的深层处理系统, 这些系统依赖于手工构造的、语言学驱动的语法。我已经提到了 Meřuk 在机器翻译的内容下做了一些工作; Hays & Ziehe (1960) 有针对俄语的剖析器; Starosta & Nomura (1986) 开发了一个使用英语语法的句法剖析器, Jäppinen, Lehtola & Valkonen (1986) 开发了一个用芬兰语演示的剖析器, Hellwig (1986, 2003, 2006) 开发了英语的词语法, Covington (1990) 开发了俄语和拉丁语的剖析器, 这个系统可以剖析非连续的成分, 还有 Menzel (1998) 实现了一个德语依存语法的高质量的剖析器。在 Kettunen (1986); Lehtola (1986); Menzel & Schröder (1998b) 中还提及了其他计算剖析器。下面列出了有依存语法的语法片段的若干种语言:

- 丹麦语 (Danish) (Bick 2001; Bick & Nygaard 2007)
- 英语 (English) (Muraki et al. 1985; Starosta & Nomura 1986; Lavoie & Rambow 1997; Hudson 1989; Sleator & Temperley 1991; Voutilainen et al. 1992; Iordanskaja et al. 1992; Coch 1996)
- 世界语 (Esperanto) (Bick 2009)

¹ <http://depling.org/>. 2015 年 4 月 10 日。

² 关于 Meaning-Text Theory 的会议从 2003 年开始每两年举办一次。

³ http://beta.visl.sdu.dk/constraint_grammar. 2015 年 7 月 24 日。

⁴ 根据 Kay (2000), Hays 开发的史上第一个树库就标注了依存关系。许多句法剖析器都适用于多种语言, 因为普遍的方法是独立于语言的。对依存关系进行一致的标注是较为容易的, 因为可供选择的是比较少的。

- 爱沙尼亚语 (Estonian) (Müürisep 1999; Müürisep, Puolakainen, Muischnek, Koit, Roosmaa & Uibo 2003)
- 法罗语 (Faroese) (Trosterud 2009)
- 芬兰语 (Finnish) (Nelimarkka, Jäppinen & Lehtola 1984; Jäppinen, Lehtola & Valkonen 1986)
- 法语 (French) (Iordanskaja et al. 1992; Coch 1996; Bick 2010)
- 德语 (German) (Hellwig 1986; Coch 1996; Heinecke et al. 1998; Menzel & Schröder 1998a; Hellwig 2003, 2006; Gerdes & Kahane 2001)
- 爱尔兰语 (Irish) (Dhonnchadha & van Genabith 2006)
- 日语 (Japanese) (Muraki, Ichiyama & Fukumochi 1985)
- 拉丁语 (Latin) (Covington 1990)
- 现代汉语 (Mandarin Chinese) (Liu & Huang 2006; Liu 2009)
- 挪威语 (Norwegian) (Hagen, Johannessen & Nøklestad 2000),
- 古冰岛语 (Old Icelandic) (Maas 1977)
- 葡萄牙语 (Portuguese) (Bick 2003)
- 俄语 (Russian) (Hays & Ziehe 1960; Mel'čuk 1964; Covington 1990)
- 西班牙语 (Spanish) (Coch 1996; Bick 2006)
- 斯瓦希里语 (Swahili) (Hurskainen 2006)

约束语法的网页⁵另外列出的还有巴斯克语 (Basque)、加泰罗尼亚语 (Catalan)、英语 (English)、芬兰语 (Finnish)、德语 (German)、意大利语 (Italian)、萨米语 (Sami) 和瑞典语 (Swedish) 的语法。

11.1 表示形式概述

11.1.1 价、结与卫星结构

依存语法的核心概念是“价”(请看第 1.6 节)。这个概念的核心隐喻是稳定分子的信息,这在化学中解释为电子的层级关系。化合物与语言结构之间的区别在于化合物是没有方向的,也就是说,我们说氧原子在构成水的过程中比氢原子更重要是没有道理的。与之相比,动词比跟它一起构成完整小句的名词短语更为重要。在诸如英语和德语的语言中,动词决定了它的依存成分的形式,比如说他们的格。

描述依存关系的一个方法如图 11.1 on the following page 所示。最高阶的节点是动词 *reads*。它的价是一个主格 NP (主语) 和一个宾格 NP (宾语)。

⁵ http://beta.visl.sdu.dk/constraint_grammar_languages.html

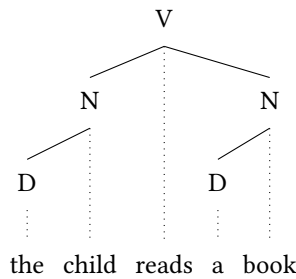


图 11.1: *The child reads a book.* 的分析

这通过在表示动词的节点和表示各自名词的节点之间的依存关系来描述。名词本身需要一个限定词，它是分别通过 *the* 和 *a* 的依存关系来表示的。需要注意的是，这里展示的分析对应于 HPSG 中假定的 NP 分析，即名词选择它的限定词（请看第 9.6.1 节）。不过，需要指出的是，关于 NP 还是 DP 的分析是合理的问题在依存语法学术团体中也展开了讨论（Hudson 1984: 90、Van Langendonck 1994; Hudson 2004）。请看 Engel (1977) 关于 N 作为中心语的分析以及 Welke (2011: 31) 有关限定词作为中心语的分析。

动词是小句的中心语，名词叫做从属词（dependants）。另一套针对中心语与从属语的术语是结（nucleus）与卫星结构（satellite）。

另一个用来描写依存关系的方法是在依存语法的变体词语法中所使用的（Hudson 2007），如图 11.2 所示。这张图显示了语法功能，而不是词类的信息，但是除了这一点，它与图 11.1 是一致的。图 11.1 中的最高节点被标记为图 11.2 中的 ROOT 箭头。向下的关系是由箭头的方法来预测的。

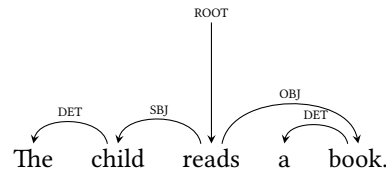
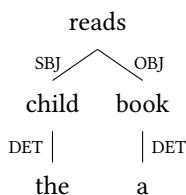


图 11.2: *The child reads a book.* 的分析的另一种表示形式

第三种表示相同的依存关系的形式如图 11.3 在下一页所示，这里又有树格式了。如果我们将图中的根节点向上表示，就得到了这棵树。由于我们有清晰的表示从属词上的结的依存关系的可视化表示，我们就不用箭头来表示这个信息了。但是，有些依存语法的变体，比如说 Word Grammar，使用了相互依存。由此，比如说，有些理论认为在 *his child* 的分析中，*his* 依存于 *child*，而且 *child* 依存于 *his*。如果必须要描述相互依存关系，则需要对所有的依存关系使用箭头活有些层级树中的依存关系用下划线表示，而其他依存关系用箭头表示。

当然，词类信息也可以加进图 11.2 和图 11.3 中，语法功能标签可以加在图 11.1 中，

图 11.3: *The child reads a book.* 的分析的另一种表示形式

而语序可以加在图 11.3 中。

上图描述了中心语与各自的从属词之间的依存关系。这可以按照 n -ary 规则来表示得更为形式化，该规则与第 2 章讨论的短语结构规则是十分类似的 (Gaifman 1965: 305、Hays 1964: 513、Baumgärtner 1970: 61、Heringer 1996: Section 4.1)。比如说提出了 (1) 中的规则：

$$(1) \quad \chi \rightarrow \varphi_1 \dots \varphi_i * \varphi_{i+2} \dots \varphi_n, \text{ where } 0 < i \leq n$$

(1) 中的星号对应于范畴 χ 中的词。在我们的例子中， χ 可以是 V，‘*’的位置可以由 *reads* 表示，而且 φ_1 和 φ_3 可以是 N。与 (2b) 中关于限定词—名词组合的规则一起，(2a) 中的规则可以允准图 11.1 中的依存树。

$$(2) \quad \text{a. } V \rightarrow N * N$$

$$\text{b. } N \rightarrow D *$$

另外，许多二叉规则可以被看作是与它的主语、直接宾语或间接宾语相组合 (Kahane 2009)。我们会在第 11.7.2 节详细讨论依存规则，以及依存语法与短语结构语法的对比。

11.1.2 说明语

Tesnière 使用的另一个隐喻是戏剧。一个事件的核心参与者是行动元 (actants)，除此之外就是背景，即舞台，一般的布置。行动元这个概念在其他理论中是论元，而描述为舞台的实体被叫做语境 (circumstants?)。这些语境是修饰语和在本书介绍的其他理论中通常所说的说明语。在依存关系的表示中，依存语法的论元盒说明语之间没有太大的区别。图 11.4 on the next page 表示了 (3) 的分析：

$$(3) \quad \text{The child often reads the book slowly.}$$

DET 孩子 经常 读 DET 书 慢慢地

‘孩子们常常慢慢地读书。’

依存关系的标注使用了 Engel (1977) 提出来描写不同依存关系的技术手段：说明语用一条从说明语节点向上的额外的线来表示（也请看 Eroms 2000）。另一种区分论元/说明语，或者行动元/环境元的区分的方法是作为论元和说明语的地位的明确的区别。所以我们可以使用针对说明语和论元的明确标记，就像在前面标记语法功能一样。德语语法和配价辞典经常使用标签 E 和 A 来分别表示 *Ergänzung* 和 *Angabe*。

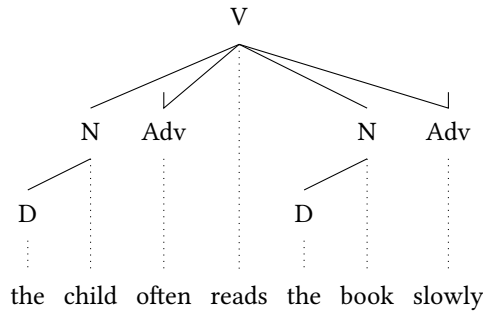


图 11.4: *The child often reads the book slowly.* 的分析

11.1.3 线性

目前，我们已经看到了依存图，它们连接了按照一些线性顺序排列的词。不过，从属词的语序在原则上不是由依存关系决定的，由此依存语法必须使用其他声明来表示语言对象（词根、形素、词）的合理语序。Engel (2014: 50)提出了针对(4)中的句子的依存图 11.5 在下一页。⁶

- (4) a. Gestern war ich bei Tom.
昨天 COP I PREP Tom
'我昨天跟 Tom 在一起。'
- b. Ich war gestern bei Tom.
我 COP 昨天 PREP Tom
- c. Bei Tom war ich gestern.
PREP Tom COP 我 昨天
- d. Ich war bei Tom gestern.
我 COP PREP Tom 昨天

根据Engel (2014: 50)，正确的语序是由表层句法规则决定的，比如说，证明在陈述性主句的前场位置总有一个成分的规则，以及在第二位是定式动词的规则。^{7,8} 进而，还有关于语用属性的线性规则，比如说旧信息位于新信息之前。另一条规则保证了弱代词被置于前场或中场的开头。这一线性顺序的概念在经验与概念上都是有问题的，我们会在第 11.7.1 节再来讨论。这里需要指出的是，只处理依存关系的方法承认中心语和它的从属词的非连续的实现形式。除了任何更进一步的约束，依存语法还有一个在第 10.6.3 节第 310 页已经讨论过有关嵌套构式语法以及第 10.6.4.4 节关于流体构式语法的问题。其中，一个论元可以打断另一个论元，如图 11.6 在下一页所示。为了排除语言中的这种不可能的线性排列，有时会认为分析需要是投射

⁶ Engel 使用 E_{sub} 来表示主语，还有 E_{acc}、E_{dat} 和 E_{gen} 来表示具有不同格的宾语。
⁷ “Die korrekte Stellung ergibt sich dann zum Teil aus oberflächensyntaktischen Regeln (zum Beispiel: im Vorfeld des Konstativsatzes steht immer genau ein Element; das finite Verb steht an zweiter Stelle) [...]”
⁸ Engel (1970: 81)针对 *Vorfeld* 中只有一个成分的说法提出了反例。相关的例子将在第 11.7.1 节讨论。

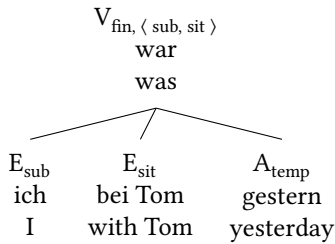


图 11.5: 根据Engel (2014: 50)的 *ich*、*war*、*bei Tom* 和 *gestern* (我昨天跟 Tom 在一起。)的不同语序的依存图

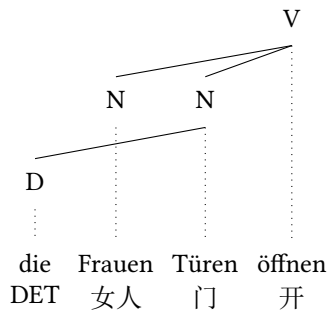


图 11.6: *dass die Frauen Türen öffnen* (这个女人开门) 的不想要的分析

的，即如图 11.6 中交叉的分支是不允许的。这实际上重新将直接成分的概念引入框架中，因为这就意味着中心语的所有从属词都必须实现在中心语周边，除非故意使用了特殊的机制（请看第 11.5 节关于非局部依存的例子）。⁹有些作者明确地使用短语结构成分来构成成分的线性约束 (Gerdes & Kahane 2001; Hellwig 2003)。

