

Grammatical theory

From transformational grammar to
constraint-based approaches

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



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Stefan Müller

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For Max

目 录

前言

xv

I	研究背景与语法理论	1
1	导言和术语	3
1.1	为什么要研究句法?	3
1.2	为什么要形式化?	5
1.3	组成成分	6
1.3.1	组成成分测试	7
1.3.2	关于成分测试法的一些看法	10
1.4	词类	16
1.5	中心语	26
1.6	论元成分与说明语	28
1.7	语法功能	31
1.7.1	主语	32
1.7.2	状语	36
1.7.3	谓语	37
1.7.4	配价类型	38
1.8	德语小句的空间位置模型	39
1.8.1	动词的位置	39
1.8.2	句子的框架结构、前场、中场及后场	40
1.8.3	场内元素的排列	40
1.8.4	递归	45
2	Phrase structure grammar	49
2.1	Symbols and rewrite rules	49
2.2	Expanding PSG with features	55
2.3	Semantics	56
2.4	Phrase structure rules for some aspects of German syntax	59
2.4.1	Noun phrases	59
2.4.2	Prepositional phrases	68

目 录

2.5	\bar{X} theory	70
3	Transformational Grammar – Government & Binding	79
3.1	General remarks on the representational format	80
3.1.1	Transformations	80
3.1.2	The hypothesis regarding language acquisition: Principles & Parameters	82
3.1.3	The T model	83
3.1.4	\bar{X} theory	89
3.1.5	CP and IP in English	92
3.1.6	The structure of the German clause	95
3.2	Verb position	96
3.3	Long-distance dependencies	101
3.4	Passive	103
3.4.1	Structural and lexical case	104
3.4.2	Case assignment and the Case Filter	105
3.5	Local reordering	109
3.6	Summary and classification	111
3.6.1	Explaining language acquisition	112
3.6.2	Formalization	113
4	Transformational Grammar – Minimalism	121
4.1	General remarks on the representational format	121
4.1.1	Basic architecture	122
4.1.2	Valence, feature checking, and agreement	123
4.1.3	Phrase structure and \bar{X} theory	125
4.1.4	Little v	125
4.1.5	CP, TP, v P, VP	127
4.1.6	Adjuncts	132
4.2	Verb position	132
4.3	Long-distance dependencies	132
4.4	Passive	133
4.5	Local reordering	136
4.6	New developments and theoretical variants	137
4.6.1	Move, Merge, feature-driven movement and functional projections	137
4.6.2	Labeling	147
4.6.3	Specifiers, complements, and the remains of \bar{X} theory	153
4.6.4	Minimalism, Categorical Grammar, and HPSG	157
4.6.5	Selection of atomic features vs. selection of complex categories	165
4.6.6	Summary	167
4.7	Summary and classification	167
4.7.1	Explaining language acquisition	167
4.7.2	Formalization	168

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

目 录

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

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

II	讨论	429
13	The innateness of linguistic knowledge	431
13.1	Syntactic universals	433
13.1.1	Head Directionality Parameter	434
13.1.2	\bar{X} structures	435
13.1.3	Grammatical functions such as subject and object	438
13.1.4	Binding principles	440
13.1.5	Properties of long-distance dependencies	442
13.1.6	Grammatical morphemes for tense, mood and aspect	450
13.1.7	Parts of speech	450
13.1.8	Recursion and infinitude	451
13.1.9	Summary	457
13.2	Speed of language acquisition	458
13.3	Critical period for acquisition	459
13.4	Lack of acquisition among non-human primates	460
13.5	Creole and sign languages	461
13.6	Localization in special parts of the brain	462
13.7	Differences between language and general cognition	463
13.7.1	Williams Syndrome	463
13.7.2	KE family with FoxP2 mutation	463
13.8	Poverty of the Stimulus	464
13.8.1	Gold's Theorem	465
13.8.2	Four case studies	469
13.8.3	Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing (U-DOP)	479
13.8.4	Negative evidence	486
13.9	Summary	487
14	Generative-enumerative vs. model-theoretic approaches	489
14.1	Graded acceptability	491
14.2	Utterance fragments	492
14.3	A problem for model-theoretic approaches?	494
15	The competence/performance distinction	499
15.1	The derivational theory of complexity	501
15.2	Incremental processing	504
16	Language acquisition	511
16.1	Principles & Parameters	511
16.2	Principles and the lexicon	519
16.3	Pattern-based approaches	519
16.4	Selection-based approaches	526
16.5	Summary	527

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

目 录

21.7	Arguments from psycho- and neurolinguistics	629
21.7.1	Lexical rules vs. phrasal constructions	629
21.7.2	Light verbs	631
21.7.3	Arguments from neurolinguistics	632
21.8	Arguments from statistical distribution	636
21.8.1	Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing	636
21.8.2	Collostructions	639
21.9	Conclusion	639
21.10	Why (phrasal) constructions?	640
21.10.1	Verbless directives	640
21.10.2	Serial verbs	647
21.10.3	Relative and interrogative clauses	648
21.10.4	The N-P-N construction	651
22	Universal Grammar and comparative linguistics without UG	655
22.1	Formal tools for capturing generalizations	655
22.2	How to develop linguistic theories that capture cross-linguistic general- izations	659
23	Conclusion	669
24	Solutions to the exercises	673
24.1	Introduction and basic terms	673
24.2	Phrase structure grammars	673
24.3	Transformational Grammar – Government & Binding	678
24.4	Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar	680
24.5	Feature descriptions	683
24.6	Lexical Functional Grammar	685
24.7	Categorial Grammar	686
24.8	Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar	687
24.9	Construction Grammar	688
24.10	Dependency Grammar	689
24.11	Tree Adjoining Grammar	690
	参考文献	693
	Index	782
	Name index	782
	Language index	782
	Subject index	782

第零章 研究背景与语法理论

第一章 导言和术语

本章旨在探讨两个问题：一是为什么要研究句法（第1.1节），二是为什么说形式化的表述是非常重要的（第1.2节）？我们将在第1.3节到第1.8节的内容中介绍基本概念：第1.3节讲解将语流切分成一个个小单位的准则。第1.4节介绍词汇聚类的规律，其中我将重点介绍动词或形容词的分类标准。第1.5节讲解中心语的概念，而有关论元和说明语的区别将在第1.6节中展开。第1.7节界定了语法功能。第1.8节利用空间位置理论来分析德语这类语言中小句的空间位置。

需要说明的是，语言学领域里术语纷杂，难以统一。造成这一现象的部分原因是，这些术语最早来源于对某些语言（如拉丁语，英语）的分析，而后又被用于描述其他语言现象。然而，这样做并不合适，因为有些语言与其他语言区别很大，而且语言本身也在不断地发展变化。基于以上原因，有些术语的用法发生了变化或者是有新的术语被创造出来。

本书在介绍新术语时，会援引相关的术语或者区分出每一条术语的不同用法，这样可以方便读者将这些术语与其他文献的术语联系起来。

1.1 为什么要研究句法？

所有的语言表达式都有意义。据此，我们研究形式与意义的结合体 (de Saussure 1916b)。例如，*tree*（树）这个词的字形与其相应的语音形式被赋予了 *tree'*（树）的含义。相对大的语音单位可以由相对小的单位构成：词与词可以一起构成词组并且这些词组可以继而构成句子。

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

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

- (1) a. This sentence goes on and on and on and on ...
这 句子 长 PREP 和 PREP 和 PREP 和 PREP ...
b. [A sentence is a sentence] is a sentence.
[一句子 是一句子] 是一句子

- c. that Max thinks that Julius knows that Otto claims that Karl suspects
 CONJ Max 认为 Julius 知道 CONJ Otto 声称 CONJ Carl 怀疑 CONJ
 that Richard confirms that Friederike is laughing
 Richard 承认 CONJ Friederike COP 笑

例 (1b) 是对 a sentence is a sentence 这组词的说明, 即它是一个句子。我们也可以按照 (1b) 的方式来扩展句子, 将这一整句话也看作是一句话。(1c) 是将 Friederike is laughing 和 Richard confirms 组合起来构成了一个新句子 Richard confirms, that Friederike is laughing。按照同样的方式, 我们还可以将 Karl suspects 扩展进来。由此, 我们就可以将一个不太复杂的句子嵌套进来构成一个非常复杂的句子。这样就可以一句句地嵌套下去。(1c) 这类句子类似于俄罗斯套娃 (matryoshka): 每个娃娃都由一个套一个的不同颜色的更小的娃娃构成。(1c) 中的句子也是以同样的方式构成的, 即他们都由更小的成分, 而且是不同的名词和动词组成。我们可以用方括号很清楚地表示出来, 如下所示:

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

我们可以像例 (1) 一样通过扩展的方式构建出又长又复杂的句子。¹

对于这些组合来说, 我们很难轻易地说截止到哪里是我们的语言可以接受的。(Harris 1957: 208; Chomsky 1957: 23)。同样, 如果认为这些复杂的句子被当作一个复杂的单位储存在大脑中, 这样的观点也是难以令人信服的。虽然神经语言学的实验显示, 高频词语或固定搭配往往以复杂的单位储存在大脑中, 但是这与例 (1) 所示的情况是不同的。再者, 我们能够造出我们从未听过、说过或者写下的话语。这些话语一定是有结构的, 一定会有可以一遍一遍重复的模式。作为人类, 我们有能力将简单的成分构成复杂的句子, 也可以将复杂的话语分解出他们的构成成分。目前, 也有神经科学相关的研究可以证明, 人类具有利用规则将词构成更大单位的能力。(Pulvermüller 2010: 170)

