

Grammatical theory

From transformational grammar to
constraint-based approaches

Stefan Müller

Textbooks in Language Sciences 1



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For Max

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第零部分 研究背景与语法理论

第五章 广义短语结构语法

广义短语结构语法（Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, GPSG）是在 1970 年代末从转换语法的争论中发展而来。Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985) 所著的这本书是该理论框架下的主要文献。Hans Uszkoreit 开发了德语的大型 GPSG 语法片段 (1987)。GPSG 的分析非常准确，由此我们可以用它们作为计算应用的基础。下表是已经应用了 GPSG 语法片段开发的一些语言：

- 德语 (Weisweber 1987; Weisweber & Preuss 1992; Naumann 1987, 1988; Volk 1988)
- 英语 (Evans 1985; Phillips & Thompson 1985; Phillips 1992; Grover, Carroll & Briscoe 1993)
- 法语 (Emirikian, Da Silva & Bouchard 1996)
- 波斯语 (Bahrani, Sameti & Manshadi 2011)

正如在第 3.1.1 节所讨论的，Chomsky (1957) 认为简单的短语结构语法已经不能很好地描述语言结构之间的关系了，并提出我们需要转换来解释这些关系。这些观点在之后的二十年间都没有受到挑战（除了 Harman (1963) 和 Freidin (1975) 发表的文章），直到其他的理论出现，如 LFG 和 GPSG。这些理论针对 Chomsky 提出的问题并针对以前只有转换分析或者尚未分析的现象的非转换的解释。论元的重新排序分析、被动以及长距离依存是在该理论框架下讨论的几个最为重要的现象。在介绍完第 5.1 节有关 GPSG 的表示形式后，我将针对这些现象的 GPSG 分析进行详细的说明。

5.1 表示形式概说

本节分为五个部分。第 5.1.1 节说明有关特征和复杂范畴的表示的假说。第 5.1.2 节说明短语结构中子节点的线性顺序的假说。第 5.1.3 节介绍元规则。第 5.1.4 节分析语义，以及第 5.1.5 节分析状语。

5.1.1 复杂范畴、中心语特征原则，以及 \bar{X} 规则

在第 2.2 节，我们在短语结构语法中增加了特征。GPSG 更进一步，它将词类范畴描述为特征值偶对的集合。例 (1a) 中的词类范畴可以表示为 (1b)：

5 广义短语结构语法

- (1) a. NP(3,sg,nom)
b. { CAT n, BAR 2, PER 3, NUM sg, CASE nom }

显然, (1b) 对应于 (1a)。(1a) 与 (1b) 的不同之处在于词类和 \bar{X} 层(在符号 NP 内)的信息是突显的, 而 (1b) 中这些信息就像格、数和人称等来处理。

词汇项具有 SUBCAT 特征。特征值用数字来表示该词能够应用的某种短语结构规则。(2) 给出了短语规则的例子并列出了能够在这些规则中出现的一些动词。¹

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (2) V2 → H[5] | (kommen 'come', schlafen 'sleep') |
| V2 → H[6], N2[CASE acc] | (kennen 'know', suchen 'search') |
| V2 → H[7], N2[CASE dat] | (helfen 'help', vertrauen 'trust') |
| V2 → H[8], N2[CASE dat], N2[CASE acc] | (geben 'give', zeigen 'show') |
| V2 → H[9], V3[+dass] | (wissen 'know', glauben 'believe') |

这些规则允准了 VPs, 即动词与它的补足语相组合, 而不是主语。词类符号 (V 或 N) 后的数字暗示了 \bar{X} 投射层。Uszkoreit 认为, 动词投射的最大投射数量是三, 而不是经常认为的二。

规则右边的 H 表示中心语 (head)。中心语特征原则 (Head Feature Convention, HFC) 确保了母节点中的特定特征也在标记有 H 的节点上出现 (详细情况请看 Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag 1985: Section 5.4 和 Uszkoreit 1987: 67):

Principle 1 (Head Feature Convention)

母节点与子节点必须具有相同的中心语特征, 除非它们另有用途。

在 (2) 中, 可以用于规则的动词用方括号表示。与普通的短语结构规则相同的是, 在 GPSG 中, 我们也需要动词有相应的词汇项。(3) 给出了两个例子:

- (3) V[5, VFORM inf] → einzuschlafen
V[6, VFORM inf] → aufzuessen

第一条规则说明 *einzuschlafen* (睡觉) 的 SUBCAT 值为 5, 而且第二条表示 *aufzuessen* (吃完) 的 SUBCAT 值为 6。接着, *einzuschlafen* 只能用在第一条规则 (2) 中, 而 *aufzuessen* 只能用在第二条规则中。进而, (3) 包括了动词的形式信息 (*inf* 表示带 *zu* 的不定式)。