11.1.4 语义

Tesnière 已经按照后来理论中常见的语义角色区分了动词的参与者。他指出，第一个行动元是施事，第二个是受事，第三个是受益者 (Tesnière 2015: Chapter 106)。考虑到依存语法是一个词汇框架，所有关于论元连接的词汇化方法可以被采用。但是，论元连接与语义角色指派只是当自然语言表达需要指派意义时亟需解决的一小部分问题。关于说明语和量词的辖域的问题需要被解决，而且很清楚的是没有考虑到线性语序的表示依存关系的依存图时不够的。一个没有排序的依存图将语

⁹ 尽管这可以得到短语结构语法中所谓的单位 (unit?)，这里也是有区别的：在短语结构语法中，单位具有功能标签（如 NP），这在依存语法是不同的。在依存语法中，我们只指出中心语的标签（如图 11.4 中属于 *child* 的 N）或者直接指出中心词（如图 11.3 中的词 *child*）所以在依存语法表示中有更少的节点（但是请看第 11.7.2.3 节的讨论）。

法功能指派给中心语的从属词，并且它在很多方面都类似于 LFG 的 f-结构。¹⁰ 对于第 205 页的 (25a) 这类句子，这里重复为 (5)，我们得到第 205 页的 (25b) 中的 f-结构。这个 f-结构包括一个主语 (*David*)、一个宾语 (*a sandwich*)，以及带有两个成分的说明语集合 (*at noon* 和 *yesterday*)。

- (5) *David devoured a sandwich at noon yesterday.*

David 吞光 一三明治 在中午 昨天

‘David 昨天中午吞光了一个三明治。’

这就是未排序的依存图中的编码形式。由于这个平行特征，Bröker (2003: 308) 针对依存语法也提出了粘着语义学就不足为奇了 (Dalrymple, Lamping & Saraswat 1993, Dalrymple 2001: Chapter 8)。粘着语义学在第 7.1.5 节已经介绍了。

依存语法的有些变体对语义有明确的处理。一个例子是意义文本理论 (Meaning-Text Theory) (Mel’čuk 1988)。词语法是另一个例子 (Hudson 1991: Chapter 7, 2007: Chapter 5)。这里不便介绍这些理论的概念。需要指出的是，像 Hudson 的词语法这类理论对线性顺序是十分严格的，而且并不认为 (4) 中的所有句子都具有相同的依存结构 (请看第 11.5 节)。词语法更接近于短语结构语法，并且具有跟基于成分的理论相同的成分序列与语义的互动关系。

11.2 被动

依存语法是一个基于词汇的理论，而且价是其核心概念。基于这个原因，被动的分析也是基于词汇的方法就不足为奇了。也就是说，一般认为有一个被动分词，它具有与主动动词不同的配价需求 (Hudson 1990: Chapter 12, Eroms 2000: Section 10.3, Engel 2014: 53–54)。

(6) 中的标准例子被分析为图 11.7 在下一页中所示的形式。

- (6) [*dass*] *der Weltmeister geschlagen wird*

CONJ DET 世界. 冠军 击败 AUX

‘世界冠军被击败了’

这张图是针对被动结构的直觉上的描述。对于人称被动来说，其形式化很有可能会落实到词汇规则上。请看 citew[629–630]Hellwig2003a 关于英语中被动分析的词汇规则的明确建议。

请注意，*der Weltmeister* (世界冠军) 不是 Engel 的分析中被动助词 *wird* 的论元。这意味着主语-动词的一致关系不能受限于局部，而且我们需要为了一致关系来开发一些精细化的机制。¹¹ Hudson (1990)、Eroms (2000: Section 5.3) 和 Groß & Osborne (2009) 认为主语依存于助词，而不是助动词。这需要范畴语法 (请看第 8.5.2 节) 和

¹⁰ Tim Osborne (p. c. 2015) 提醒我，在所有的情况中并不是这样的：比如说非谓词性介词没有在 f-结构中显示，但是他们必然出现在依存图中。

¹¹ 这个问题对于所谓的远被动来说是更为迫切的问题：

- (i) a. *weil der Wagen zu reparieren versucht wurde*

因为 DET.SG.NOM 汽车 INF 修理 尝试 AUX

‘因为试着修理这辆汽车’

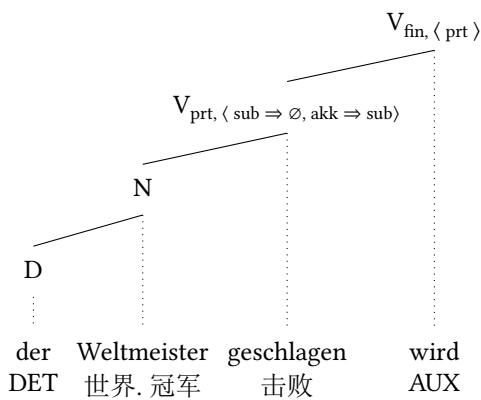


图 11.7: [dass] *der Weltmeister geschlagen wird* (世界冠军被击败了) 的分析类似于Engel (2014: 53–54)提出的分析

HPSG 语法 (Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1994)中较为普遍的论元转换。更合适的分析是将分词的主语当作助词的主语，如图 11.8 on the next page所示。

11.3 动词位置

在许多德语的依存语法的著作中，并没有处理线性顺序问题，而且作者只关注于依存关系。在动词及其论元之间的依存关系基本上等同于动词位于首位与动词位于末位的句子。如果我们比较图 11.9和图 11.10中给出的（7）中的例子的依存图的话，我们会看到只有动词的位置是不同的，但是依存关系就如他们应当那样

- b. weil die Wagen zu reparieren versucht wurden

因为DET.PL.NOM 汽车 INF 修理 尝试 AUX

‘因为试着修理这辆汽车’

这里，*zu reparieren* 的宾语与助词 *wurde*（单数）和 *wurden*（复数）保持一致，这个宾语是嵌套在两层深的动词的宾语。单数，关于如何分析这些远被动的问题在 Engel 的系统中是开放的，而且这个问题的解决方法可能会包含 HPSG 中应用的机制：*zu reparieren* 的论元被提升到统制动词 *versucht* 上，被动应用于这个动词，并将宾语转化为主语，这是通过助词提升的。这就解释了 *zu reparieren*（修理）的隐含宾语与 *wurde*（单数）之间的一致关系。Hudson (1997)在词语法的框架下提出了德语的动词性补足语的分析，这个分析包括了他所谓的概化提升（*generalized raising*）的过程。他指出，主语和补足语一起提升到了统制中心语中。请注意，这样包括概化提升的分析可以直接对（i）这类句子进行分析，因为宾语将依存于与主语相同的中心语上，即 *hat*（AUX），由此可以放在主语前。

- (ii) Gestern hat sich der Spieler verletzt.

昨天 AUX 自己DET 选手 受伤

‘这个选手昨天伤到了自己。’

关于 Groß & Osborne 对（ii）的讨论，请看第 556页。

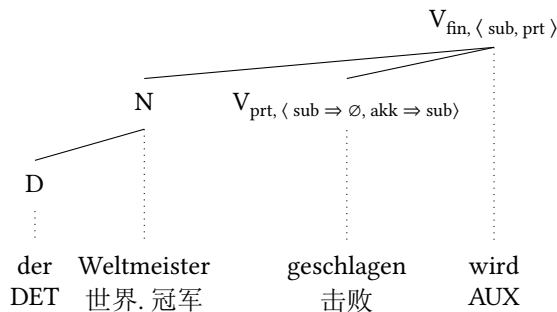


图 11.8: 带有作为助词的从属词的主语的 [dass] *der Weltmeister geschlagen wird* (世界冠军被打了) 的分析

是相同的。¹²

- (7) 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?’

关于带有论元和说明语的动词的正确的语序由线性约束条件来保证, 这些条件与各自的空间位置是相关的。请看第 11.1.3 节和第 11.7.1 节更多有关线性的细节问题。

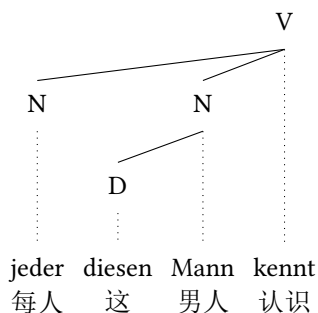
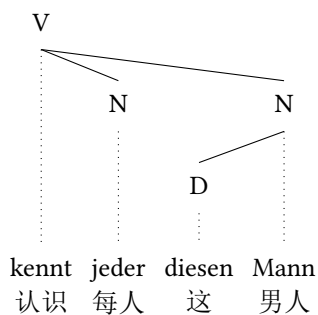
11.4 局部重新排序

与局部重新排序的情况是相同的。(8b) 中句子的依存关系如图 11.11 在下一页所示。(8a) 中带有正常语序的句子的分析已经在图 11.9 中给出了。

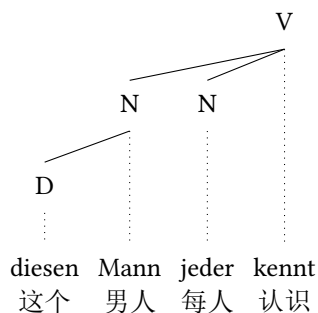
- (8) a. [dass] jeder diesen Mann kennt
 CONJ 每人 这 男人 认识
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人’

¹² Eroms (2000) 用词性 Pro 来表示 jeder (每人) 这类代词。如果词类的信息在选择中发挥了重要的作用, 这就使得管辖名词性表达的中心语的所有配价框架的析取的区分是十分必要的, 因为他们要么跟带有内部结构的 NP 或者带有介词的 NP 相组合。通过对代词赋予范畴 N, 我们可以避免这个析取的具体化的问题。代词跟名词的区别在于它的价 (当名词需要限定词时, 它是完全满足的), 而不是它的词性。Eroms & Heringer (2003: 259) 使用符号 N_pro 来表示代词。如果 pro-部分被理解为带有词性的特殊属性对象, 这就跟我们上面讲到的内容不一致的: 中心语就可以选择 Ns 了。如果 N_pro 和 N 被看作是不同的原子符号, 问题还是存在的。

使用 N 而不是 Pron 作为代词的词性, 这在依存语法的其他版本中是标准的表示, 例如词语法 (Hudson 1990: 167; Hudson 2007: 190)。也请看第 49 页的脚注 2 关于短语结构语法中代词和 NPs 的区别。

图 11.9: [*dass*] *jeder diesen Mann kennt* (每个人都认识这个男人) 的分析图 11.10: *Kennt jeder diesen Mann?* (每个人都认识这个男人吗?) 的分析

- b. [*dass*] *diesen Mann jeder kennt*
 CONJ 这 男人 每人 认识
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人’

图 11.11: [*dass*] *diesen Mann jeder kennt* (每个人都认识这个人) 的分析

11.5 长距离依存

在依存语法中有许多方法来分析非局部依存关系。最简单的方法我们已经在前面的章节中看到了。许多分析只关注依存关系，并且认为位于第二位的动词只是一种可能的线性变体（Eroms 2000: Section 9.6.2、Groß & Osborne 2009）。图 11.12 展示了 (9) 的分析：

- (9) [Diesen Mann] kennt jeder.
 这 男人 认识 每人
 ‘每个人都认识这个男人。’

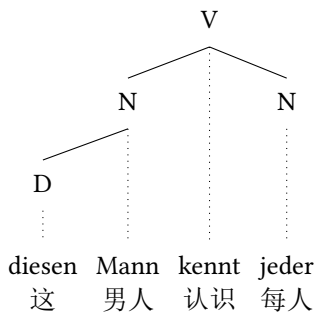


图 11.12: 没有对前置进行特殊处理的 *Diesen Mann kennt jeder.* (这个人，每个人都认识。) 的分析

现在，这是最简单的情况，所以让我们看看 (10) 中的例子，它真正包括非局部 (nonlocal) 的依存关系：

- (10) Wen_i glaubst du, daß ich _{-i} gesehen habe?¹³
 谁.ACC 认为.2SG 你.NOM CONJ 我.NOM 看见 AUX
 ‘你认为我看见了谁？’

依存关系的描写如图 11.13 在下一页所示。这张图与我们之前看到的很多图不同，它没有投射。这意味着这有交叉：对于 *wen* (谁) 的 V_{prt} 和 N 之间的联系与联接 *glaubst* (认为) 和 *du* (你) 以及他们的范畴符号的关系有所较差。根据设想的依存语法的版本，这可以被看作是一个问题，或者不是。让我们来看一下两个选项：如果图 11.13 中给出的类型的非联系性被允许用在 Heringer 和 Eroms 的语法中 (Heringer 1996: 261、Eroms 2000: Section 9.6.2)，¹⁴这就需要语法中有一些可以排除那些不合乎语法的非联系体。比如说，图 11.14 在下一页中 (11) 的分析就应该被排除。

- (11) *Wen glaubst ich du, dass gesehen habe?
 谁.ACC 认为.2SG 我.NOM 你.NOM CONJ 看见 AUX
 想说：“你认为我看见谁了？”

¹³ Scherpenisse (1986: 84).