这些规则被违反时, 反而更能证明我们是按照规则来组织语言材料的。儿童是通过他们能够接触到的语言输入来习得语言的。在这样做的时候, 他们可以说出他们以前从没听过的话语:

- (3) Ich festhalte die.
 我 紧-握 他们(Friederike, 2;6)
 想说: “我紧紧地握住了。”

Friederike 说这句话的时候, 正在习得德语句中定式动词 (finite verb) 位置的规则, 即定式动词位于第二位。但是, 她在这句话中将整个动词放在了第二位, 其中就包括可分前缀 fest (紧)。正确的用法应该是将这个可分前缀放在句子的末尾。

¹ 也有学者认为我们有能力构建出无限长的句子 (Nowak, Komarova & Niyogi 2001: 117; Kim & Sells 2008: 3; Dan Everett in O'Neill & Wood (2012) at 25:19), 乔姆斯基也这样认为 (Leiss 2003: 341)。但这是不正确的, 因为每个句子必然要在某个节点结束。即使是在乔姆斯基传统下发展起来的形式语言也没有无限长的句子。不过, 有些形式语法可以描述出一系列无限地包含着有限句子的情况。(Chomsky 1957: 13) 也可以参看 Pullum & Scholz (2010) 和第13.1.8 节中关于语法的递归性和与语言无限论的观点。

如果我们并不希望语言仅仅是由一个个形式意义对儿组成的，那么必然会涉及将话语中小的意义成分构成复杂话语的意义的过程。句法就是用来揭示词汇组合的方式和话语的结构。比如说，主谓一致（subject-verb agreement）的知识有助于我们解释下面的德语句子：

- (4) a. Die Frau schläft.
这 女人睡觉.3SG
“这个女人睡着了。”
- b. Die Mädchen schlafen.
这 女孩儿.3PL 睡觉.3PL
“这些女孩儿睡着了。”
- c. Die Frau kennt die Mädchen.
这个女人认识.3SG 这 女孩儿.3PL
“这个女人认识这些女孩儿。”
- d. Die Frau kennen die Mädchen.
这 女人.3PL 认识.3PL 这个女孩儿.3PL
“这些女人认识这些女孩儿。”

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

所以说，句法就是用来发现、描写和解释这些规则、范式和结构的。

1.2 为什么要形式化？

为什么要对语言进行形式化（formalization）的描述呢？我们先来看两条经典的论述：

在发现语言结构的过程中，对语言结构的精确建模，不管是正面的、还是负面的，都起到十分重要的作用。通过对一条不可接受的结论进行精确但是是不充分的建模过程，可以暴露出这种不充分的确切来源，并最终对语言数据有更深层次的理解。乐观来看，一个形式化的理论可以为许多问题自动提供解决方案，而不是像其他那些被精细设计的理论那样。那些晦涩的，凭直觉判定的理念既不能得到荒谬的结论，也不能得到新的、正确的结论。所以说，他们在这两个方面都没有实际的用处。我认为那些质疑过语言学理论的发展在精确和技术层面上的价值的学者们都无法认识到这种方法的巨大潜力，即严密地论证观点以及严格地将之实行在语言事实上，而不是为了避免由特设的调整以及模糊的组成方式造成的不合格的结论。（Chomsky 1957: 5）

正如我们经常指出，但是不能过度强调的是，语言形式化的一个重要的目的就是可以使得研究者们看到一种观点的缺点的同时也看到它的优点。只有这样，我们才能使研究变得有效率。（Dowty 1979: 322）

1 导言和术语

如果我们将语言的描写形式化，就会易于我们认识某一特定分析所表示的确切含义。我们可以构建起该分析下可预测的内容，并排除其他的分析。另一个优势在于，精确的形式化理论可以用计算机程序能够理解的方式记录下来。这样，一个理论分析就可以作为计算过程中的语法部分来实现，如有不一致的地方就会更快地显现出来。这种语法可以用来分析大规模的数据，也叫做语料库，而且他们可以构建出语法尚无法分析的句子或者组配错误的结果。更多的有关语言学应用计算机实现方面的研究可以参看Bierwisch (1963: 163), Müller (1999a: Chapter 22) 和Bender (2008b) 这几篇文献，也可参看第3.6.2节的内容。

1.3 组成成分

拿例（5）来说，我们可以凭直觉判断出句中有些词组成了一个单位。

(5) Alle Studenten lesen während dieser Zeit Bücher.

所有学生 读 在 这 时间书

“在这个时候，所有的学生都在读书。”

例如，alle（所有）和 Studenten（学生）这两个词组成了一个单位，说的是有人在读书的意思。während（在……时候），dieser（这）和 Zeit（时间）这三个词也组成了一个单位，意思是读这个动作发生的这段时间，而 Bücher（书）是指读的对象。第一个单位本身由两部分组成，即 alle（所有）和 Studenten（学生）。während dieser Zeit（在这个时候）这个单位也可以分成两个小部分：während（在……时候）和 dieser Zeit（这个时候）。dieser Zeit（这个时候）也由两部分组成，跟 alle Studenten（所有的学生）是一样的。

在前面的例（1c）中，我们用俄罗斯套娃（matryoshkas）来比喻语言中的嵌套现象。这里，我们也可以将（5）分成更小的单位，从而组成更大的单位。但是，与俄罗斯套娃的隐喻不同的是，我们不能只将小的单位放在大的单位里，而是我们可以将几个单位组成更大的单位。最好的方法就是把它想象成一套盒子系统：一个大盒子装着整个句子。在这个盒子里，还有四个小盒子，每个盒子分别装着 alle Studenten（所有的学生），lesen（读），während dieser Zeit（在这个时候）和 Bücher（书）。如图 1.1 所示。

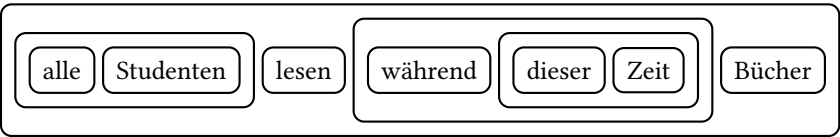


图 1.1: 盒子中的词与短语

在下一节，我会介绍几种不同的测验方法来判断出哪些词与其他词相比是“在一起的”。每当我说到一个词语序列的时候，通常是指一个任意的线性词语序列，它并不必须具有句法或语义上的联系，比如说例（5）中 students read during（学生们读在）。而由一组词组成的结构单位通常叫做短语。短语由词构成，如 this time

(这个时候), 或者由词与短语组成, 如 *during this time* (在这个时候)。短语内的部分和短语本身叫做组成成分 (*constitutnes*)。所以说, 在图 1.1 中, 盒子中的所有元素都是句子的组成成分。

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

1.3.1 组成成分测试

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

1.3.1.1 替换

如果可以将一个句子内的词语序列替换 (*substitution*) 为另一套不同的词语序列, 而且句子的可接受程度不变, 那么就可以证明这些词语序列是一个组成成分。在例 (6) 中, *der Mann* (男人) 可以被替换为 *eine Frau* (一个女人)。这就表明了这些词语序列都是组成成分。

- (6) a. *Er kennt [den Mann].*
他认识 那 男人
“他认识那个男人。”
- b. *Er kennt [eine Frau].*
他认识 一 女人
“他认识一个女人。”

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

- (7) a. *Er versucht, [das Buch zu lesen].*
他试图 这 书 AUX 读
“他试着读这本书。”
- b. *Er versucht, [der Frau das Buch zu geben].*
他试图 这 女人这 书 AUX 给
“他试着把这本书给这位女士。”

这类测验叫做替换测试 (*substitution test*)。

1.3.1.2 代词化

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

1 引言和术语

- (8) a. [Der Mann] schläft.
这 男人 睡觉
“这个男人在睡觉。”
b. Er schläft.
他 睡觉
“他在睡觉。”

我们也可以用一个代词来指代诸如 “das Buch zu lesen ” 这样的成分，如下面的例 (9) 所示：

- (9) a. Peter versucht, [das Buch zu lesen].
Peter 试图 这 书 AUX 读
“Peter 试着读这本书。”
b. Klaus versucht das auch.
Klaus 试图 这 也
“Klaus 也试着这么做。”

代词化测试 (pronominalization test) 是替换测试的另一种形式。

1.3.1.3 疑问结构

如果一个词语序列能够用问句来提问，那么它就构成一个成分：

- (10) a. [Der Mann] arbeitet.
这 男人 工作
“这个男人在工作。”
b. Wer arbeitet?
谁 工作
“谁在工作？”

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

- (11) Was versucht er?
什么 试图 他
“他想试什么？”

1.3.1.4 变换测试

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

- (12) a. dass keiner [diese Frau] kennt
 CONJ 没有 这 女人 认识
 b. dass [diese Frau] keiner kennt
 CONJ 这 女人 没有 认识
 “没有人认识这个女人”

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

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

再者, 诸如例 (7a) 中 “the das Buch zu lesen” 这一组成成分是可以移动的:

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

1.3.1.5 前置

前置 (fronting) 是更深层次的移位测试。在德语的陈述句中, 只有一个成分能够前置到定式动词的前面:

- (15) a. [Alle Studenten] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit Bücher.
 所有学生 读.3PL 在 这 课程. 空闲 时间书
 “所有的学生都在学期放假的时候看书。”
 b. [Bücher] lesen alle Studenten während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit.
 书 读 所有学生 在 这 课程. 空闲 时间
 c. * [Alle Studenten] [Bücher] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit.
 所有学生 书 读 在 这 课程. 空闲 时间
 d. * [Bücher] [alle Studenten] lesen während der vorlesungsfreien Zeit.
 书 所有学生 读 在 这 课程. 空闲 时间

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

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

1 导言和术语

1.3.1.6 并列

如有两组词语序列可以连在一起，那么每一组词都是一个组成成分。

在例（16）中，**der Mann**（这个男人）和**die Frau**（这个女人）连在一起使用，整个短语作动词**arbeiten**（工作）的主语。这个事实可以证明**der Mann**（这个男人）和**die Frau**（这个女人）构成一个成分。

- (16) [Der Mann] und [die Frau] arbeiten.