¹⁴ 但是，作者提到了将提取的成分向更高的节点提升的可能性。请看 Eroms & Heringer (2003: 260)。

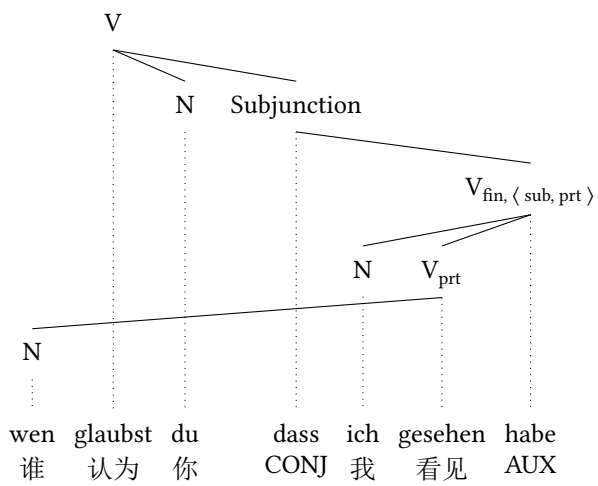


图 11.13: *Wen glaubst du, dass ich gesehen habe?* (你认为我看见了谁?) 的非投射分析

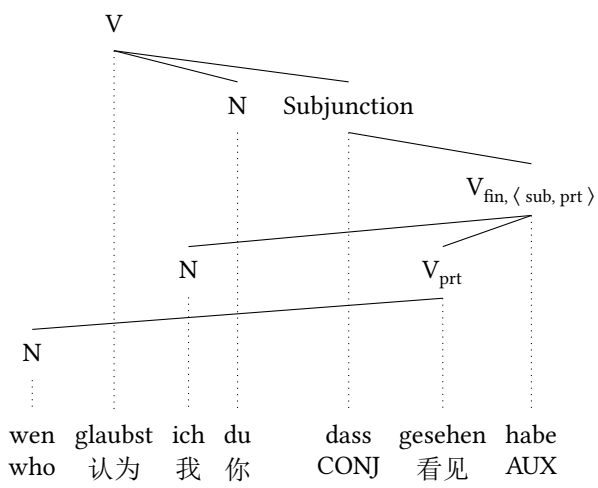


图 11.14: * *Wen glaubst ich du, dass gesehen habe?* (你认为我看见谁了) 的不想得到的依存图

需要注意的是, (11) 中成分的语序与提出的表示空间位置的观点是兼容的Engel (2014: 50): 有一个由 *wen* (谁) 填充的 *Vorfeld*, 有一个由 *glaubst* (认为) 填充的句子左边界, 还有由 *ich* (我)、*du* (你) 和小句论元填充的 *Mittelfeld*。在 *Mittelfeld* 有像 (我) 和 (你) 这样的代词是完全正常的。问题在于这些代词来自于不同的类型: *du* 属于主动词 *glaubst* (认为), 而 *ich* (我) 依存于 (*gesehen* 看见) *habe* (AUX)。一个理论需要覆盖的事实是, 前置和外置分别瞄准小句的最左边和最右边。这可以直接按照基于成分的方法来模拟, 正如我们在前几章所看到的。

作为另一种非联系成分, 我们可以假定一个能够在结构中将嵌套的中心语的依存关系提高到更高的节点上的机制。这一分析由Kunze (1968)、Hudson (1997, 2000)、Kahane (1997)、Kahane et al. (1998)和Groß & Osborne (2009)提出。接下来, 我会用Groß & Osborne (2009)提出的分析所谓这类分析的例子。Groß & Osborne 用图 11.15中的虚线描述了重新组织的依存关系。^{15, 16} 依存关系 (V_{prt}) 的源头被标记

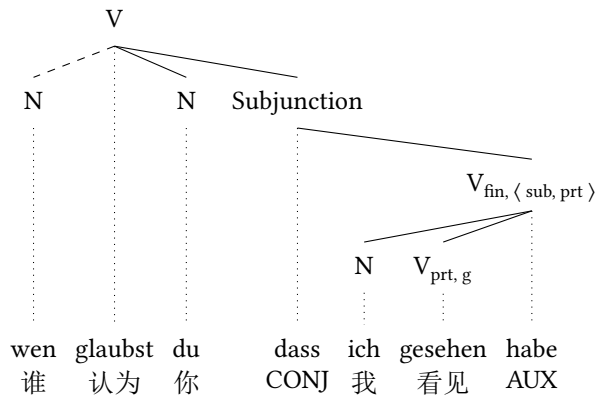


图 11.15: 包括提升的 *Wen glaubst du, dass ich gesehen habe?* (你认为我看到了什么?) 的投射分析

为一个 *g* 和一个从属词, 这个从属词通过虚线连接到他提升 (最高的 *V*) 的节点上。除了在局部实现 *gesehen* (看见) 的宾格从属词之外, 关于缺失成分的信息传递到了更高的节点上并在那里得到实现。

Groß & Osborne (2009)的分析并不是十分准确。这里有一个 *g* 和一条虚线, 但是句子可能会包括多重非局部的依存。比如说, 例 (12) 中, 在关系小句 *den wir alle begrüßt haben* (我们都打过招呼的那些人) 和 *die noch niemand hier gesehen hat* (这里没有人看到的那个人) 中有一个非局部的依存关系: 关系代词在关系小句内被前置。短语 *dem Mann, den wir alle kennen* (我们都认识的那个人) 是 *gegeben* (给) 的前置的与格宾语, 而且 *die noch niemand hier gesehen hat* (这里还没有人看到的那个人) 是从 *Frau* (女人) 为中心语的 NP 中外置而来的。

¹⁵ Eroms & Heringer (2003: 260)提出了类似的分析, 但是没有说明任何形式化的细节。

¹⁶ 需要注意的是, Groß & Osborne (2009)并没有针对简单和复杂的动词位于第二位的句子的一个统一的分析。也就是说, 对于可以解释为局部重新排序的亲故昂, 他们提出了没有提升的分析。他们对 (9) 的分析如图 11.12所示。这就导致了第 11.7.1节讨论过的问题。

- (12) Dem Mann, den wir alle begrüßt haben, hat die Frau das Buch gegeben, die
 DET 男人 谁 我们都 打招呼 AUX AUX DET 女人 DET 书 给 谁
 noch niemand hier gesehen hat.
 但 没人 这里看见 AUX
 ‘这里没有人看见过的那个女人把这本书给了这个男人，这个我们都打过招呼的男人。’

所以，这就意味着中心语和移位成分之间的联系（依存关系）已经说的很清楚的。这就是Hudson (1997, 2000)在他的词语法中对非局部依存关系的分析：除了连接词与它的主语、宾语和其他成分的依存关系，他还提出了提取成分的更深层次的依存关系。比如说，(10)中的 *wen*（谁），为了简便这里重复为(13)，是 *gesehen*（看见）的宾语以及 *glaubst*（认为）和 *dass*（CONJ）的提取。

- (13) Wen glaubst du, dass ich gesehen habe?
 谁 认为 你 CONJ 我看见 AUX
 ‘你认为我看见了谁？’

Hudson 证明了词语法中多重依存关系的使用对应于 HPSG 中的结构共享(Hudson 1997: 15)。非局部依存关系被模拟为一系列局部依存关系，这跟 GPSG 和 HPSG 中所做的是一样的。这是重要的，因为它允许我们捕捉提取路径标记的效果 (Bouma, Malouf & Sag 2001a: 1–2, Section 3.2)：比如说，有的语言对有成分提取的句子使用一种特殊形式的补足语。图 11.16 给出了词语法中(13)的分析。词上的连线是通常对

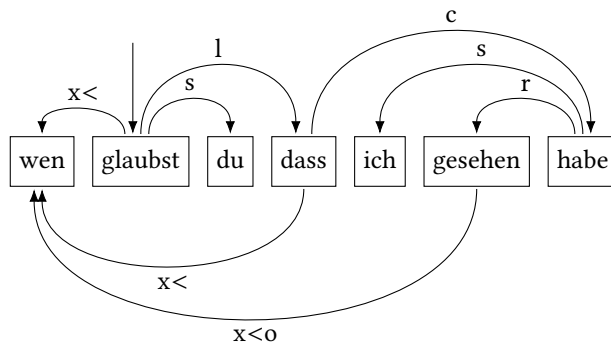


图 11.16: 词语法中带有重依存关系的 *Wen glaubst du, dass ich gesehen habe?*（你认为我看见了谁？）的投射分析

主语、宾语和其他论元的依存连线（*r* 是 *sharer* 的缩写，它指动词性补足语，*l* 代表 *clausal complement*），在词下的连线是针对提取成分的连线（*x<*）。从 *gesehen*（看见）连到 *wen*（谁）是特殊的，因为它既是一个宾语连线也是一个提取连线（*x<0*）。这个连线是对图 11.15 中由虚线标记的小 *g* 和 *N* 的明确的说明。除了图 11.15 中的情况，图 11.16 也有一个从 *dass*（CONJ）到 *wen*（谁）的提取连线。我们可以用 Engel、Eroms 和 Gross & Osborne 的图形表示法来表示词语法的依存关系：我们可以简单地从 V_{prt} 节点和从属词节点上加虚线到统制 *wen*（谁）的 *N* 节点。

尽管这看上去比较简单,但是我想指出,词语法还应用了其他原则来满足合乎语法的结构。在下面,我来解释无缠绕原则(No-tangling Principle)、不孤单原则(No-dangling Principle)和句子根原则(Sentence-root Principle)。

Principle 1 (无缠绕原则) 依存箭头不能缠绕。

Principle 2 (不孤单原则) 每个词必须有一个母节点。

Principle 3 (句子根原则) 在每一个非复合句子中,只有一个词,它的母节点不是一个词,而是一个上下文的成分。

非缠绕原则保证了没有交叉的依存线,即它保证了结构是投射的(Hudson 2000: 23)。因为非局部依存关系是通过具体的依存机制确立的,有人想排除非投射的分析。这一原则也排除了(14b),这里 *green* (绿色) 依存于 *peas* (豌豆),但是并不是邻接于 *peas* (豌豆)。由于 *on* (PREP) 选择了 *peas* (豌豆),从 *on* (PREP) 到 *peas* (豌豆) 的箭头就会与从 *peas* (豌豆) 到 *green* (绿色) 的箭头交叉。

- (14) a. He lives on green peas.
 他 生存 PREP 绿色 豌豆
 ‘他靠绿色豌豆生存。’
 b. *He lives green on peas.
 他 生存 绿色 PREP 豌豆

不孤单原则确保了没有单独的词组连接到结构的主要部分上。没有这条规则,(14b) 就会被分析为孤立的(*green* 绿色)(Hudson 2000: 23)。

句子根原则需要用来排除那些不止有一个最高成分的结构。*glaubst* (认为) 是图 11.16 中的根。没有其他词统治并选择它了。这个原则确保了没有其他的根。所以这个原则排除了那些短语中的所有成分都是根的情况,因为如果不这样的话,不孤单原则就会失去效力,因为它就会被无能地实现(Hudson 2000: 25)。

我这里加入了相当复杂的原则集合,是为了得到与基于短语结构方法的合理的比较。如果这里针对一般的短语提出一致性的话,就不需要这三个原则了。比如说, LFG 和 HPSG 就不需要这样原则。

需要注意的是 Hudson (1997: 16) 认为 *Vorfeld* 中的成分被提取出来了,即使是像(9)这样简单的句子。我将在第 11.7.1 节说明为什么我认为这样的分析比那些分析更好,那些分析认为像(9)这样的简单句只是对应于动词位于首位或动词位于末位的语序变体。

11.6 新的发展与理论变体

本节主要介绍 Tesnière 的依存语法的变体。第 11.6.1 节介绍 Tesnière 的词类系统,第 11.6.2 节描述由 Tesnière 界定的语言对象的组合的模型。

11.6.1 Tesnière 的词类划分

正如在引言中提到的，Tesnière 是依存语法历史上的核心人物，因为他是第一位开发了形式化模型的 (Tesnière 1959, 1980, 2015)。现今有许多依存语法的版本，而且大部分都用其他语言中使用的词类标签 (N、P、A、V、Adv、Conj, ...)。Tesnière 的词类系统包括四个主要的范畴：名词、动词、形容词和副词。这些范畴的标签来自于用在世界语的词尾，即分别是 O、I、A 和 E。这些范畴按照语义来界定，如表 11.1 所示。¹⁷ Tesnière 认为这些范畴是普遍的，而且认为这些范畴互相依存的方式也是有限制的。

表 11.1: Tesnière 提出的语义驱动的词类类型

	物质	过程
具体	名词	动词
抽象	形容词	副词

根据 Tesnière，名词和副词可以依存于动词，形容词依存于名词，而且副词依存于形容词或副词。这个情景在图中的普通依存图中有所描述。‘*’表示 Es 中的依存关系的任意数量。dependencies between Es. 当然，要找到依存于动词的形容词和

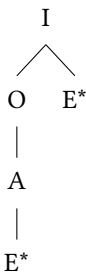


图 11.17: 根据 Tesnière 的依存关系的普遍配置
(I = verb, O = noun, A = adjective, E = adverb)

依存于名词的句子（动词）是比较容易的。这类情况在 Tesnière 的系统中由所谓的转用 (transfers) 来处理。而且，这个范畴的集合中没有连词、限定词和介词。对于这些成分与他们的从属词的组合来说，Tesnière 使用了特殊的组合性关系：联结和转用。我们将在下面介绍这些概念。

¹⁷ 正如Weber (1997: 77)指出的，这个范畴不是没有问题的：根据什么说 *Angst*（害怕）是一个实体呢？为什么 *glauben*（认为）是一个具体的过程？也请看Klein (1971: Section 3.4)关于 *schlagen*（击打）和 *Schlag*（击打）以及类似例子的讨论。即使我们认为 *Schlag* 是通过通过转移到范畴 O 而从 *schlag*- 实际的过程生成的，这样的 Os 表示实体的假设也是有问题的。

11.6.2 联系、并列与转用

Tesnière (1959)提出了节点间的三个基本关系：联系、并列与转用。是我们在之前的章节中就介绍过的中心语与从属语之间的简单关系。并列是在并列分析中起到重要作用的特殊关系，而转用是允许我们变换词或短语的范畴的工具。

11.6.2.1 并列

图 11.18说明了并列关系：两个并列成分 *John* 和 *Mary* 通过连词 *and* 连到了一起。有趣的是，并列成分都连接到中心语 *laugh* 上。

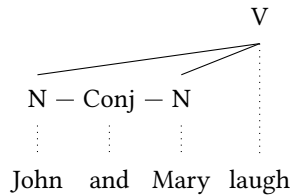


图 11.18: 对并列应用特殊的并列（junction）关系的分析

对于两个并列的名词的情况，我们得到图 11.19中的依存图。所有的名词都联

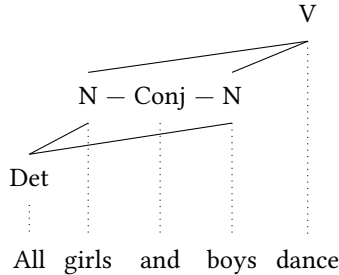


图 11.19: 对并列应用特殊的并列（junction）关系的分析

系到支配动词上，而且所有的名词都支配相同的限定词。

对并列的另一种分析方法是将连词看作是中心词，并列的成分看作是它的从属词。¹⁸ 这个方法的唯一问题是连词的范畴。它不能是 *Conj*，因为支配动词不选择 *Conj*，而是 *N*。这里可以使用的方法基本上与范畴语法中使用的是一样的（请看第 21.6.2 节）：范畴语法中连词的范畴是 $(X \backslash X) / X$ 。我们有一个函数，它带有同样范畴的两个论元，这个组合的结果是一个跟这两个论元具有相同范畴的对象。要把这个方法翻译到依存语法中，我们就会得到图 11.20 在下一页中描述的分析，而不是图 11.18 和图 11.19 中的分析。针对 *all girls and boys* 的图看起来太奇观了，因为限定

¹⁸ 我这里不用 Tesnière 的范畴标签，这样读者就不用将 *I* 翻译成 *V*，以及 *O* 翻译成 *N*。

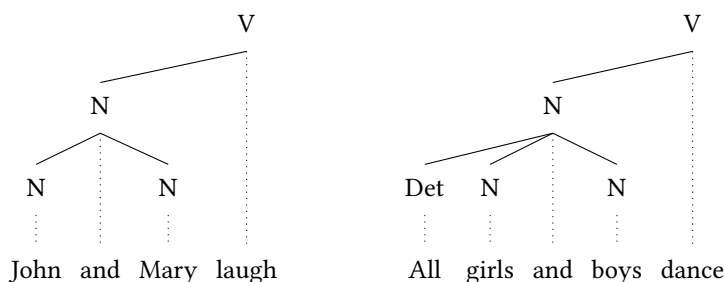


图 11.20: 没有并列 (junction) 的将连词看作是中心语的并列的分析

词和两个并列成分都依存于连词,但是由于这两个 Ns 选择了 Det, 并列的结果也是这样的。在范畴语法概念中,连词的范畴应该是 $((NP \setminus Det) \setminus (NP \setminus Det)) / (NP \setminus Det)$, 因为 X 实例为具有范畴 $(NP \setminus Det)$ 的名词,在这个分析中名词是中心语,限定词是从属语。

需要注意的是,这两种方法都需要给主语—动词的一致关系提供解释。Tesnière 最开始的分析假定了动词和连词之间有两种依存关系。¹⁹因为连词是单数的,动词是复数的,在这个方法中根据依存关系得到的模型无法模拟一致关系。如果第二种分析找到了描述联结中并列的一致属性,这样一致的事实就是算数的,而且没有任何问题。

与图中描述的中心语方法相比的另一种方法是没有中心语的。在基于短语结构的框架下工作的几个作者提出了没有中心语的并列结构的分析。这类分析也在依存语法中被提及 (Hudson 1988; Kahane 1997)。Hudson (1988) 和其他作出了相似假设的学者提出了一个针对并列的短语结构成分: 两个名词和连词被组合在一起构成一个更大的对象,它具有与任何一个组合词语不相对应的属性。

相似地,基于联结的并列结构的分析为表达式的解读提出了问题。如果语义角色的指派在依存关系系统中发生,那么就会有如图 11.18 的图式的问题了。因为 *laugh* 的语义角色不能同时被 *John* 和 *Mary* 填充。相反,它由一个实体填充,即指向包括 *John* 和 *Mary* 的那个集合。这个语义表示属于短语 *John and Mary*, 而且在这个并列结构中,这个最高实体的自然候选者是 *and*, 因为它涵盖了 *John* 和 *Mary* 的意义: *and' (John', Mary')*。

这类联结也适用于动词的并列。但是,也不是没有问题的,因为说明语的辖域可以覆盖到离它最近的连词,或者是整个并列结构。例如下面 Levine (2003: 217) 中的句子:

- (15) Robin came in, found a chair, sat down, and whipped off her logging boots
 Robin 进 找到一 椅子坐 下 和 拿 开 她的测井靴子 在

¹⁹ Eroms (2000: 467) 指出了这个一致问题,并描述了事实。在他的分析中,他将第一个连词连接到统制中心语上,尽管看起来更合适的做法应该是假定一个内在构造的并列结构,然后连接到更高层的连词上。

in exactly thirty seconds flat.
确定地三十 秒 干脆
‘Robin 进来，找到了一把椅子，坐下来，并在三十秒内就把她的靴子脱下来了。’

说明语 *in exactly thirty seconds flat* 可以指向 (16a) 中的 *whipped off her logging boots*, 或者像 (16b) 中那样覆盖所有三个连词:

- (16) a. Robin came in, found a chair, sat down, and [[pulled off her logging boots] in exactly thirty seconds flat].
b. Robin [[came in, found a chair, sat down, and pulled off her logging boots] in exactly thirty seconds flat].

图 11.21 中的泰尼埃式的分析对应于 (17)，而如图 11.22 在下一页中将连词作为中心语的分析对应于 (16b)。

- (17) Robin came in in exactly thirty seconds flat and Robin found a chair in exactly thirty seconds flat and Robin pulled off her logging boots in exactly thirty seconds flat.

当说明语分别指向每个连词的，而不是如 (16b) 中由动词短语表示的指向一个累积的事件的时候，就会得到 (17) 中的解读。

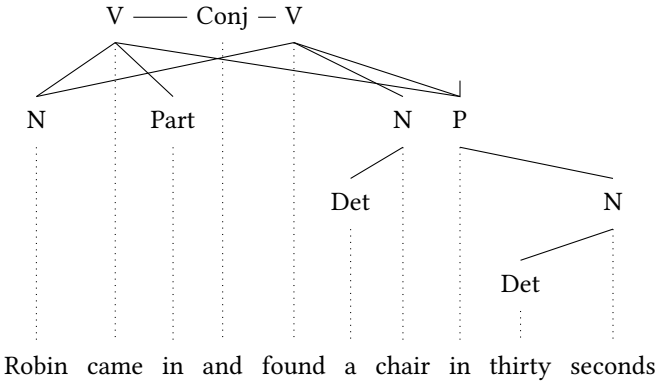


图 11.21: 带有联结关系的动词并列的分析

Levine (2003: 217) 讨论了连接到 Bouma, Malouf & Sag (2001a) 提出的提取的 HPSG 分析的这些句子。Bouma, Malouf & Sag 提出了，说明语作为中心语的从属语而从词汇的角度被引入。因为说明语按照词汇的方法来引入，并列结构基本上与泰尼埃式的分析具有相同的机构。有可能会想到正确得到语义组成成分的方式，即使句法并不对应于语义依存关系（请看的观点），但是清楚的是，针对语义中的情况，从句法结构得到语义是更简单的。

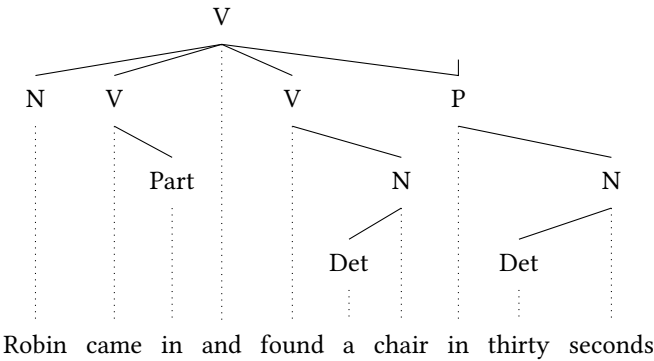


图 11.22: 带有联系关系的动词并列的分析

11.6.2.2 转用

在 Tesnière 的系统中，转用被用于主要范畴（如名词）中的中心语与次要范畴（如介词）的词相组合的词或短语。另外，转用可以在不需要任何其他词的参与下，变换词或短语的范畴。

图 11.23 就是转用的一个例子。介词 *in* 引发了范畴的变化：由于 *Traumboot*（梦

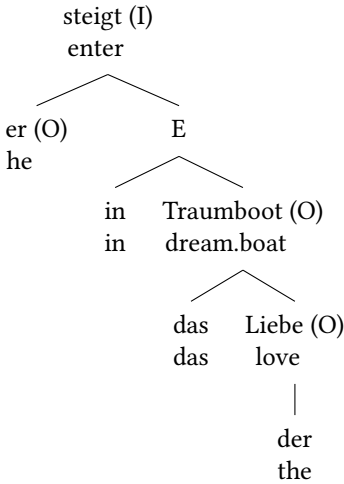


图 11.23: 从 Weber (1997: 83) 而来的转用的例子

想船) 是一个 O (名词)，介词与名词的组合是一个 E。这个例子说明了 Tesnière 使用了语法范畴来对语法功能进行编码。在 HPSG 这样的理论中，有一个清晰的区别：一方面，这里有关于词性的信息，另一方面，也有作为修饰语和谓语的成分

的函项。修饰语函项被编码为修饰性特征 **MOD**，它是独立于词性的。由此，这就可以有修饰性和非修饰性的形容词、修饰性和非修饰性的介词短语，以及修饰性和非修饰性的名词短语等。对于手边的例子，我们可以假设一个带有方向性语义的介词选择了 **NP**。介词是带有填充了 **MOD value** 的 **PP** 的中心语。

使用转用的另一个方面是形态学。比如说，法语 *frappant*（惊人的）的派生是通过词根 *frapp* 加上后缀 *-ant* 构成的，如图 11.24 所示。这类转用可以被看作是在普

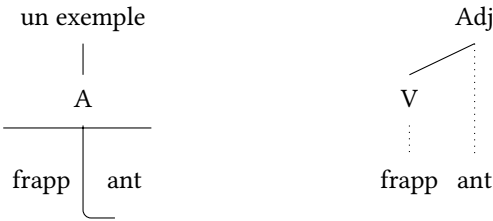


图 11.24: 形态学中的转用和作为正常依存的重新概念化

通连接关系，如果词缀被看作是中心语。在实现形态学和构式形态学领域的形态学家反对这类基于语素的分析，因为他们在绘画中包括了很多空成分，如动词 *play* 到名词 *play* 的转化（请看图 11.25）。由此，词汇规则被用来表示 HPSG 这类理论



图 11.25: 作为从 I（动词）到 O（实体）的转用和范畴 N 作为中心语的空成分的依存关系的转用

中的派生与对话。HPSG 的词汇规则基本上等同于一元分支规则（请看第 258 页有关 39 的讨论和第 19.5 节）。词缀整合进词汇规则或者整合进区分项的形态形式的功能实现都是由词汇规则允准的。

总结一下，这里所说的转用是指

- 如果一个词或者短语与另一个词相组合，那么就应用二叉的短语结构规则，
- 如果一个短语没有通过任意一个额外的成分而转换到另一个范畴中，那么就应用一元的短语结构规则或者带有空中心语的二叉的短语结构规则，或者
- 如果一个词或词根匹配到一个词或者词根上，那么就应用一个（一元）的词汇规则。

关于 Tesnière 的转用规则和短语成分规则的关系的进一步讨论请看Osborne & Kahane (2015: Section 4.9.1–4.9.2)。Osborne & Kahane 指出，转用规则可以用来模拟特异的结构，即那些没有一个单一部分可以指出中心语的结构。更多有关无中心语的构式内容请看第 11.7.2.4 节。