这 男人 和 这 女人 工作.3PL

“这个男人和这个女人都工作。”

例（17）说明了带 **zu** 不定式的短语可以并列：

- (17) Er hat versucht, [das Buch zu lesen] und [es dann unauffällig verschwinden
他 AUX 试图 这 书 CONJ 读 和 它然后 悄悄地 消失
zu lassen].
CONJ 让

“他试着读这本书，然后让它悄悄地消失。”

1.3.2 关于成分测试法的一些看法

如果上述测试法可以对每一种情况给出明确的结果，那就太理想了，正如基于经验主义的句法理论也会变得更加明确一样。然而，实际情况并不是这样。成分测试法实际上存在一些问题，我将在下面来具体讨论。

1.3.2.1 虚位成分

在代词中有一类特殊的词，叫做虚位成分（**expletives**），它们并不指称人或者事物，即它们是无指的。例（18）中的**es**（它）就是一个例子。

- (18) a. Es regnet.

它 下雨

“下雨了。”

- b. Regnet es?

下雨 它

“下雨了吗？”

- c. dass es jetzt regnet

CONJ 它 现在 下雨

“现在在下雨”

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

- (19) a. *dass jetzt es regnet
CONJ 现在它下雨
想说：“现在正在下雨”
b. dass jetzt keiner klatscht
CONJ 现在没有人鼓掌
“现在没有人在鼓掌”
- (20) a. Er sah es regnen.
他看见它.ACC 下雨
“他看见在下雨。”
b. *Es sah er regnen.
它.ACC 看见他下雨
想说：“他看见下雨了。”
c. Er sah einen Mann klatschen.
他看见一.ACC 男人 鼓掌
“他看见一个男人在鼓掌。”
d. Einen Mann sah er klatschen.
一.ACC 人 看见他鼓掌
“一个男人，他看见在鼓掌。”

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

- (21) a. *Der Mann / er regnet.
这 男人 他下雨
b. *Wer / was regnet?
谁 什么下雨

类似地,并列测试法也不适用:

- (22) *Es und der Mann regnet / regnen.
它和 这 男人 下雨.3SG 下雨.3PL

这些测试方法不适用的原因是:弱重音的代词 *es* (它)倾向于位于其他成分的前面,连词的后面(18c中的 *dass*),以及定式动词的后面(20a)(参考Abraham 1995: 570)。如果一个成分位于虚位成分的前面,如(19a)所示,那么,整个句子就是不合乎语法的。例(20b)不合乎语法的原因在于宾格 *es* (它)不能位于小句句首的位置。尽管有这样的情况,只有当 *es* 是有指(referential)的时候才是成立的(Lenerz 1994: 162; Gärtner & Steinbach 1997: 4)。

事实是,我们不能在上例中应用替换和疑问测试的方法的原因是,这些例子中的 *es* 是无指的。我们可以将 *es* 替换为另一个虚位成分,比如说 *das*。如果将虚位成分替换为一个有指的表达式,我们可以得到一个不同的语义解释。而语义上的空位概念或者用代词来指代都是没有意义的。

1 引言和术语

这样看来并不是所有的测试法都会将词语序列区分出不同的成分，也就是说，这些测试法并不是检验组成成分的必要条件。

1.3.2.2 移位

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

- (23) a. weil keiner gestern dem Mann geholfen hat
因为没有人昨天 那 男人 帮助 AUX
“因为昨天没有人帮助了那个男人”
b. weil gestern dem Mann keiner geholfen hat
因为昨天 那 男人 没有人帮助 AUX
“因为昨天没有人帮助了那个男人”

我们可以推断出，gestern (昨天) 和 dem Mann (那个男人) 虽是一起移位的，但是它们并不能构成一个成分。对于 (23) 中语序变化的另一个解释是副词可以在小句的不同位置出现，而且只有 (23b) 中的 dem Mann (那个男人) 移到了 keiner (没有) 的前面。不管在什么情况下，gestern (昨天) 和 dem Mann (那个男人) 都没有语义关系，而且不可能用一个代词来指称他们。尽管看上去是，这个部分是以一个单位来移动的，可实际上我们知道 gestern dem Mann (昨天那个男人) 并不能构成一个成分。

1.3.2.3 前置

正如我们在 (15) 中前置这一部分所讨论的，定式动词前的位置一般由一个成分充当。在定式动词前能否放置一组词被用来作为判断成分状态的明确标记，这种方法还用在了 Satzglied 这个术语的定义中。(Satzglied 在德语语法中是指小句层面的句子成分) (Eisenberg et al. 2005: 783)。Bußmann (1983) 提出了一个例子，而这个例子在 Bußmann (1990) 中已经找不到了：³

句子成分测试是一个应用话题化的方式来对复杂成分进行分析的过程。由于话题化只允许一个单独的成分移到句子的开头，复杂的成分序列，比如说副词短语，实际上包括一个或多个组成成分。在 “Ein Taxi quält sich im Schrittempo durch den Verkehr (出租车正在以步行的速度顽强地前进)” 这个例子中，im Schrittempo (以步行的速度) 和 durch den Verkehr (通过交通) 都是句子成分，因为他们都可以各自独立地前置。(Bußmann 1983: 446)

上面这段话可以得到如下的推论：

- 如果某一个语言片段中的某一部分断片可以各自独立地前置，那么该语言片段不构成一个成分。

³ 句子成分测试，也写作 Konstituententest。

- 如果某一个语言片段可以整体前置，那么该语言片段构成一个成分。

接下来我们要指出的是，这两种说法都是有问题的。第一个观点在（24）中就站不住脚：

- (24) a. Keine Einigung erreichten Schröder und Chirac über den Abbau der
 不 一致 达成 Schröder 和 Chirac 关于 DEF 减少 PREP.DEF
 Agrarsubventionen.⁴
 农业. 补贴
 “Schröder 和 Chirac 不能就农业补贴的减少达成一致。”
- b. [Über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen] erreichten Schröder und
 关于 DEF 减少 PREP.DEF 农业. 补贴达成 Schröder 和 Chirac
 Chirac keine Einigung.
 不 一致

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

- (25) Schröder und Chirac erreichten [keine Einigung über den Abbau der
 Schröder 和 Chirac 达成 不 一致 关于 DEF 减少 PREP.DEF
 Agrarsubventionen].
 农业. 补贴

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

- (26) Sie einigen sich über die Agrarsubventionen.
 他们同意 REFL 关于 DEF 农业. 补贴
 “他们在农业补贴方面达成了一致。”

这个词语序列也可以整体前置：

- (27) [Keine Einigung über den Abbau der Agrarsubventionen] erreichten Schröder
 不 一致 关于 DEF 减少 PREP.DEF 农业. 补贴 达成 Schröder
 und Chirac.
 和 Chirac

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

⁴ 《每日新闻》，2002 年 10 月 15 日，晚八点。

在这种情况下，如我们在例（25）中看到的，次级组成成分是可以各自独立移位的。(De Kuthy 2002)

第二条推论也是有问题的，如例（28）所示：

- (28) a. [Trocken] [durch die Stadt] kommt man am Wochenende auch mit
变干的 通过 DEF 城市 来 一 PREP.DEF 周末 也 PREP
der BVG.⁵
DEF BVG
“搭乘 BVG，你就可以在周末确保风雨无阻地穿越这个城市。”
- b. [Wenig] [mit Sprachgeschichte] hat der dritte Beitrag in dieser
少 PREP 语言. 历史 AUX DEF 第三 文章 PREP
Rubrik zu tun, [...] ⁶
DEF 章节 AUX 做
“这一节中的第三篇文章与语言历史没有太多的关系。”

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

- (29) a. Man ist / bleibt trocken.
人 是 保持 干燥
“有人是干的。”
- b. *Man ist / bleibt trocken durch die Stadt.
人 是 保持 干燥 通过 DEF 城市

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

有学者认为应该把例（28）看作是例外。不过，正如我在相关的经验主义的研究中所指出的，这种方法也是有问题的 (Müller 2003a)。

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

⁵ taz berlin, 1998 年 7 月 10 日, p. 22.