11.6.3 辖域

正如Osborne & Kahane (2015: lix)所指出的，Tesnière 使用了所谓的测谎仪来表示辖域关系。所以说，由于例 (18) 中的 *that you saw yesterday* 是指 *red cars*，而不是 *cars*，这通过在 *red* 和 *cars* 的联系处而不是单个成分开始的线来表示 (Tesnière 2015: 150, Stemma 149)。

- (18) *red cars that you saw yesterday*
 红色汽车CONJ 你 看见昨天
 ‘你昨天看见的红色汽车’

Tesnière 的分析如图 11.26 的左边表达式的描述。值得指出的是，这个表达式对英语图 11.26 右边的短语结构树。在 *red* 和 *cars* 之间的组合 B 对应于右手边图中的 B

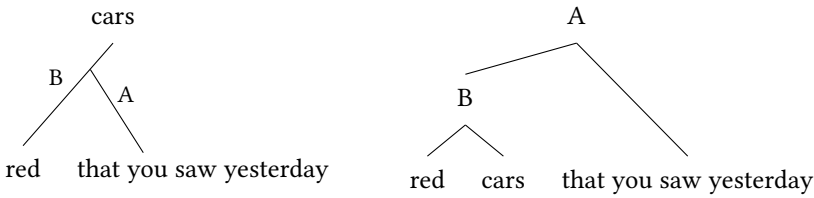


图 11.26: Tesnière 表示辖域的方式以及由Osborne & Kahane (2015: lix)提出的基于短语结构分析的比较

节点，而且 *red cars* 和 *that you saw yesterday* 的组合 A 对应于 A 节点。所以说，在短语结构语法中被清晰表示并指派了名称的对象在 Tesnière 的分析中是没有名字的，但是由于测谎仪的假说，可以指向这些组合。也请看图 ?? 的讨论，它显示出了 Hudson 为了模拟语义关系而提出的额外节点。

11.7 总结

依存语法的支持者们强调的一点是依存语法比短语结构语法简单多了，因为它们有更少的节点，而且一般的概念更容易被捕捉到（比如说Osborne 2014: Section 3.2, Section 7）。这是真的：依存语法适用于导论课程中语法的讲解。但是，正如Sternefeld & Richter (2012: 285)在一篇相当具有一般性的讨论中所指出的，简单的句法的代价是复杂语义及其他成分的缺失。所以说，除了依存句法中描述的依存结构，人们还需要其他层面的信息。一个层面就是语义层，另一个是线性顺序。考虑到线性顺序，依存语法有两个选项：假设连续的成分，即投射结构或者

允许非连续成分。这些选项将在后面的章节中讨论。第 11.7.2 节比较了依存语法和短语结构语法。它也指出了非投射可以在 HPSG 这类理论中模拟。语义的整合在第 11.7.2.3 节进行了讨论，而且逐渐清楚的是，一旦考虑到其他层面，依存语法就不必然要比短语结构语法简单了。

11.7.1 线性化

我们在这一章看到了许多线性化的方法。许多人只提出了依存图和根据拓扑模型的一些线性化方法。正如在第节所讨论的，允许中心语及其从属于的非连续排列好像打开了潘多拉的盒子。我已经讨论了 Kunze (1968)、Hudson (1997, 2000)、Kahane, Nasr & Rambow (1998) 和 Groß & Osborne (2009) 提出的非局部依存的分析。除了 Hudson，那些作者们认为中心语的从属语只在那些条件下升到统制语的位置上，其中非连续性会在其他方面出现。但是，我们有理由认为前置应该按照特殊的机制来处理，即使在允许连续的序列化的情况下。比如说，例 (19) 中的例子的歧义性或歧义性的缺失不能按照直接的方式来解释：

- (19) a. Oft liest er das Buch nicht.
经常读 他DET 书 不
‘经常的情况是他不读书。’ 或者
‘他经常读书，事实不是这样的。’
- b. dass er das Buch nicht oft liest
CONJ 他DET 书 不 经常读
‘他经常读书，事实不是这样的。’
- c. dass er das Buch oft nicht liest
CONJ 他DET 书 经常不 读
‘经常的情况是，他不读书。’

这三个例子的情况是，只有 (19a) 是有歧义的。即使 (19c) 具有相同的语序，只要考虑到 *oft* (经常) 和 *nicht* (不)，这个句子就不是歧义的。所以，说明语的前置是歧义的原因。(19a) 的依存图如图 11.27 所示。当然，(19b) 和 (19c) 的依存关

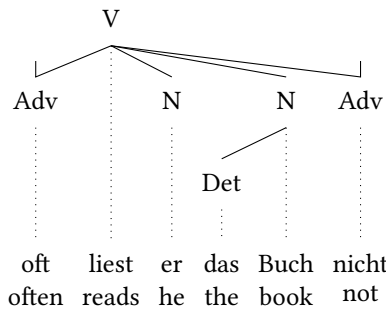


图 11.27: *Oft liest er das Buch nicht.* (他不经常读这本书) 的依存图

系没有不同的。图是相同的，只在线性序列中是不同的。所以说，辖域的不同不能从依存关系中推导出来，而且像 (20) 的复杂声明是必要的：

- (20) 如果从属语在 *Vorfeld* 中线性化了，它可以跨域，而且谓语它所从属的中心语的所有其他说明语下面。

Eroms (1985: 320) 提出了否定的分析，其中否定被当作中心语来处理；也就是说，例 (21) 中的句子具有图 11.28 中的结构。²⁰

- (21) Er kommt nicht.

他 来 不

‘他没来。’

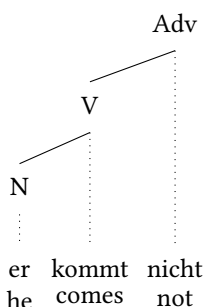


图 11.28: 根据Eroms (1985: 320)的否定的分析

这个分析对应于最简方案中的 NegP，而且它有相同的问题：整个宾语的范畴是 Adv，但是它应该是 V。这是一个问题，因为更高层的谓词可以选择 V，而不是 Adv。²¹

对于成分否定或者带有成分的其他辖域来说也是一样的。比如说，例 (22) 的分析可以如图 11.29 on the following page 所示。

- (22) der angebliche Mörder

DET 所谓的 杀人犯

这个结构可以具有非投射性的其他问题。Eroms 确实在这里所说的问题中对限定词进行了不同的处理，所以这个非投射性的类型对他来说不是一个问题。但是，否定的中心语分析会得到德语的所谓一致结构的非投射性。例 (23) 中的句子有两种解读：在第一种解读中，否定的辖域包括 *singen* (唱歌)，而在第二种解读中包括 *singen darf* (唱歌允许)。

- (23) dass er nicht singen darf

CONJ 他不 唱歌 允许

‘他不被允许唱歌’ 或 ‘他被允许不唱歌’

²⁰ 但是请看Eroms (2000: Section 11.2.3)。

²¹ 请看下面 (23) 中嵌套句的分析。

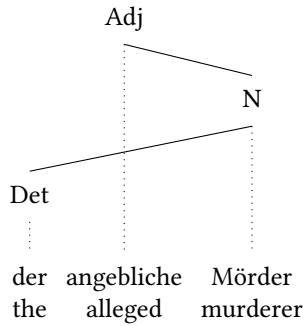


图 11.29: 覆盖全域的说明语作为中心语所得到结果的分析

nicht (不) 的辖域包括动词复杂形式的解读会得到图 11.30 中给出的非投射结构。Eroms 还提出了一个分析, 其中否定是一个词的部分 (‘Wortteiläquivalent’)。但是,

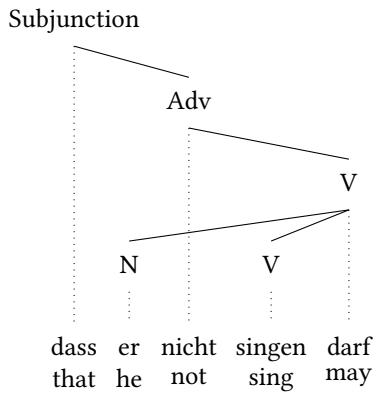


图 11.30: 否定作为中心语的假说所得到结果的分析

这里没有任何帮助, 因为首先否定和动词在 (19a) 中的动词二位的语境中不是相邻的, 而且即使在 (23) 中的动词末位的语境中也是不相邻的。Eroms 不得不假设, 依附到否定的宾语是整个动词的复杂形式 *singen darf* (唱歌允许), 即包括两个词的复杂宾语。

这就给我们留下了图 11.27 中的分析的一个问题, 因为我们针对不同解释的两个可能的说明语实现形式只有一个结构。这不是通过将两个可能的线性顺序简单地作为另一种语序的分析所能得到的。

Thomas Groß (p. c. 2013) 提出了一个分析, 其中 *oft* 并不依存于动词, 而是否定。这对应于短语结构方法中的成分否定。依存图如图 11.31 在下一页的左边边所示。右手边的图显示了相应的动词末位句子的图。这个解释对应于能够用对比解释的成分否定。但是在 (24a) 中, 只有 *oft* (经常) 是被否定的, *oft gelesen* (经常读) 是在 (24b) 的否定辖域中。

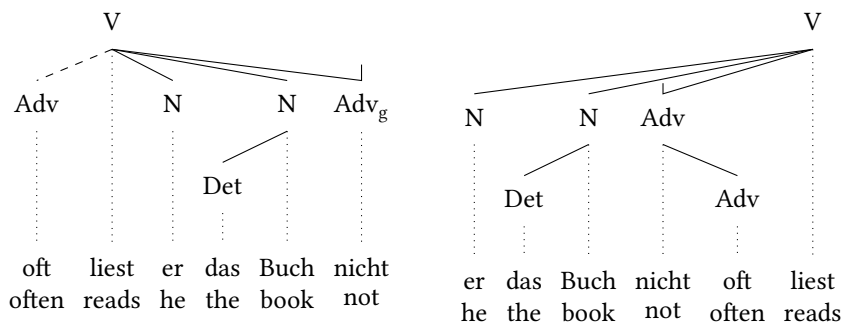


图 11.31: 根据 Groß 和动词末位变体的 *Oft liest er das Buch nicht.* (他不经常读书。) 的依存图

- (24) a. Er hat das Buch nicht oft gelesen, sondern selten.
 他 AUX DET 书 不 经常读 但是 很少
 ‘他不经常读书，但是偶尔读。’
- b. Er hat das Buch nicht oft gelesen, sondern selten gekauft.
 他 AUX DET 书 不 经常读 但是 很少 买
 ‘他不经常读书，但是偶尔会买书。’

这两个解释对应于图 11.32 on the next page 中的两个短语结构树。需要注意的是，在 HPSG 的分析中，副词 *oft* 可以是短语 *nicht oft* (不经常) 的中心语。这区别于 Groß 提出的依存语法分析。进而，依存语法分析有两个结构：一个带依存于相同动词的所有副词的平铺结构，和一个依存于否定的 *oft*。基于短语结构的分析有三个结构：一个结构的语序是 *oft* 在 *nicht* 之前，一个语序是 *nicht* 在 *oft* 之前，还有一个语序带有 *nicht* 和 *oft* 的直接组合。关于 (19a) 中的例子的问题在于头两个结构的一个没有依存语法表示。这就可能使得它无法推导出语义，但是在基于成分的分析中是更困难的。

进而，需要注意的是，直接将依存图联系到拓扑场的模型不能说明例 (25) 的句子。

- (25) Dem Saft eine kräftige Farbe geben Blutorangen.²²
 DET 果汁 强烈 颜色 给 血. 橙
 ‘血橙给果汁一个强烈的颜色。’

这个句子点依存图如图 11.33 on page 363 所示。

这类明显的多重前置并不局限于 NPs。从属词的不同类型可以在 *Vorfeld* 中被替换。数据的进一步的讨论可以参考 Müller (2003a)。还有在“多重前置和信息结构”这个研究项目中收集了很多其他的数据 (Bildhauer 2011)。任何单独基于依存关系的理论以及不允许空成分的理论被迫放弃了动词二位 (动词位于第二位) 的语言分析中较为常见的限制。相较而言，像 GB 的分析和那些假定空的动词中心语的

²² Bildhauer & Cook (2010) 在曼海姆的德语系举办的 *Deutsches Referenzkorpus* (DeReKo) 中发现了这个例子: <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora>

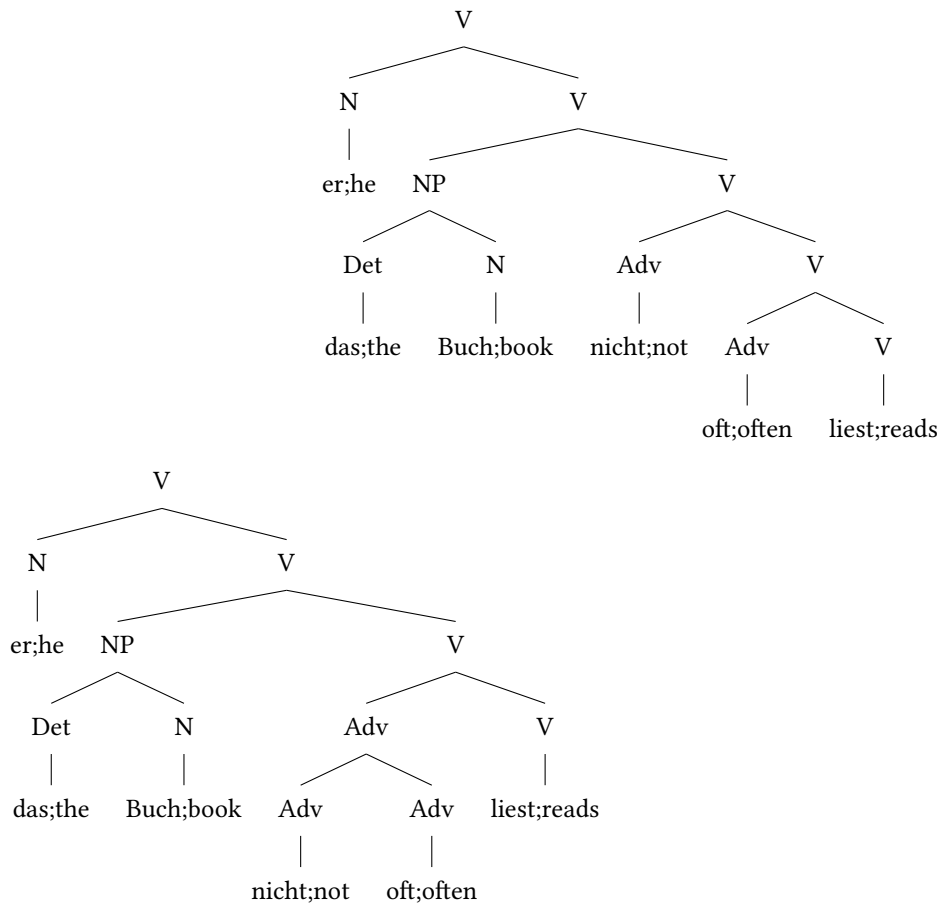


图 11.32: *er das Buch nicht oft liest* (他不经常读书) 的可能的句法分析

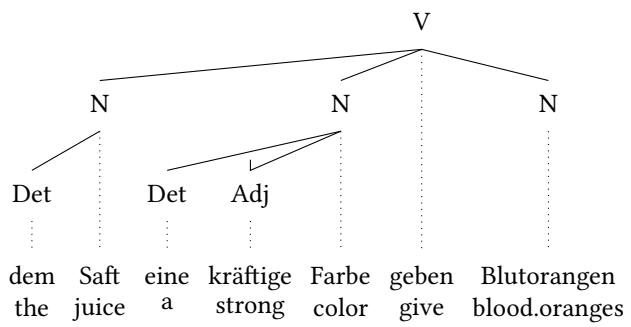


图 11.33: *Dem Saft eine kräftige Farbe geben Blutorange*. (血橙给果汁一个强烈的颜色。) 的依存图

HPSG 变体可以假设, 这一动词中心语的投射占据了 *Vorfeld* 的位置。这就解释了为什么 *Vorfeld* 中的材料看上去像包括一个可见动词的动词性中心语: 这个 *Vorfelds* 在内部结构上是拓扑显示的。它们可以有一个填充的 *Nachfeld*, 还有一个填充到句子右边界的助词。更多的数据、讨论和分析请看Müller (2005c, 2015b)。在 Gross & Osborne 的框架 (2009) 中的同等的分析可以是图 11.34 中所示的图, 但是需要注意的是Groß & Osborne (2009: 73)明确地反对空成分, 而且在任何情况下就为了处理多重前置而提出一个空成分是十分特异的。²³ 需要指出的是, 这个问题并没有通

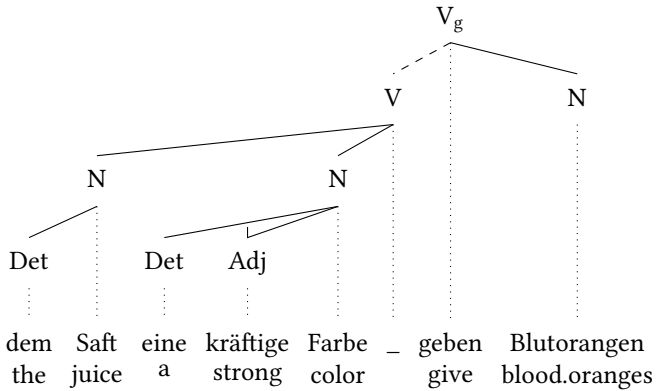


图 11.34: 在 *Vorfeld* 中带有空的动词中心语的 *Dem Saft eine kräftige Farbe geben Blutorange*. (血橙给果汁一个强烈的颜色。) 的依存图

过简单地去除 V2 限制和允许定式动词的从属词在它的左边实现而得到解决, 因为前置的成分并不必然依存于例 (26) 中所示的例子中的定式动词:

²³ 我在允许非连续成分的 HPSG 的基于线性化的变体中提出了这样一个空成分 (Müller 2002b), 但是后来进行了修改, 这样只有连续成分才是可以的, 动词位置被处理为中心语移位, 以及动词移位分析中使用的包括相同空的动词中心语的多重前置 (Müller 2005c, 2015b)。

- (26) a. [Gezielt] [Mitglieder] [im Seniorenbereich] wollen die Kendoka
 特别地 成员 PREP.DET 高级. 市民. 选区 想要.INF DET 剑道家
 allerdings nicht werben.²⁴
 但是 不 招募
 ‘但是，剑道家的会员招募策略并不想指向高级市民的选区。’
- b. [Kurz] [die Bestzeit] hatte der Berliner Andreas Klöden [...] gehalten.²⁵
 简短地 DET 最好. 时光AUX DET 柏林人 Andreas Klöden 拥有
 ‘来自柏林的 Andreas Klöden 拥有过简短的美好时光。’

And although the respective structures are marked, such multiple frontings can even cross clause boundaries:

- (27) Der Maria einen Ring glaube ich nicht, daß er je schenken wird.²⁶
 DET.DAT Maria 一.ACC 戒指相信 我 不 CONJ 他曾经给 AUX
 ‘我不认为他曾经给了 Maria 一个戒指。’

如果允许了这种依存关系，要限制他们就十分困难了。这里不便讨论细节问题，但是读者可以参考Müller (2005c, 2015b)。

还需要指出的是，Engel 有关德语句子的线性序列的说明 (2014: 50)，即指向定式动词前的一个成分（请看脚注 7）是十分不准确的。我们只能猜测词 *element* 想要表达什么意思。一个解释是它是基于成分语法的经典论断的连续成分。另一种方法是，一个中心语和一些从属语（没有必要是所有它的从属语）的连续实现。这一方法可以允许图 11.35 在下一页中描述的例（28）的非连续成分的外置分析。

- (28) Ein junger Kerl stand da, mit langen blonden Haaren, die sein Gesicht
 一 年轻 人 站 那儿PREP 长 金色 头发 CONJ 他的脸
 einrahmten, [...] ²⁷
 装框
 ‘一位脸旁镶满金发的年轻小伙子站在那儿’

这一分析的形式化不是一个小问题，因为我们明确指导什么可以非连续地实现，而且依存关系的哪些部分一定可以连续地实现。Kathol & Pollard (1995)在 HPSG 的框架下展开了外置的分析。也请看Müller (1999a: Section 13.3)。我在下一节讨论了 HPSG 中这种线性化分析的基本机制。

11.7.2 依存语法与短语结构语法

本章探讨依存语法和短语结构语法之间的关系。我首先指出，投射的依存语法可以译成短语结构语法（第 11.7.2.1 节）。然后，我将讨论带有非投射的依存语

²⁴ taz, 1999 年 7 月 7 日, p. 18. 摘自Müller (2002b)。

²⁵ Märkische Oderzeitung, 28./29.07.2001, p. 28.

²⁶ Fanselow (1993: 67).

²⁷ Charles Bukowski, *Der Mann mit der Ledertasche* (《带皮包的男人》)。慕尼黑：德国平装书出版社，1994, p. 201, 由 Hans Hermann 翻译。

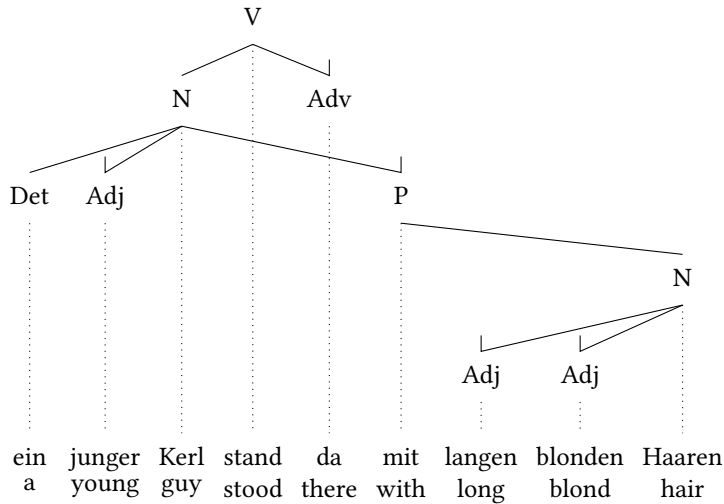


图 11.35: 在 *Vorfeld* 中带有非连续成分的 Dependency graph for *Ein junger Kerl stand da, mit langen blonden Haaren.* (一位满头金发的小伙子站在那里。) 的依存图

法，并且说明他们是如何在基于线性化的 HPSG 理论中表示的（第 11.7.2.2 节）。第 11.7.2.3 节讨论了基于短语结构的理论中提出的额外节点，而且第 11.7.2.4 节讨论了无中心语的结构，这对于所有的依存语法都是一个问题。

11.7.2.1 投射依存语法译为短语结构语法

正如 Gaifman (1965)、Covington (1990: 234)、Oliva (2003) 和 Hellwig (2006: 1093) 所指出的，某些投射中心语的短语结构语法可以通过将中心语移动到上一层来取代统制的节点以变成依存语法。所以在一个 NP 结构中，N 变换到了 NP 的位置上，而且所有其他联系保持不变。如图 11.36 所示。



图 11.36: 在短语结构语法和依存语法分析中的 *a book*

当然，这个程序不能直接应用到所有的短语结构语法中，因为有些包括了更为精细的结构。比如说，规则 $S \rightarrow NP, VP$ 不能翻译成依存规则，因为 NP 和 VP 都

属于复杂的范畴。

接下来,我想说明图 11.1 on page 338 中的依存图是如何重新表示为允准了一个相似树的中心语的短语结构规则,即如图 11.37 所示。我没有使用 NP 和 VP 的标签

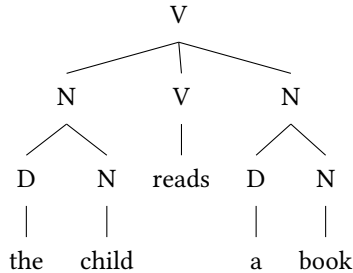


图 11.37: 在带有平铺规则的短语结构中的 *The child reads a book.* 的分析

来保持两个图在最大程度上是相似的。NP 和 VP 中的 P 部分是指投射的满足,并且经常在图中被忽视。请看第 9 章有关 HPSG 的内容,比如说,允准了例 (29) 中给出的树的语法再次忽视了配价信息。

- (29) $N \rightarrow D N$ $N \rightarrow \text{child}$ $D \rightarrow \text{the}$ $D \rightarrow a$
 $V \rightarrow N V N$ $N \rightarrow \text{book}$ $V \rightarrow \text{reads}$

如果我们在带有各自词汇项的例 (29) 中的两个最左边规则右手边替换 N 和 V, 我们就会去除允准了词语的规则, 我们就会得到 (30) 中给出的语法的词汇化变体:

- (30) $N \rightarrow D \text{ book}$ $D \rightarrow \text{the}$
 $N \rightarrow D \text{ child}$ $D \rightarrow a$
 $V \rightarrow N \text{ reads } N$

词汇化 (Lexicalized) 是指每一部分由语法允准的树都包括一个词汇成分。(30) 中的语法允准了图 11.1 中的树。²⁸

在经典的短语结构语法和依存语法中的一个重要的区别是短语结构规则给予节点强加了特定的语序。也就是说,(30) 中的 V 规则暗示了第一个名词性投射、动词和第二个名词性投射必须按照规则表明的语序来出现。当然,这个语序限制可以松一些,正如 GPSG 中所作的。这基本上允准了规则右手边任意顺序的子节点。剩下的问题是说明语的整合。由于说明语也依存于中心语(请看图 11.4 on page 340),可以提出一条规则来允准论元外的任意多的说明语。由此,(30) 中的 V 规则应该变成 (31) 中的形式:²⁹

²⁸ 正如在第 339 页所提到的, Gaifman (1965: 305)、Hays (1964: 513)、Baumgärtner (1970: 57) 和 Heringer (1996: 37) 针对依存规则提出了一条普遍的规则,即它有一个特殊的标记(分别为“*”和“~”)替代了 (30) 中的词汇词。Heringer 的规则具有 (31) 中的形式:

(i) $X[Y_1, Y_2, \sim, Y_3]$

X 是中心语的范畴, Y₁、Y₂ 和 Y₃ 是中心语的从属语,而且“~”是中心语所插入的位置。

²⁹ 请看第 169 页中 GPSG 的相似规则,并且参考德语的 HPSG 理论的分析 Kasper (1994),它提出了完全的平铺结构并且整合进了任意数量的说明语。

(31) $V \rightarrow N \text{ reads } N \text{ Adv}^*$

这种概化的短语结构等同于投射的依存语法。³⁰但是,正如我们看到的,一些研究人员对非连续的成分允许了交叉边的存在。接着,我来说明依存语法是如何在 HPSG 理论中被形式化的。

11.7.2.2 非投射依存语法与带有非连续成分的短语结构语法

等同于非投射依存图的是短语结构语法中的非连续成分。接下来,我将给出允许非连续结构的基于短语结构的理论的一个例子。因为,正如我将展示的,非连续性也可以进行模拟,短语结构语法和依存语法之间的区别归结于词的单位是否被给予了标签(比如说 NP)。

在 HPSG 理论这类框架下来模拟非连续成分的技术最早追溯到 Mike Reape 在德语中所作的工作(1991; 1992; 1994)。Reape 适用了一个叫做 DOMAIN 的列表来表示按照话语表层出现顺序的符号的子节点。(32)给出了一个例子,其中,中心语短语的 DOM value 从中心语的 DOM value 和非中心语子节点的列表中计算出来。

$$(32) \text{ headed-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD-DTR} | \text{DOM} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{DOM} \quad \quad \quad \boxed{1} \circ \boxed{2} \end{array} \right]$$

符号“ \circ ”表示 *shuffle* 关系。*shuffle* 连接了 A、B 和 C 三个列表,当且仅当 C 包括了 A 和 B 中的所有成分,而且 A 中成分的语序和 B 中成分的语序保存在 C 中。(33)分别显示了带有两个成分的两个集合的组合:

$$(33) \langle a, b \rangle \circ \langle c, d \rangle = \langle a, b, c, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle a, c, b, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle a, c, d, b \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, a, b, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, a, d, b \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, d, a, b \rangle$$

结果是六个列表的析取。在所有这些列表中, a 位于 b 的前面, c 位于 d 的前面,因为在已经结合的 $\langle a, b \rangle$ 和 $\langle c, d \rangle$ 两个列表中也是这样的。但是,除了这种情况, b 可以放在 c 和 d 的前面,中间和后面。每个词都带有一个域值,它是一个包括这个词本身的列表:

³⁰ Sylvain Kahane (p.c. 2015) 指出,二元性对于依存语法来说是非常重要的,因为对于主语只有一条规则,宾语只有一条规则,以及其他(比如说Kahane 2009, 这是在 HPSG 理论的形式框架下的依存语法的实现)。不过,我没有想到有任何原因需要反对平铺结构。比如说, Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 364) 在 HPSG 理论中提出了主语助动词转换的平铺结构。在这类平铺规则中,限定语/主语和其他补足语在同一个目标下与动词组合在一起。这也适用于两个以上配价特征的语法功能范畴,如主语、直接宾语、间接宾语。也请看关于平铺规则脚注 28。

(34) 单个词的管辖范围，这里是 *gibt* (给)：

$$\boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \quad \langle \textit{gibt} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} \quad \dots \\ \text{DOM} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

(34) 里的描述初看起来有些奇怪，因为它是循环的，不过它可以是被理解的，它说明了 *gibt* 将它自己赋予到线性化域中出现的元素。

(35) 中的限制决定于短语的 PHON values：

$$(35) \textit{ phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \quad \boxed{1} \oplus \dots \oplus \boxed{n} \\ \text{DOM} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{sign} \\ \text{PHON} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{sign} \\ \text{PHON} \quad \boxed{n} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

它证明了符号的 PHON value 是它的 DOMAIN 成分的 PHON values 的合一。由于 DOMAIN 成分的语序对应于他们的表层语序，这是决定整个语言对象的 PHON value 的明显方式。

图 11.38 显示了这一机制是如何应用到带有非连续成分的二叉结构中的。由逗

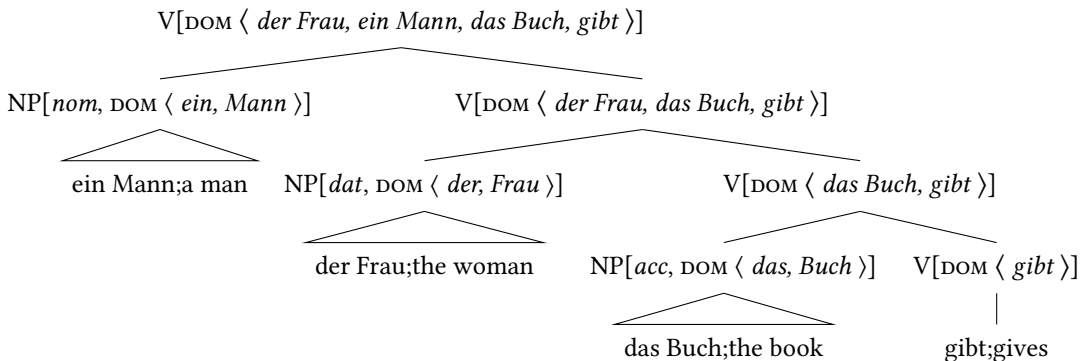


图 11.38: 带有二叉结构和非连续成分的 Analysis of *dass der Frau ein Mann das Buch gibt* (一个男人给这个女人这本书) 的分析

号分开的词或词的序列表示不同的域的对象，即 $\langle \textit{das}, \textit{Buch} \rangle$ 包括两个对象 *das* 和 *Buch*，而且 $\langle \textit{das Buch}, \textit{gibt} \rangle$ 包括了两个对象 *das Buch* 和 *gibt*。这里需要指出的很重要，跟中心语组合的论元按照宾语、与格、主格的语序排列，尽管短语序列域内成分是按照与格、主格和宾格的顺序排列的，而不是人们所期望的主格、与格、宾格。这是可能的，因为使用了洗牌算子的 DOM value 的计算的形成可以描写非连续成分。*der Frau das Buch gibt* (给这本书的这个女人) 的节点是非连续的：*ein Mann* (一个男人) 插入了 *der Frau* (这个女人) 和 *das Buch* (这本书) 的域内。这在图 ?? on page ?? 中更为明显，它有着一个对应于他们语序的 NPs 的线性化。这种二元的分叉结构被用于 citetKathol95a, Kathol2000a and Müller (1995, 1996c, 1999a,

2002a)对德语的分析,但是正如我们按照这个章节看到的,依存语法提出了平铺的表示(但是请看第367页的脚注30)。模式1允准了在一个目标内实现的中心语的所有论元的结构。³¹

Schema 1 (中心语-论元模式 (平铺结构))

head-argument-phrase \Rightarrow

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

为了简化表达,我认为 SUBCAT list 包括了完整符号的描述。所以说,整个列表可以等同于非中心语子节点的列表。³² DOM value 的计算可以按照下面的方式来进行限制:

$$(36) \text{ headed-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD-DTR} \quad [1] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \quad \langle [2], \dots, [n] \rangle \\ \text{DOM} \quad \langle [1] \rangle \circ \langle [2] \rangle \circ \dots \circ \langle [n] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

这一限制是说 DOM 的值是一个列表,它是变换每个包括一个子节点作为成分的单一系列的结果。这种变换操作的结构上所有子节点的所有可能的排列组合。着看起来超过了 GPSG 已经取得的成果,它通过将短语结构规则右手边的成分的序列抽象出来而得到。但是,需要注意的是这个机制可以用来表示更加自由的语序:通过指向子节点的 DOM values,而不是子节点本身,有可能将个别词插入 DOM list 中。

$$(37) \text{ headed-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD-DTR|DOM} \quad [1] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \quad \langle [\text{DOM } [2]] \dots [\text{DOM } [n]] \rangle \\ \text{DOM} \quad \langle [1] \rangle \circ \langle [2] \rangle \circ \dots \circ \langle [n] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

应用这一限制,我们得到基本上按照任意排列组合的话语的所有词汇的 DOM values。我们得到的是一个不带有任何投射限制的纯粹的依存语法。根据这个语法,我们可以分析图 11.6 on page 341 的非投射结构,以及更多的内容。域内的术语的分析如图 ?? on page ?? 所示。关于成分/依存关系对于分析自然语言是首要的,还是必需的问题是存在争议的: Hudson (1980) 和 Engel (1996) 认为依存关系是充分的,这被大部分依存语法学家所认可(根据 Engel 1996), Leiss (2003) 认为不是这样的。为了解决这个问题,我们来看一些例子:

(38) Dass Peter kommt, klärt nicht, ob Klaus spielt.

CONJ Peter 来 解决 不 是否 Klaus 玩

‘Peter 来并不能解决 Klaus 是不是想玩儿这个问题。’

³¹ 我在这里提出包括在词汇中心语,而不是联系其中的 SUBCAT list 的所有论元成分。比如说, Borsley (1989: 339) 提出了英语的助动词转换和威尔士语中动词位于首位的模式,它们指向主语和补足语的配价特征,并在平铺结构实现所有的成分。

³² 除了这一假设,我们需要一个将类型 *synsem* 的描写的列表匹配到类型 *sign* 描写的列表的关系性限制。更多细节请看 Meurers (1999c: 198)。

如果我们知道话语的意义，我们可以给予它一个依存图。让我们假设 (38) 的意义是像 (39) 这样的：

(39) $\neg \text{resolve}'(\text{that}'(\text{come}'(\text{Peter}')), \text{whether}'(\text{play}'(\text{Klaus}'))))$

根据这个语义信息，我们当然可以给 (38) 构成一个依存图。原因是依存关系在 (39) 的语义表达式中反应为双唯一的方式。但是需要注意的是这对于普通的情况

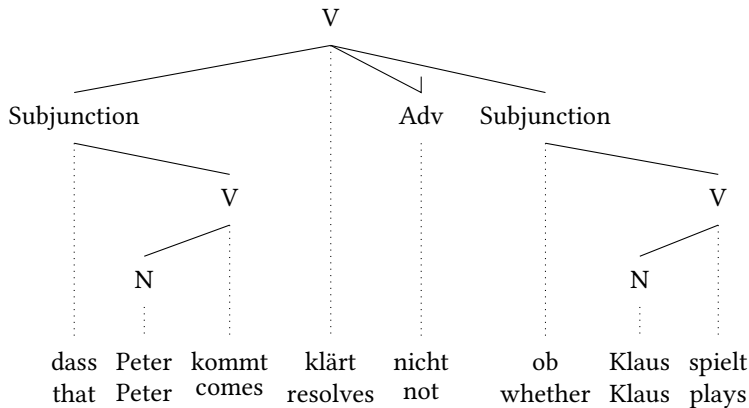


图 11.39: 能从语义表达式中推导出的 *Dass Peter kommt, klärt nicht, ob Klaus spielt.* (Peter 来并不能解决 Klaus 是不是想玩儿这个问题。) 的依存图

是不适用的。比如说 (40) 中的例子：

(40) Dass Peter kommt, klärt nicht, ob Klaus kommt.
 CONJ Peter 来 解决 不 是否 Klaus 玩儿
 ‘Peter 来并不解决 Klaus 是否来的问题。’

这里，词 *kommt* 出现了两次。没有关于邻接、线性顺序和一致性的成分或限制的任何说明，我们不能赋予一个没有歧义的依存图。比如说，图 ?? on page ?? 中的图完美地兼容于句子的语义：*dass* 统制 *kommt*，而且 *kommt* 统制 *Peter*，而 *ob* 统制 *kommt*，而且 *kommt* 统制 *Klaus*。

- (41) a. Deshalb klärt, dass Peter kommt, ob Klaus spielt.
 所以 解决 CONJ Peter 来 是否 Klaus 玩
 b. *Deshalb klärt dass ob Peter Klaus kommt spielt.
 所以 解决 CONJ 是否 Peter Klaus 来 玩

(41b) 是 (41a) 的一个变体，其中两个小句的论元的成分互相按照正确的语序，但是所有的小句都是非连续的，每个小句的成分都按照这个方式发生了变化。依存图如图 ?? on page ?? 所示。

11.7.2.3 在中心语和投射之间没有保持一致的特征

正如Oliva (2003)指出的,依存语法和 HPSG 理论的相似之处仅限于 HEAD values。也就是,对应于 HPSG 理论中的 HEAD values 的依存图的节点标签。但是,还有像 CONT 这种表示语义的和 SLASH 这种表示非局部依存关系的额外特征。这些值通常在词汇中心语和它的短语投射之间有不同之处。为了说明这一情况,让我们看一下短语 *a book*。词汇和完整短语的语义如 (42) 所示:³³

- (42) a. $a: \lambda P \lambda Q \exists x (P(x) \wedge Q(x))$
 b. $book: \lambda y (book'(y))$
 c. $a \text{ book}: \lambda Q \exists x (book'(x) \wedge Q(x))$