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

⁷ 这些数据可以这样来解释，即假设一个空动词的中心语位于定式动词的前面，继而保证了在定式动词前只有一个成分位于首位的要求。(Müller 2005c, 2015b)无论如何，这类数据对于组成成分测试来说都是有问题的，因为这些测试是专门用来区分例（30）中的 trocken（变干），durch die Stadt（通过这个城市），以及 mit Sprachgeschichte（与语言历史）这类字符串是否是组成成分的。

- (30) a. Man kommt am Wochenende auch mit der BVG trocken durch die
人 来 PREP.DEF 周末 也 PREP DEF BVG 干燥 通过 DEF
Stadt.
城市
“搭乘 BVG, 你就可以在周末确保风雨无阻地穿越这个城市。”
- b. Der dritte Beitrag in dieser Rubrik hat wenig mit Sprachgeschichte zu
DEF 第三 文章 在这 章节 AUX 少 PREP 语言. 历史 AUX
tun.
做
“这一节中的第三篇文章与语言历史没有太多的关系。”

所以说, 一个给定词语序列是否能够前置并不足以用来判断组成成分的性质。

再有, 虚位成分也被看作是组成成分, 尽管事实上宾格的虚位成分并不能前置 (cf. (20a)):

- (31) a. Er bringt es bis zum Professor.
他 拿 EXPL 直到 PREP.DEF 教授
“他把它拿给教授。”
- b. #Es bringt er bis zum Professor.
它 拿 他 直到 PREP.DEF 教授

还有其他成分也不能前置。隐含的虚位成分 就是一个很好的例子:

- (32) a. Karl hat sich nicht erholt.
Karl AUX REFL 不 恢复
“Karl 还没有恢复。”
- b. *Sich hat Karl nicht erholt.
REFL AUX Karl 不 恢复

由此可见, 前置并不是成分测试的必要条件。这样的话, 一个给定词串能否前置对于判断组成成分的性质来说既不是充分也不是必要的条件了。

1.3.2.4 并列

例 (33) 中的并列结构 (coordination) 也被证明是有问题的:

- (33) Deshalb kaufte der Mann einen Esel und die Frau ein Pferd.
所以 买 DEF 男人 一 驴子和 DEF 女人 一 马
“所以说, 这个男人买了一头驴, 这个女人买了一匹马。”

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

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

- (34) *Der Mann einen Esel kaufte deshalb.
DEF 男人 一 驴子买 所以

我们也不能替换这个组成成分，除非有省略的情况。

- (35) a. #Deshalb kaufte er.
所以 买 他
b. *Deshalb kaufte ihn.
所以 买 他

代词不能填充到 kaufen（买）的两个逻辑论元的位置上，而是由（33）中的 der Mann（这个男人）和（33）中 einen Esel（一头驴子）来填充的，只不过是每个位置有一个成分。对于（33）这类例子的分析也有不同的看法，即这里有两个动词 kauft（买），其中只有一个是显性的（(Crysmann 2008)）。这样，例（33）应该是：

- (36) Deshalb kaufte der Mann einen Esel und kaufte die Frau ein Pferd.
所以 买 DEF 男人 一 驴子和 买 DEF 女人 一 马

这就意味着，即使 der Mann einen Esel（这个男人一头驴）和 die Frau ein Pferd（这个女人一匹马）看上去是并列结构，实际上并列的成分是 kauft der Mann einen Esel（买这个男人一头驴）和 (kauft) die Frau ein Pferd。（买这个女人一匹马）

通过上面的讨论，我们得到的结论是：即使一个给定的词语序列通过了某种成分测试法，这并不意味着我们能够自动从这个测试中推导出它是一个组成成分，也就是说，上面的测试并不是判断组成成分性质的充分条件。

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

1.4 词类

例（37）中的词不仅意义不同，其他方面也有所不同。

- (37) Der dicke Mann lacht jetzt.
DEF 胖 男人 笑 现在
“那个胖男人在笑。”

⁸ 定式动词前的位置也叫作前场 (Vorfeld)（参看 1.8 节）。德语中，显性的多项成分前置在某些情况下是可能的。例如前面章节中，尤其是第 14 页的例（28）。例（34）也是一个例子，对于“kaufen”（买）这类动词来说，主语在前场的位置上是比较少见的，因为这种前置的结构与信息结构有关。我们也可以比较 De Kuthy & Meurers 2003b 有关前置动词短语的主语的研究，以及 Bildhauer & Cook 2010: 72 有关显性多重前置的主语前置方面的研究。

句中的每一个词都受到某种限制。常见的练习就是将具有共同属性的词归为一类。比如说，*der*（那）是一个冠词，*Mann*（男人）是一个名词，*lacht*（笑）是一个动词，*jetzt*（现在）是一个副词。如例（38）所示，我们可以将例（37）中的词替换为相同词类的词。

(38) *Die dünne Frau lächelt immer.*

DEF 瘦 女人笑 一直

“那个瘦女人一直在笑。”

但是，并不是所有的词都能替换。比如说，我们不能用反身动词 *erholt*（恢复）或者例（38）中第二人称的动词 *lächelst*（笑）来替换。把词归入相应的词类并不是这样简单的。我们还要考虑给定词的属性。在这一节，我们会讨论不同的词类，并在下一节详细描述一个给定词类的若干属性。

词类中最为重要的有动词、名词、形容词、介词和副词。很多年前，研究德语的学者通常会区分动作类词，描述类词和命名类词（参看第 11.6.1 节有关 *Tesnière's* 的范畴系统）。但是这些说法都被证明是有问题的，如下所示：

(39) a. *die Idee*

DEF 主意

b. *die Stunde*

DEF 小时

c. *das laute Sprechen*

DEF 大 说话

“大声地说话（动作）”

d. *Die Erörterung der Lage dauerte mehrere Stunden.*

DEF 讨论 PREP.DEF 情形持续 几个 小时

“有关这个情形的讨论已经持续了几个小时。”

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

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

(40) a. *Ihm gefällt das Buch.*

他 喜欢 DEF 书

‘他喜欢这本书。’

b. *Das Eis schmilzt.*

DEF 冰 融化

‘冰融化了。’

c. *Es regnet.*

它 下雨

‘下雨了。’

1 导言和术语

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

- (41) a. *der mutmaßliche Mörder*
DEF 被怀疑的 杀人犯
b. *Soldaten sind potenzielle Mörder.*
士兵 是 潜在的 杀人犯

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

- (42) *der lachende Mann*
DEF 笑 男人

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

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

- (43) a. *Ich lache.*
我 笑
b. *Du lachst.*
你.SG 笑
c. *Er lacht.*
他 笑
d. *Wir lachen.*
我们笑
e. *Ihr lacht.*
你们.PL 笑
f. *Sie lachen.*
他们笑

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

与动词相似的是, 名词也有屈折范式:

- (44) a. *der Mann*
DEF.NOM 男人
b. *des Mannes*
DEF.GEN 男人.GEN

- c. dem Mann
DEF.DAT 男人
- d. den Mann
DEF.ACC 男人
- e. die Männer
DEF.NOM 男人
- f. der Männer
DEF.GEN 男人
- g. den Männern
DEF.DAT 男人.DAT
- h. die Männer
DEF.ACC 男人

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

- (45)
- a. die Tüte
DEF.F 包 (F)
‘包’
 - b. der Krampf
DEF.M 夹子 (M)
‘夹子’
 - c. das Kind
DEF.N 孩子 (N)
‘孩子’

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

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

- (46)
- a. eine kluge Frau
一.F 聪明.F 女人
 - b. ein kluger Mann
一 聪明.M 男人
 - c. ein kluges Kind
一 聪明.N 孩子

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

- (47)
- a. ein alter Wein
一 老 酒

1 引言和术语

- b. der alte Wein
DEF 老 酒
- c. alter Wein
老 酒

另外，形容词也有比较级和最高级：

- (48)
- a. klug
聪明
 - b. klüg-er
聪明-PTCP
 - c. am klüg-sten
PERP.DEF 聪明-PTCP

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

特殊情况是德语中一些以 a 结尾的颜色形容词，如 lila（紫色）和 rosa（粉色）。这些词的屈折形式是可选的（49a），没有屈折变化的形式也是可行的：

- (49)
- a. eine lilan-e Blume
一 紫色-F 花
 - b. eine lila Blume
一 紫色花

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

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

- (50)
- a. in diesen Raum
在这.ACC 房间
 - b. in diesem Raum
在这.DAT 房间

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

- (51) des Geldes wegen
DEF 钱.GEN 因为
“因为钱”

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

与介词不同的是，副词不需要带名词短语。

- (52) a. Er schläft in diesem Raum.
he sleeps in this room
b. Er schläft dort.
he sleeps there

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

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

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

- (54) a. Klaus glaubt, dass er lügt.
Klaus 认为 CONJ 他说谎
“Klaus 认为他在说谎。”
b. Klaus glaubt ihm nicht, weil er lügt.
Klaus 相信 他 不 因为他说谎
“Klaus 不相信他，因为他在说谎。”

叹词（*interjection*）类似于小句表达式。如“Ja！（是的！）”“Bitte！（请！）”“Hallo！（你好！）”“Hurra！（好耶！）”“Bravo！（太棒啦！）”“Pst！（嘘！）”“Plumps！（扑通！）”。

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

我们已经将一些具有屈折变化的词归入不同的词类中了。如果需要划分词类，我们可以利用图 1.2 on the next page 来判断，该图摘自德语杜登语法 (Eisenberg et al. 2005: 133)。⁹

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

图 1.2: Decision tree for determining parts of speech following Eisenberg et al. (2005: 133)

如果一个词会随着时态发生变化, 那么它就是动词。如果它有不同的变化式, 那么就需要看它是否有固定的性。如果是这样的, 那么就需要知道我们是不是在分析一个名词。具有不同性的词需要检查他们是否有比较级。如果是, 那它可能是形容词。其他的词就归入剩余的类别中, 杜登语法将之称为代词或冠词。对于没有屈折变化的元素来说, 这个剩余类别中的元素可以根据他们的句法行为来进一步划分。杜登语法对代词和冠词进行了区分。基于这个分类标准, 代词是那些可以替代诸如 *der Mann* (男人) 的名词短语的词。而冠词通常与名词相组合。在拉丁语法中, 代词包括上面所说的代词和冠词, 因为它们带不带名词在形式上是一样的。在过去的几百年间, 形式发生了分裂变化, 在当代罗曼语族的语言中需要区分那些可以替代名词短语的词与必须与名词短语共现的词。后一种类别的词也叫做限定词 (*determiner*)。

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

- (55) a. *Sie gedenken seiner / einander.*
 他们想 他.GEN 互相
 b. *Sie helfen ihm / einander.*
 他们帮助 他.DAT 互相
 c. *Sie lieben ihn / einander.*
 他们爱 他.ACC 互相

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

例 (56) 中的相对代词也是类似的:

- (56) a. *Ich komme eben aus der Stadt, wo ich Zeuge eines Unglücks gewesen*
 我 来 PART 自 DEF 城市 CONJ 我 见证 PERP.ART 事故 AUX
 *bin.*¹⁰
 COP

“在我来自的那个城市里, 我亲眼目睹了一个事故。”

¹⁰ Drosdowski (1984: 672).

- b. Studien haben gezeigt, daß mehr Unfälle in Städten passieren, wo die
研究 AUX 表明 CONJ 更多 事故 在城市 发生 DEF 斑马线
Zebrastreifen abgebaut werden, weil die Autofahrer unaufmerksam werden.¹¹
去除 AUX 因为 DEF 司机疏忽 AUX

研究表明, 城市中事故更多发生在没有斑马线的地方, 因为司机们更易疏忽。

- c. Zufällig war ich in dem Augenblick zugegen, wo der Steppenwolf zum
恰巧地 AUX 我 在DEF 时候 出现 CONJ DEF 荒原狼 AUX.DEF
erstmals unser Haus betrat und bei meiner Tante sich einmietete.¹²
第一次 我们的房子 进入 和 在 我的 姑姑 REFL 租房
“我恰好亲眼看见了荒原狼第一次闯进了我们的房子, 并在我姑姑那里租
了一间房间。”

根据上面的决策树, 如果他们没有屈折变化, 则不能归入代词。Eisenberg (2004: 277) 指出 *wo* 是一种没有屈折变化的关系代词, 并且指明这种描述与名词性的用法是不同的, 因为名词是有屈折变化的元素。由此, 他用关系副词 (relative adverb) 来指称他们 (参见 Eisenberg et al. (2005: §856, §857))。

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

- (57) a. der Mann, dessen Schwester ich kenne
DEF 男人 CONJ 姐妹 我 认识
b. Ich möchte wissen, wessen Schwester du kennst.
我想 知道 CONJ 姐妹 你 认识
“我想知道你认识谁的姐妹。”

根据杜登的分类标准, 这些词被看作是“关系冠词”和“疑问冠词”。他们通常被看作是关系代词和疑问代词的一部分 (参看 Eisenberg (2004: 229))。如果按照 Eisenberg 提出的术语来看, 这些词的归类问题是不具有争议的, 因为他没有对冠词、代词和名词进行区分, 而是将它们都归为名词类。但是对于那些提出需要区分出冠词和代词的学者来说, 疑问代词也是一个经常探讨的问题, 即他们可以作为冠词使用, 也可以替代一个名词短语。

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

虚指代词 (expletive pronouns), 如 *es* (它), *das* (这个) 及 *sich* (自己) 这类反身动词, 并不指代实际的物体。由于形式上的相似性, 我们将之看作是代词。即使我们假定要对代词采用狭义的界定, 我们也只会得到错误的结论, 因为虚指词的形式并没有根据性、数和格而发生变化。如果我们按照教材中的分类标准, 虚

¹¹ taz berlin, 03.11.1997, p. 23.

¹² Herman Hesse, *Der Steppenwolf* (《荒原狼》). Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag. 1986, p. 6.

1 导言和术语

指成分可以归入无屈折变化的类型中。如果我们假定 *es*（它）与人称代词一定具有相同的主格和宾格形式，那么就可以将它们归入名词。这样我们就需要认为 *es* 是有性的，但是这样是讲不通的。这样，我们就将 *es* 看作是与人称代词相似的中性名词。

我们还没有讨论例（58）中斜体的词：

- (58) a. das *geliebte* Spielzeug
DEF 喜欢 玩具
- b. das *schlafende* Kind
DEF 睡着的 孩子
- c. die Frage des *Sprechens und Schreibens* über Gefühle
DEF 问题 PERP.DEF 谈论 和 书写 关于感情
“有关谈论和书写感情的问题”
- d. Auf dem Europa-Parteitag fordern die *Grünen* einen ökosozialen Politikwechsel.
在 DEF 欧洲-党会 要求 DEF 绿党 ART 生态-社会 政治变革
“在欧洲党会中，绿党要求生态社会性的政治变革。”
- e. Max lacht *laut*.
Max 笑 大声
- f. Max würde *wahrscheinlich* lachen.
Max AUX 可能地 笑

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

正如我们所看到，至今仍然难以区分屈折（*inflection*）与派生（*derivation*）（产生新的词位）。Sag, Wasow & Bender (2003: 263–264) 认为，英语中的现在分词与过去分词属于派生形式，而在法语中则随着性数而发生屈折变化。

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

- (59) A: Willst du den roten Ball haben?
要 你 DEF 红色的球 有
“你想要这个红色的球吗？”

B: Nein, gib mir bitte den grünen.

不 给 我 请 DEF 绿色的

“不，请给我那个绿色的，谢谢。”

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

(60) a. Ein Grüner hat vorgeschlagen, ...

ART 绿党成员.M AUX 提出建议

“绿党的一位 (男性) 成员提出了建议 ...”

b. Eine Grüne hat vorgeschlagen, ...

ART 绿党成员.F AUX 提出建议

“绿党的一位 (女性) 成员提出了建议 ...”

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

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

(61) Max lacht immer / oft / laut.

Max 笑 总是 经常 大声

“Max (总是 / 经常) (大声地) 笑。”

为了描述这些词的双重特征，一些研究者认为有必要区分他们的词汇范畴与句法范畴。loud (ly) 在词汇范畴上属于形容词，而句法范畴上则属于副词。但是对于例 (61) 中 loud (ly) 的这种分类方法并不被所有的学者所认可。相反，有些人认为这是形容词的副词性用法，也就是说，他们认为这些词的句法范畴仍是形容词，但是它们的用法可以不同，这样就像一个副词 (参看 Eisenberg 2004: Section 7.3.)。这和介词的情况很像，介词也可以出现在不同的句法语境中：

(62) a. Peter schläft im Büro.

Peter 睡觉 PERP.DEF 办公室

“Peter 在办公室里睡觉。”

b. der Tisch im Büro

DEF 桌子 PERP.DEF 办公室

“办公室里的桌子”

在例 (62) 中，我们有两个介词短语的例子；但是，例 (62a) 中的 im Büro (在办公室里) 像副词一样，因为它修饰的是动词 schläft (睡觉)，而在例 (62b) 中的 im

1 导言和术语

Büro（在办公室里）修饰是名词 Tisch（桌子）。同样，可以修饰名词（63）或动词（61）。

- (63) die laute Musik
DEF 大声 音乐

1.5 中心语

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

- (64) a. *Träumt* dieser Mann?
做梦 这.NOM 人
“这个人做梦吗？”
b. *Erwartet* er diesen Mann?
等 他.NOM 这.ACC 人
“他在等这个人吗？”
c. *Hilft* er diesem Mann?
帮助 他.NOM 这.DAT 人
“他在帮助这个人吗？”
d. *in* diesem Haus
在这.DAT 房间
e. ein *Mann*
一.NOM 人

动词决定它们的论元的格属性。在例（64d）中，介词决定名词短语（这个房子）的格属性（与格），也决定这个短语的语义（它描述了一个位置）。例（64e）是有争议的：有学者认为限定语是中心语（???: 90; Vennemann & Harlow 1977; Hellan 1986; Abney 1987; Netter 1994, 1998），而其他学者认为名词是中心语（Van Langendonck 1994; Pollard & Sag 1994: 49; Demske 2001; Müller 2007b: Section 6.6.1; Hudson 2004; Bruening 2009）。

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

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

- (65) Der Mann liest einen Aufsatz.
DEF 人 读 ART 论文
“这个人在读一篇论文。”

与图 1.1 不同的是，这些盒子都有标记。

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

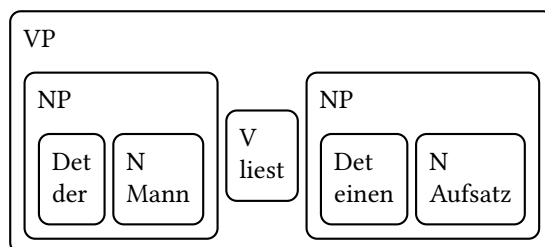


图 1.3: 有标记的盒子中的词与短语

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

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

- (66) a. * *Die Männer liest einen Aufsatz.*
 DEF 男人 读 ART 论文
 b. * *Des Mannes liest einen Aufsatz.*
 PERP.DEF 男人.GEN 读 ART 论文

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

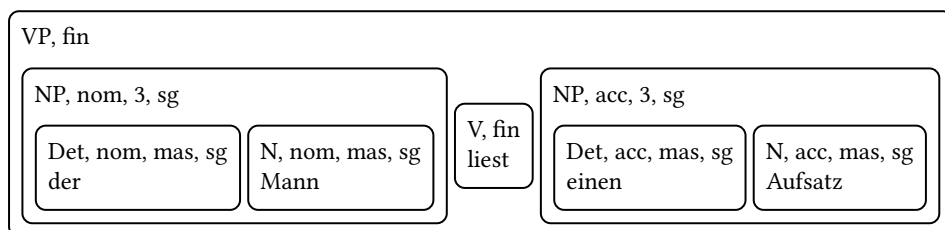


图 1.4: 在有标记盒子中的词与词串

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

1.6 论元成分与说明语

小句中的各成分与中心语具有不同的关系。最为典型的是区分论元成分和说明语。中心语的句法论元在很大程度上对应于其逻辑论元。我们可以用(67b)中的谓词逻辑,来表示句子(67a)的意义。