现在,依存语法标记的问题是没有能够联系到 *a book* 的语义的 NP 节点(请看第 365 页的图 11.36),树中出现的唯一事物是词汇 N 的节点: *book* 的节点。³⁴不过,这不是一个大问题:词汇属性可以表示为作为不同特征值的最高节点的部分。那么,依存图中的 N 节点会有 CONT value,它对应于完整短语的语义贡献以及对应于短语的词汇中心语的贡献的 LEX-CONT 值。所以对于 *a book* 来说,我们会得到下面的表达式:

- (43)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \quad \lambda Q \exists x (book'(x) \wedge Q(x)) \\ \text{LEXICAL-CONT} \quad \lambda y (book'(y)) \end{array} \right]$$

根据这类表达,我们可以保持这些分析,中心语与其从属语的语义贡献是其部分的语义共享的功能。现在,还有更多特征,其中词汇中心语与他们的投射不同。一个特征是 SLASH,它用来表示 HPSG 理论中的非局部依存关系,并能在 à la Groß & Osborne (2009)方法中用来建立提升的元素和中心语之间的关系。当然,我们可以再次应用相同的策略。这样,我们会得到特征 LEXICAL-SLASH。但是,这可以得到批准,而且词汇项的特征可以组织在一条路径下。这样,一般的架构如 (44) 所示:

- (44)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \\ \text{SLASH} \\ \text{LEXICAL} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CONT} \\ \text{SLASH} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

但是如果我们将 LEXICAL 重新命名为 HEAD-DTR,我们基本上会得到 HPSG 理论的表达式。Hellwig (2003: 602)证明了他的依存语法的特殊版本叫做依存合一语法,他认为统制中心语选择了带有所有他们的子节点的完整接待你。这些节点的属性与他们的中心语不同 (p. 604)。他们实际上是成分。所以这个依存语法的非常明晰和形式化的变体与 HPSG 理论十分相似,正如 Hellwig 他自己证明的 (p. 603)。Hudson 的词语法也是明晰表示的,正如下面所示的,它与 HPSG 理论也是十分相似的。

³³ lambda 表达式的内容请看第 2.3 节。

³⁴ Hudson (2003: 391–392) 对此清楚地表述:“在依存分析中,从属词修饰中心语词的意义,所以后者带有整个短语的意义。例如,在 *long books about linguistics* 中,由于从属词的修饰效应,词 *books* 表示‘关于语言学的长书’。”对于这个观点的具体实现请看图 ?? on page ??。另一种观点是在 Meaning-Text Theory 中假定不同的表示层次 (Mel'čuk 1981)。实际上, HPSG 理论中的 CONT value 也是一个不同的表示层。但是,这个表示层跟建立起来的其他结构是同步的。

图 ?? on page ??中的表示是图 ?? on page ??表示的简缩版的详细描写。在第一个图中显示的是两个节点的组合得到一个新节点。例如, *playing* 和 *outside* 的组合得到 *playing'*, *small* 和 *children* 的组合得到 *children'*, 而且 *children'* 和 *playing'* 的组合得到 *playing''*。 *were* 和 *playing''* 的组合得到 *were'*, 以及 *children''* 和 *were'* 的组合得到 *were''*。唯一剩下需要解释的事为什么有一个节点 *children*, 它不是两个节点的组合(即 *children''*)的结果。顶点与底部的连线表示默认的承继关系。即, 上层节点继承了默认的底层节点的所有属性。默认的可以被覆盖, 即上层节点的信息会与统制节点的信息不同。这就使得按照语义的组合性的操作称为可能: 两个节点组合的结果的那个节点的语义是两个组合的节点的意义组合。再来看 *children*, *children'* 具有必需邻接到 *playing* 的属性, 但是因为这个结构是一个升位结构, 其中 *children* 提升到了 *were* 的主语位置上, 这个属性被 *children* 的一个新的实例覆盖了, 即 *children''*。这里有趣的点是我们几乎得到了一个名词性短语结构树, 如果我们通过句法范畴替换图 ??中的图的词的话。这个替换的结果如图 ?? on page ??所示。这张图(由虚线标记)中唯一不同的地方是 *N'* 与 *V[ing]'* 相组合, 而且 *N'* 的母节点, 即 *N''*, 与 *V[fin]'* 相组合。正如上面解释的, 这依赖于词语法中升位的分析, 它包括提升的项目和它的中心语之间的多重依存关系。在图 ??中有两个 *N* 节点(*N'* 和 *N''*), 而且在图 ??中有 *children* 的两个实例。除了这个, 这个结构对应于 HPSG 语法可以允准的成分。Hudson 范式中的在底部用线连接到顶端的节点与使用默认承继的子节点是相关的。这对于使用默认承继关系的 HPSG 的许多版本来说也是非常相似的。比如说, Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 33)使用了广义中心语特征原则, 它默认地将中心语子节点的所有特征投射到母节点上。本节的结论是, 短语结构语法和依存语法的唯一理论区别在于中间结构是如何假设的: 是否存在没有主语的 VP 呢? 说明语附加成分是否有中间节点呢? 在没有涵盖了语义表示的全部可行的方案下回答这些问题时十分困难的。那些可行的方法, 如 Hudson 和 Hellwig 的方法, 提出了中间表达式, 它使得这些方法跟基于短语结构的方法十分相似。如果我们将全部可行的依存语法的变体的结构与短语结构语法相比较的话, 很清楚的是, 依存语法更为简单这个观点是不受欢迎的。这个观点适用于图 ??中的紧缩的范式的表示, 但是它并不适用于全部可行的分析。

11.7.2.4 非中心语构式

Hudson (1980: Section 4.E)讨论了(45)中所示的无中心语的结构:

- (45) a. the rich
b. the biggest
c. the longer the stem
d. (with) his hat over his eyes

他认为, 术语形容词(adjective)和名词(noun)应该属于术语实体(substantive), 它包括这两个术语。然后他指出“如果一条规则需要覆盖传统上指称为带或者不带中心语的名词短语, 它只称为‘名词’, 而且这可以自动允许要么是实体活着形容词作为中心语的结构。”(p.195)但是, 这里需要提出的问题是, 像 *the rich* 这样的实体性短语的内部依存结构是什么样的呢。连接这些项目的唯一方式看起来是假定限定词依存于形容词。但是这可以允许像 *the rich man* 的短语的两个结构: 一

个是限定词依存于形容词，另一个是它依存于名词。所以，词性的未分析不能解决这个问题。当然，所有无中心语的结构的所有问题都可以通过假定空成分来解决。³⁵在 HPSG 的关系小句的分析中是这样做的 (Pollard & Sag 1994: Chapter 5)。英语和德语的关系小句包括一个短语，它包括一个关系词和一个句子，其中关系短语是缺失的。Pollard & Sag 提出了空关系代词，它选择关系小句以及带有空位的小句 (Pollard & Sag 1994: 216–217)。相似的分析可以在依存语法中找到 (Eroms 2000: 291)。³⁶现在，另一种分析空成分的方法是短语构式。³⁷Sag (1997)研究了英语的关系小句，他提出了关系小句短语分析，其中关系小句和它从新的短语中提取出的小句。Müller (1996c)提出了一个相似的分析，并且记录在Müller (1999a: Chapter 10)中。正如第 8.6节所讨论的，认为关系短语中的关系代词或者其他成分作为整个关系小句的中心语是不可行的，而且认为动词作为整个小句的中心语也是不可行的 (Sag)，因为关系小句修饰N_s，这是 (定式) 动词通常不会这样投射的。所以说，假定一个空的中心语或者短语模式看起来是唯一的选择了。第 21章致力于某些语法现象是否应该分析为包括短语结构配置或者词汇分析更为合适或者更适合于模拟某些现象。我认为所有跟配价互动的现象都应该按照词汇的来处理。但是，还有其他现象，而且依存语法被迫用来表示所有语言现象的词汇化的分析。总有一些成分是其成分所依存的。Jackendoff (2008)认为，像 (46) 中的 N-P-N 构式的一个成分作为中心语的观点是没有意义的。

- (46) a. day by day, paragraph by paragraph, country by country
 b. dollar for dollar, student for student, point for point
 c. face to face, bumper to bumper
 d. term paper after term paper, picture after picture
 e. book upon book, argument upon argument

当然，有方法可以模拟所有可以在短语结构的框架下 (如 GPSG、CxG、HPSG 或者简便句法：一个空中心语) 模拟的现象。图 ?? on page ??显示了 *student after student* 的分析。空 N 的词汇项是非常特殊的，因为没有相似的非空的词汇名词，即没有名词选了两个光杆 N_s 和一个 P。Bragmann (2015)指出了 N-P-N 构式的一个额外的方面，这使得事情更加复杂了。这个模式没有受限于两个名词。可以是任意数量的：

- (47) Day after day after day went by, but I never found the courage to talk to her.

³⁵ 请看第 2.4.1节关于名词短语的短语结构语法中的空中心语的假设。

³⁶ 依存语法表示通常有一个 *d-* 成分作为关系小句的中心语。但是，由于关系代词也出现在小句中，而且由于 *d-* 没有被两次发音，假定一个额外的 *d-* 中心语基本上就是假定一个空的中心语。另一个选择是假定具有多重功能的词汇：所以说，一个关系代词可以既是一个中心语，也同时是一个从属语 (Tessnière 2015: Chapter 246, §8–11, Osborne & Kahane 2015: xlvi; Kahane 2009: 129–130)。至少剑道家的分析是第 8.6节讨论的范畴语法分析的一个例子，而且它具有相同的问题：如果关系代词是中心语，它选择了缺失关系代词的小句，不容易看到这个分析是如何扩展到 (i) 中的抽吸过程的，其中被提取的成分是一个包括关系代词，而不是代词本身的完整短语。

(i) die Frau, von deren Schwester ich ein Bild gesehen habe
 DET 女人 PREP 谁的 姐妹 我 一 图片看见 AUX
 ‘我在她的姐妹哪里看到一张照片的那个女人’

³⁷ 请看第 19章关于空成分的一半分析和第 21.10.3小节关于关系小句的特殊分析。

所以说, Bragmann 提出了 (48) 中的模式, 而不是 N-P-N 范式, 这里 ‘+’ 表示一个序列的至少一次重复。

(48) N (P N)+

现在, 这种范式在基于选择的方法中是十分困难的, 因为我们需要假设一个空的中心语或者选择相同介词、名词或名词性短语的任意数量对儿的名词。当然, 我们可以假设 P 和 N 构成了某种成分, 但是仍然有人需要确保使用了争取的介词, 而且名词或者名词性投射具有正确的语音形式。另一种可能是要假设 N-P-N 中的第二个 N 可以是 N-P-N, 由此允许模式的循环。但是如果我们按照这个方法, 核查这种限制就非常困难了, 其中所包含的 Ns 应该具有相同或者至少类似的语音形式。解决这些问题的一种方式当然可以假定这里具有特殊的机制来指派一个新的范畴到一个或几个成分上。这在本质上可以是一个非中心语的短语结构规则, 而且这是 Tesnière 所提出的: 转用规则 (请看第 11.6.2.2 节)。但是, 这当然是存粹的依存语法向混合模型的一个扩展。请看第 21.10 节有关深入问题的讨论, 它对纯粹的基于选择的语法来说可能是有问题的。

练习题

请为下面的三个句子提供依存图:

- (49) a. Ich habe einen Mann getroffen, der blonde Haare hat.
我 AUX 一 男人 见面 谁 金色 头发 有
‘我跟一位有着金色头发的男士见面了。’
- b. Einen Mann getroffen, der blonde Haare hat, habe ich noch nie.
一 男人 见面 谁 金色 头发 有 AUX 我 yet 从未
‘我从未见到过有着金色头发的男人。’
- c. Dass er morgen kommen wird, freut uns.
CONJ 他明天 来 AUX 愉悦 我们
‘他明天会来让我们很高兴。’

你可以使用非投射的依存关系。对于关系小句的分析, 学者们通常提出一个抽象的实体, 它的功能是可修饰名词的从属语, 以及关系小句中的动词的中心语。

延伸阅读

在第 3 章的延伸阅读部分, 我推荐了叫做 *Syntaktische Analyseperspektiven* (《分析的句法学视角》) 这本书。该书的各个章节是由不同理论的支持者所著, 并且分析了相同的新闻语料。这本书还有 Engel (2014) 写的一章, 他提出了他的依存语法的版本, 即从属动词语法 (Dependent Verb Grammar)。Ágel, Eichinger, Eroms, Hellwig, Heringer & Lobin (2003a, 2006) 出版了依存关系和配价手册, 它讨论了依存语法涉及的所有方面。本章饮用了其中的很多文献。对比依存语法和其他理论的文章在本书的语境下是尤为重要的: Lobin (2003) 比较了依存语法和范畴语法, Oliva (2003) 分析

配价的表示和 HPSG 中的依存关系，而且Bangalore, Joshi & Rambow (2003)描述了配价和依存是如何覆盖在 TAG 中的。Hellwig (2006)比较了基于规则的语法与依存语法，特别关注于计算程序的剖析。Osborne & Groß (2012)比较了依存语法和构式语法，Osborne, Putnam & Groß (2011)认为某些最简方案的变体实际上是基于依存分析的重新发明。Tesnière (1959)提出的依存语法的原始工作在德语 (Tesnière 1980)中有部分是可获得，在英语中是全部可获得的 (Tesnière 2015)。

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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