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

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

中心语和论元的这种关系叫做选择(selection)和价(valence)。价这个术语是从化学借来的。原子与原子组合成分子具有不同程度的稳定性。电子层的排列方式对这种稳定性起到了重要的作用。如果一个原子与其他原子相组合,这样它的电子层就被占满了,那么这就可以得到一个稳定的连接。价告诉我们要构成一个元素需要多少个氢原子。在构成水(H₂O)的时候,氧原子是二价。我们可以把元素按照价进行分类。按照 Mendeleev 的方法,带有一个特定价的元素被安排在元素周期表的同一个栏中。

价的概念被泰尼埃 Tesnière (1959)用于语言学:一个中心语需要一定的论元以构成一个稳定的组合。具有相同价的词,即需要同样数目与种类的论元的词,被分成不同的类别。图 1.5 分别展示了化学与语言学的例子。



图 1.5: 氢原子和氧原子的组合与动词和其论元的组合

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

- (68) a. Es regnet.
它下雨
“下雨了。”
b. Klaus erholt sich.
Klaus 恢复 REFL
“Klaus 正在恢复健康。”

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

- (69) a. *Ich glaube, dass regnet.
 我想 CONJ 下雨
 想说: “我想是下雨了。”
- b. *Ich glaube, dass Klaus erholt.
 我想 CONJ Klaus 恢复
 想说: “我相信 Klaus 在恢复之中。”

不管是虚指成分还是反身代词都对句子的语义没有贡献。但是, 为了构成一个完整的、合乎语法的句子, 它们必须出现。所以说, 它们也是动词的价的一部分。

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

- (70) John loves Mary deeply.

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

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

说明语 (adjunct) 具有如下的句法和语义属性:

- (72) a. 说明语不构成语义角色。
 b. 说明语是可选的。
 c. 说明语可以重复。

例 (71a) 的短语可以通过增加说明语得到扩展:

- (73) a beautiful clever woman

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

- (74) *The man the boy sleeps.

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

- (75) The man and the boy are sleeping.

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

(76) Tony is eating (pizza).

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

- (77) a. Er gedenkt des Opfers.
他记得 DEF.GEN 受害人.GEN
“他记得受害人。”
b. *Er gedenkt dem Opfer.
他记得 DEF.DAT 受害人
c. Er hilft dem Opfer.
他帮助DEF.DAT 受害人
“他帮助了受害人。”
d. *Er hilft des Opfers.
他帮助DEF.GEN 受害人.GEN

动词管辖论元的格属性。介词短语中的介词和名词短语的格都由动词决定的：¹³

- (78) a. Er denkt an seine Modelleisenbahn.
他想 PERP 他的.ACC 火车模型
“他在想他的火车模型。”
b. #Er denkt an seiner Modelleisenbahn.
他想 PREP 他的.DAT 火车模型
c. Er hängt an seiner Modelleisenbahn.
他附着 PREP 他的.DAT 火车模型
“他紧贴着他的火车模型。”
d. *Er hängt an seine Modelleisenbahn.
他附着 PREP 他的.ACC 火车模型

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

- (79) a. Er geht in die Schule / auf den Weihnachtsmarkt / unter die
他去 在DEF.ACC 学校 在 DEF.ACC 圣诞市场 在..... 下DEF.ACC
Brücke.
桥
“他去学校 / 圣诞市场 / 桥下面。”

¹³ 相关例子参看 Eisenberg (1994b: 78).

- b. Er schläft in der Schule / auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt / unter
 他睡觉 在 DEF.DAT 学校 在 DEF.DAT 圣诞市场 在..... 下
 der Brücke.
 DEF.DAT 桥
 “他在学校 / 圣诞市场 / 桥下面睡觉。”

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

- (80) * Wir befinden uns.
 我们处于 REFL

这个信息的形式是不固定的，句法范畴或介词短语内的介词都不是限定的：

- (81) Wir befinden uns hier / unter der Brücke / neben dem Eingang / im
 我们处于 REFL 这儿 在..... 下 DEF 桥 在..... 附近 DEF 入口 在
 Bett.
 床
 “我们在这儿 / 桥下面 / 入口旁 / 床上。”

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

综上所述，我们可以说那些需要与中心语共现的句法成分是论元。并且，那些能够充当中心语的语义角色的句法成分也是论元。然而，这两类论元有时是可选的。

论元通常可以划分为主语和补足语。¹⁵ 不是所有的中心语都需要主语（参看 see Müller 2007b: Section 3.2）。由此，中心语所带论元的数量可以与中心语所带补足语的数量具有相关性。

1.7 语法功能

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

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

¹⁵ 有些学派认为补足语包括主语，即补足语的概念等同于论元（参看Groß 2003: 342）。有些学者将变位动词的主语看作是补足语（Pollard 1996b; Eisenberg 1994a: 376）

1.7.1 主语

尽管我认为读者对主语 (subject) 已经有了清晰的认识, 但是给主语下一个跨语言的定义绝不是一件小事 (?)。对于德语来说, Reis (1982) 提出下面的句法属性作为对主语对界定:

- 与变位动词构成主谓一致 的关系
- 非名词性从句中的主格
- 在 不定式 中被省略 (控制)
- 在 祈使句 中是可选的

我已经在例 (4) 中讨论过主谓一致的问题。Reis (1982) 认为第二个要点适用于德语。她构建了非名词性从句的限制条件, 因为名词作谓语的 句子 中可以有不止有一个名词性的论元成分, 如例 (82) 所示:

- (82) a. Er ist ein Lügner.
他.NOM 是 一 骗子.NOM
“他是一个骗子。”
- b. Er wurde ein Lügner genannt.
他.NOM COP 一 骗子.NOM 叫做
“他被人叫做骗子。”

按照这一标准, 德语中, 诸如 den Männern (男人们) 的与格论元不能作主语:

- (83) a. Er hilft den Männern.
他 帮助DEF.DAT 男人.DAT
“他在帮助那个男人。”
- b. Den Männern wurde geholfen.
DEF.DAT 男人.DAT COP.3SG 帮助
“那个男人被人帮助了。”

根据其他标准, 与格也不应该被看作是主语 (如Reis (1982)的观点)。在例 (83b) 中, wurde (想要) 是一个第三人称单数的形式, 不与 den Männern (男人们) 搭配。前述指出的第三条标准有关不定式结构, 如下例 (mex1) 所示:

- (84) a. Klaus behauptet, den Männern zu helfen.
Klaus 声称 DEF.DAT 男人.DAT AUX 帮助
“Klaus 声称要帮助那个男人。”
- b. Klaus behauptet, dass er den Männern hilft.
Klaus 声称 CONJ 他DEF.DAT 男人.DAT 帮助
“Klaus 声称他在帮助那个男人。”

- c. *Die Männer behaupten, geholfen zu werden.
 DEF 男人 声称 帮助 AUX COP
 想说：“那个男生声称得到了帮助。”
- d. *Die Männer behaupten, elegant getanzt zu werden.
 DEF 男人 声称 优雅地 跳舞 AUX COP
 想说：“那个男人声称在优雅地跳舞。”

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

- (85) Die Männer behaupten, dass ihnen geholfen wird.
 DEF 男人.NOM 声称 CONJ 他们.DAT 帮助 COP
 “这些男人们声称他们被帮助了。”

同理，祈使句也不能由不需要名词性成分的动词充当。例（86）列出了Reis (1982: 186)提出的一些例子。

- (86) a. Fürchte dich nicht!
 害怕 REFL 不
 “不要害怕！”
- b. *Graue nicht!
 恐惧 不
 “不要感到恐惧！”
- c. Werd einmal unterstützt und ...
 COP 一次 支持 和
 “让人支持你一次，并且...”
- d. *Werd einmal geholfen und ...
 COP 一次 帮助 和
 “让人帮助你一次，并且...”

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

- (87) a. Ich fürchte mich vor Spinnen.
 我.NOM 害怕 REFL PERP 蜘蛛
 “我害怕蜘蛛。”
- b. Mir graut vor Spinnen.
 我.DAT 害怕 PERP 蜘蛛
 “我怕蜘蛛。”

有趣的是，冰岛语中的与格论元表现不同。Zaenen et al. (1985) 讨论了冰岛语中主语的各种特征，并且可以在被动句中将与格论元看作是主语，即使变位动词与他们没有构成主谓一致的关系（第 3.1 节），或者他们并不必是主格。例如，下面就是带有被省略的与格论元的不定式结构（第 457 页）：

- (88) a. Ég vonast til að verða hjálpað.
我 希望 PERP AUX COP 帮助
“我希望我能得到帮助。”
- b. Að vera hjálpað í prófinu er óleyfilegt.
AUX COP 帮助 PERP 考试 COP 不允许
“在考试中是不允许被帮助的。”

在一些语法现象中，例（89）中的小句论元被看作是主语，因为它们能被主格的名词短语（90）所代替（参考 e.g., Eisenberg 2004: 63, 289）。

- (89) a. Dass er schon um sieben kommen wollte, stimmt nicht.
CONJ 他已经 在 七点 来 想 确定 不
“他想尽可能在七点赶来，这不是真的。”
- b. Dass er Maria geheiratet hat, gefällt mir.
CONJ 他Maria 娶 AUX 高兴 我
“我很高兴他娶了 Maria。”
- (90) a. Das stimmt nicht.
CONJ is. 确定不
“那不是真的。”
- b. Das gefällt mir.
CONJ 喜欢 我
“我喜欢那个。”

需要指出的是，对于小句论元能否做主语这个问题上有不同的看法。最近发表的文献表明，在词汇功能语法中仍有相当多的讨论（参考第 7 章）（Dalrymple & Lødrup 2000; Berman 2003b, 2007; Alsina, Mohanan & Mohanan 2005; Forst 2006. ）。)

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

- (91) a. Sie gedenken des Mannes.
他们记得 DEF.GEN 人.GEN
“他们记得这个人。”
- b. Sie helfen dem Mann.
他们帮助 DEF.DAT 人.DAT
“他们在帮助这个人。”

- c. Sie kennen den Mann.
他们认识 DEF.ACC 人.ACC
“他们认识这个人。”
- d. Sie denken an den Mann.
他们想 PERP DEF 人
“他们正想起这个人。”

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

- (92) dass er dem Mann den Aufsatz gibt
CONJ he.NOM DEF.DAT man.DAT DEF.ACC essay.ACC gives
“他给那个人这篇论文”

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

- (93) a. dass er den Mann des Mordes bezichtigte
CONJ 他 DEF.ACC 人.ACC DEF.GEN 谋杀.GEN 控告
“他控告了杀人的人”
- b. dass er den Mann den Vers lehrte
CONJ he DEF.ACC 人.ACC DEF.ACC 诗.ACC 教
“他教那个人读诗了”

这类宾语有时也叫做间接宾语。通常，只有那些由 *werden* 引导的被动句中能够上升到主语位置上的成分才被看作是直接宾语。这对有些理论（如词汇功能语法，看第7章）来说非常重要，因为被动态被定义为语法功能。对于二元的动词性谓语来说，与格通常不被看作是直接宾语（Cook 2006）。

- (94) dass er dem Mann hilft
CONJ 他 DEF.DAT 人.DAT 帮助
‘他帮助那个人’

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

下面，我就只用宾语的格属性来指称，而避免使用直接宾语（direct object）和间接宾语（indirect object）的术语。我们对主语也采用相同的策略，有特定格属性的宾语小句能够分别对应于直接宾语或者间接宾语的语法功能。如果在例（95b）中，我们认为“*dass du sprichst*”（你在说话）这个小句是主语，那么从句就必然是直接宾语：

1 导言和术语

- (95) a. Daß du sprichst, wird erwähnt.
CONJ 你 说话 COP 提到
“你在说话的事实被提及了。”
b. Er erwähnt, dass du sprichst.
他 提到 CONJ 你 说话
“他提到你在说话。”

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

- (96) Er erwähnt diesen Sachverhalt.
他 提到 这.ACC 事情
“他提到这个事情。”

如果我们不想讨论这一问题，就可以简单地把这些论元称为小句宾语。

1.7.2 状语

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

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

- (97) a. Er arbeitet sorgfältig.
他 工作 认真
b. Er arbeitet vergleichend.
他 工作 比较
“他做比较的工作。”
c. Er arbeitet in der Universität.
他 工作 在DEF 大学
“他在大学工作。”
d. Er arbeitet den ganzen Tag.
他 工作 DEF 整 天.ACC
“他整天工作。”
e. Er arbeitet, weil es ihm Spaß macht.
他 工作 因为它 他.DAT 乐趣 作
“他工作因为他喜欢工作。”

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

- (98) a. *Er schläft den ganzen Tag.*
他睡觉 DEF 整 天
“他睡了一整天。”
- b. *Er liest den ganzen Tag diesen schwierigen Aufsatz.*
他读 DEF.ACC 整.ACC 天 这.ACC 难的.ACC 论文
“他花了一整天读这篇难懂的论文。”
- c. *Er gibt den Armen den ganzen Tag Suppe.*
他给 DEF.DAT 穷人.DAT DEF.ACC 整天.ACC 天 汤
“他花了一整天给穷人汤喝。”

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

- (99) a. *weil den ganzen Tag gearbeitet wurde*
因为DEF.ACC 整.ACC 天 工作 COP
“因为有人整天工作”
- b. **weil der ganze Tag gearbeitet wurde*
因为DEF.NOM whole.NOM 天 工作 COP

1.7.3 谓语

例(100a,b)中的形容词与例(100c)中的名词短语被看作是谓语。

- (100) a. *Klaus ist klug.*
Klaus COP 聪明
- b. *Er isst den Fisch roh.*
他吃 DEF 鱼 生的
- c. *Er ist ein Lügner.*
他 COP 一 骗子

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

对于名词性谓语来说,格不是由中心语决定的,而是由其他成分决定的。¹⁶

例如,例(101a)中的宾格在例(101b)的被动句中变成了主格。

¹⁶ 不同方言区的系词结构有所不同:在标准德语中系词 *sein*(是)所带的名词短语总是主格,即使是嵌套在 *lassen*(让)的下面也不发生变化。根据Drosdowski(1995: §1259),瑞士地区则经常能发现例(ii.a)中用作宾格的情况。

1 导言和术语

- (101) a. Sie nannte ihn einen Lügner.
她 叫 他.ACC 一.ACC 骗子
“她把他叫做骗子。”
- b. Er wurde ein Lügner genannt.
他.NOM COP 一.NOM 骗子 叫做
“他被人叫做骗子。”

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

其他的谓词性结构可以参见Eisenberg et al. (2005: § 1206)、Müller (2002a: Chapter 4, Chapter 5), 以及Müller (2008a)。

1.7.4 配价类型

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

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

这种术语混淆的情况导致对乔姆斯基的评论的误解,即使他们是由一些知名的语言学家(Culicover and Jackendoff's (2005: 59))提出来的。乔姆斯基指出,英语助动词“be”带动词的被动态只能用在及物动词上。Culicover 和 Jackendoff 则认为

-
- (i) a. Ich bin dein Tanzpartner.
I COP 你的.NOM 舞伴
- b. Der wüste Kerl ist ihr Komplize.
DEF 疯狂的家伙COP 她的.NOM 从犯
- c. Laß den wüsten Kerl [...] meinerwegen ihr Komplize sein.
让 DEF.ACC 疯狂的.ACC 家伙 我所关心的 她的.NOM 从犯 COP
“我所关心的是,让我们来假定那个疯狂的家伙是她的从犯。”(Grebe & Gipper 1966: § 6925)
- d. Baby, laß mich dein Tanzpartner sein.
宝贝 让 我.ACC 你的.NOM 舞伴 COP
“宝贝,让我当你的舞伴吧!”(Funny van Dannen, Benno-Ohnesorg-Theater, Berlin, Volksbühne, 11.10.1995)
- (ii) a. Er läßt den lieben Gott 'n frommen Mann sein.
他 让 DEF.ACC 亲爱的.ACC 上帝一虔诚的.ACC 人 COP
“他完全是不走心(漠不关心)啊。”
- b. *Er läßt den lieben Gott 'n frommer Mann sein.
他 让 DEF.ACC 亲爱的.ACC 上帝一虔诚的.NOM 人 COP

这是不对的，因为还有及物动词不能变换为被动式，如 weigh（称重）和 cost（花费）。

(102) a. This book weighs ten pounds / costs ten dollars.

b. *Ten pounds are weighed / ten dollar are cost by this book.

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

(103) a. Das Buch kostete einen Dollar.

DEF 书 值 一.ACC 美元

“这本书值一美元。”

b. Das Buch wiegt einen Zentner.

DEF 书 重 一.ACC 公担

“这本书重五十公斤。”

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

1.8 德语小句的空间位置模型

在这一节，我会介绍所谓的空间位置的概念。这一概念会在后续的章节中被经常用来讨论德语小句中的不同部分。此外，也可以在 Reis (1980), Höhle (1986) and Askedal (1986) 的文献中找到更多有关空间位置的知识。Wöllstein (2010) 是一本有关空间位置模型的教科书。

1.8.1 动词的位置

最常见的是按照变位动词的位置将德语的句子分成三类：

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

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

下面的例子说明了这些可能性:

- (104) a. (Peter hat erzählt,) dass er das Eis gegessen hat.
Peter AUX 告诉 CONJ 他DEF 冰淇淋吃 AUX
“Peter 说他把冰淇淋吃完了。”
- b. Hat Peter das Eis gegessen?
AUX Peter DEF 冰淇淋吃
“Peter 吃完冰淇淋了吗?”
- c. Peter hat das Eis gegessen.
Peter AUX DEF 冰淇淋吃
“Peter 吃完冰淇淋了。”

1.8.2 句子的框架结构、前场、中场及后场

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

1.8.3 场内元素的排列

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

- (105) a. [...] egal, was noch passiert, der Norddeutsche Rundfunk steht schon
无论如何什么仍然 发生 DEF 北德 广播公司 存在 已经
jetzt als Gewinner fest.¹⁸
现在PREP 赢家 PART
“不管将要发生什么,北德广播公司早就已经是赢家了。”

¹⁸ 《明镜周刊》(*Spiegel*), 1999 年 12 月, p. 258.

表 1.1: 空间位置分布例示

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

- b. Interessant, zu erwähnen, daß ihre Seele völlig in Ordnung war.¹⁹
 有趣 AUX 提到 CONJ 她的灵魂 完整地PREP 顺序 COP
 “值得注意的是，她的灵魂完好无损。”
- c. Ein Treppenwitz der Musikgeschichte, daß die Kollegen von
 一 讽刺 PREP.DEF 音乐历史 CONJ DEF 成员 PREP
 Rammstein vor fünf Jahren noch im Vorprogramm von Sandow
 Rammstein 在..... 前五 年 仍然 PREP.DEF 开场 PREP Sandow
 spielten.²⁰
 表演
 “音乐历史上具有讽刺意味的一件事是，五年前 Rammstein 的成员仍然
 为 Sandow 作开场演出。”

例（105）中的例子与例（106）中的系词具有相关性：

- (106) a. Egal ist, was noch passiert, ...
 不管COP 什么仍然 发生
 “今后将发生什么并不重要 ...”
- b. Interessant ist zu erwähnen, dass ihre Seele völlig in Ordnung
 有趣 COP AUX 提到 CONJ 她的灵魂 完整地PREP 顺序
 war.
 COP
 “值得注意的是，她的灵魂完好无损。”
- c. Ein Treppenwitz der Musikgeschichte ist, dass die Kollegen von
 一 讽刺 PREP.DEF 音乐历史 COP CONJ DEF 成员 PREP
 Rammstein vor fünf Jahren noch im Vorprogramm von Sandow
 Rammstein 在..... 前五 年 仍然 PREP 开场 PREP Sandow
 spielten.
 表演
 “五年前，Rammstein 的成员仍为 Sandow 作开场演出是音乐史上的一件
 具有讽刺意义的事件。”

当某些位置为空时，就不太容易判断句中成分占据了哪些位置。如例（105）所示，我们需要将系词插入来确保哪个成分位于前场，以及其他成分所处的位置。在下面Paul (1919: 13)引用的例子中，插入系词则得到了不同的结果：

- (107) a. Niemand da?
 没有人 那儿
- b. Ist niemand da?
 COP 没有人 那儿
 “没有人在那儿吗？”

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

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

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

例（108）中，前场、左边界和中场都有成分充当，而右边界是空的。²¹

- (108) Er gibt der Frau das Buch, die er kennt.
 他.M 给 DEF 女人 (F) DEF 书.(N) CONJ.F 他认识
 “他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。”

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

- (109) a. Er hat [der Frau] das Buch gegeben, [die er kennt].
 他 AUX DEF 女人 DEF 书 给 CONJ 他认识
 “他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。”
 b. *Er hat [der Frau] das Buch, [die er kennt,] gegeben.
 他 AUX DEF 女人 DEF 书 CONJ 他认识 给
 c. Er hat [der Frau, die er kennt,] das Buch gegeben.
 他 AUX DEF 女人 CONJ 他认识 DEF 书 给

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

- (110) Er gibt das Buch der Frau, die er kennt.
 他 给 DEF 书 DEF 女人 CONJ 他认识
 “他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。”

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

- (111) a. Er hat das Buch [der Frau] gegeben, [die er kennt].
 他 AUX DEF 书 DEF 女人 给 CONJ 他认识
 “他把书交给了他认识的那个女人。”
 b. Er hat das Buch [der Frau, die er kennt,] gegeben.
 他 AUX DEF 书 DEF 女人 CONJ 他认识 给

在例（111a）中，关系小句被提前了。在（111b）中，它构成了名词短语 *der Frau, die er kennt*（他认识的那个女人）的一部分，并位于中场的名词短语内部。这样，上面的测试方法也不适用于例（110）了。我们认为例（110）中的关系小句也术语名词短语，因为这样是最简单的结构。如果关系小句位于后场，我们则需要假定它从名词短语内部上升到这个位置上了。也就是说，我们需要假设其是一个名词

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

短语结构，并且还涉及了移外变形。对于疑问词和冠词代词来说也有同样的问题。不同作者看法不同，有的认为它们位于左边界，有的认为是前场，也有的认为是中场。在标准德语中，疑问句和关系小句中的所有成分从来没有占全的时候。这就导致，无法直观地分清某个元素所在的位置。尽管如此，我们可以结合主句来判断：疑问句和关系小句中的代词可以包含在复杂短语中：

- (112) a. der Mann, [mit dem] du gesprochen hast
 DEF 人 PREP 谁 你 说话 AUX
 “你跟他说话的那个人”
 b. Ich möchte wissen, [mit wem] du gesprochen hast.
 我 想 知道 PREP 谁 你 说话 AUX
 “我想知道你在跟谁说话。”

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

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

- (113) a. Über dieses Thema habe ich ihn gebeten, einen Vortrag zu halten.
 关于这 题目 AUX 我 他 请求 一 演讲 AUX hold
 “我请他做一个有关这个题目的演讲。”
 b. das Thema, über das ich ihn gebeten habe, einen Vortrag zu halten
 DEF 题目 关于我 他 请求AUX 一 演讲 AUX 作
 “这是那个我让他做一个演讲的题目”

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

最后来看一下《杜登大辞典》(Eisenberg et al. 2005: §1347) 中应用的标准德语（大部分是南方方言）中的一些例子：

- (114) a. Kommt drauf an, mit wem dass sie zu tun haben.
 来 在..... 上面PART PREP 谁 CONJ 你 AUX 做 AUX
 “这要取决于是谁在处理。”

²² 并列结构是一个例外：

- (i) Er [kennt und liebt] diese Schallplatte.
 他 知道 和 热爱 这 专辑
 “他了解并且热爱这张专辑。”

- (115) a. Lotti, die wo eine tolle Sekretärin ist, hat ein paar merkwürdige Herren
 Lotti 谁 哪儿一 伟大秘书 COP 有 一些 奇怪 绅士
 empfangen.
 欢迎
 “Lotti 作为一名伟大的秘书, 受到了一些奇怪的绅士的欢迎。”
- b. Du bist der beste Sänger, den wo ich kenn.
 你 COP DEF 最棒 歌手 谁 哪儿我 知道
 “你是我知道的最棒的歌手。”

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

1.8.4 递归

正如Reis (1980: 82)已经指出的, 当前场由一个复杂成分充当的时候, 可以将其进一步细化。例如, (116b) 中的 für lange lange Zeit (很长很长时间) 和 (116d) 中的 daß du kommst (你要进来) 都位于前场, 但是出现在右边界 gewußt (知道) 的右边, 也就是说他们出现在前场内的后场。

- (116) a. Die Möglichkeit, etwas zu verändern, ist damit verschüttet für lange
 DEF 机会 东西 AUX 变化 COP 在那儿消失 PREP 长
 lange Zeit.
 长 时间
 “变革的机会将要消失很长很长时间了。”
- b. [Verschüttet für lange lange Zeit] ist damit die Möglichkeit, etwas
 消失 PREP 长 长 时间 COP 在那儿 DEF 机会 东西
 zu verändern.
 AUX 变化
- c. Wir haben schon seit langem gewußt, daß du kommst.
 我们AUX PART CONJ 长 知道 CONJ 你 来
 “我们早就知道你要来了。”
- d. [Gewußt, daß du kommst,] haben wir schon seit langem.
 知道 CONJ 你 来 AUX 我们PART PREP 长

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

思考题

1. 短语中的中心语与其他成分相比有何不同?

1 导言和术语

2. 请找出例（117）中的中心语：

- (117) a. he
b. Go!
c. quick

3. 论元与附加语有什么区别？

4. 请指出例（118）所示的整句及其小句中的中心语、论元和附加语：

- (118) Er hilft den kleinen Kindern in der Schule.
他 帮助DEF 小 孩子 在DEF 学校
“他在学校帮助小孩子。”

5. 如何界定前场、中场、后场、左边界与右边界？

练习题

1. 请指出下列句子及其嵌套对小句的框架结构、前场、中场，以及后场。

- (119) a. Karl isst.
Karl eats
“Karl 正在吃。”
- b. Der Mann liebt eine Frau, den Peter kennt.
DEF 男人 爱 一 女人 谁 Peter 认识
“Peter 认识的那个男人爱着这个女人。”
- c. Der Mann liebt eine Frau, die Peter kennt.
DEF 男人 爱 一 女人 CONJ Peter 认识
“这个男人爱着那个彼得认识的女人。”
- d. Die Studenten haben behauptet, nur wegen der Hitze
DEF 学生们 AUX 声称 只 因为 DEF 热
einzuschlafen.
睡着了
“学生们声称他们是因为热才睡着了。”
- e. Dass Peter nicht kommt, ärgert Klaus.
CONJ Peter 不 来 惹恼 Klaus
“Peter 不能来的事实惹恼了 Klaus。”
- f. Einen Mann küssen, der ihr nicht gefällt, würde sie nie.
一 男人 亲 CONJ 她 不 喜欢 AUX 她 从不
“她绝不会亲一个她不喜欢的男人。”

延伸阅读

Reis (1980)解释了为什么空间位置理论对描述德语中成分之间关系如此重要。Höhle (1986)讨论了前场左边的位置由左移位结构充当, 如例(120) der Mittwoch (星期三), 例(121a)的 aber (但是), 以及例(121b)的 denn (那么)。

- (120) Der Mittwoch, der passt mir gut.
 DEF 星期三 CONJ 适合 我 好
 “周三, 我有空。”

- (121) a. Aber würde denn jemand den Hund füttern morgen Abend?
 但是 AUX PART 有人 DEF 狗 喂 明天 晚上
 “但是明天晚上会有人喂狗吗?”
 b. Denn dass es regnet, damit rechnet keiner.
 因为 CONJ 它下雨 对此 想到 没有人
 “因为没人想到会下雨。”

Höhle 还讨论了空间位置理论的历史发展。

第零章 讨论

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Grammatical theory

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

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

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