如果我们用 (2) 中的第二条规则和 (3) 中的第二条规则分析 (4) 中的句子, 我们就会得到图 5.1 on the following page 中的结构。

- (4) Karl hat versucht, [den Kuchen aufzuessen].
Karl AUX 尝试 DET 蛋糕 吃完
'Karl 试着把蛋糕吃完。'

(2) 中的规则没有涉及子节点的顺序, 这就是为什么动词 (H[6]) 也可以位于末位。这一方面将在第 5.1.2 节详细讨论。关于 HFC, 我们要记住的重要一点是不定式动词的形式也在母节点上显示。与第 2 章讨论的简单短语结构规则不同是, 这一观点

¹ 下面讨论的例子选自 Uszkoreit (1987)。

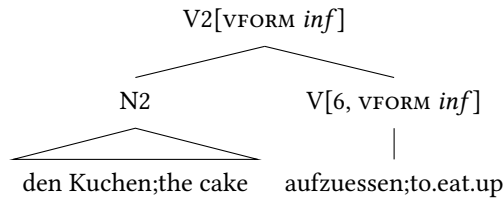


图 5.1: GPSG 中中心语特征的投射

自动承袭了 GPSG 中的中心语特征原则。在 (3) 中, *vFORM* 是给定的, 而且 HFC 确保了, 当 (2) 中的规则被应用后, 相应的信息表现在母节点上。对于例 (4) 中的短语, 我们得到了词类 *V2[vFORM inf]*, 而且这保证了这一短语只在它应该出现的地方出现:

- (5) a. [Den Kuchen aufzuessen] hat er nicht gewagt.
 DET 蛋糕 吃完 AUX 他不 敢
 ‘他不敢把蛋糕吃完。’
- b. * [Den Kuchen aufzuessen] darf er nicht.
 DET 蛋糕 吃完 允许他不
 想说: “不让他把蛋糕吃完。”
- c. * [Den Kuchen aufessen] hat er nicht gewagt.
 DET 蛋糕 吃完 AUX 他不 敢
 想说: “他不敢吃完蛋糕。”
- d. [Den Kuchen aufessen] darf er nicht.
 DET 蛋糕 吃完 允许他不
 ‘不让他把蛋糕吃完。’

gewagt (敢) 选择一个带 *zu* 不定式的动词和动词短语, 而不是一个单纯的不定式, 而 *darf* (允许) 带有一个单纯的不定式。

这在名词短语方面也是类似的: 有针对不带论元的名词的规则, 也有带特定论元的名词的规则。例 (6) 中给出了要么不带论元, 要么带两个 PPs 的名词的规则 (Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag 1985: 127):

- (6) $N1 \rightarrow H[30]$ (*Haus* (房子), *Blume* (花))
 $N1 \rightarrow H[31], PP[mit], PP[über]$ (*Gespräch* (说话), *Streit* (争论))

\bar{N} 和限定词的组合规则如下所示:

- (7) $N2 \rightarrow Det, H1$

$N2$ 表示 NP, 即在杠第二层的名词短语投射, 而 $H1$ 表示在杠第一层的中心语子节点的投射。中心语特征规定确保了中心语子节点也是一个名词性投射, 因为在 \bar{X} 层上区分出的中心语子节点上的所有特征与整个 NP 上的特征相同。当分析 (8) 时, (6)

中的第二条规则允准了 \bar{N} *Gesprächs mit Maria über Klaus*。事实上, *Gesprächs* (对话) 是第二个, 并在 *Gesprächs* 的词汇项中表示, 而且因为 *Gesprächs* 是中心语, 它也按照中心语特征原则在 \bar{N} 上显示。

- (8) des Gespräch-s mit Maria über Klaus
 DET.GEN 对话-GEN 跟 Maria 关于 Klaus
 ‘跟 Maria 有关 Klaus 的对话’

对于 \bar{N} 与限定词的组合, 我们应用(7)中的规则。中心语的词类范畴限定了规则左边的要素的词性, 这就是为什么(7)中的规则对应于我们在第69页(65c)中遇到的经典的 \bar{X} 规则。由于 *Gesprächs mit Maria über Klaus* 是中心语子节点, 有关 \bar{N} 的属格信息也在 NP 节点上显示。

5.1.2 局部重新排序

我们要讨论的第一个现象是论元的重新排序。正如在第3.5节已经讨论过的, 中场的论元可以按照几乎任意顺序排列。(9)给出了一些例子:

- (9) a. [weil] der Mann der Frau das Buch gibt
 因为 the.NOM 男人 the.DAT 女人 the.ACC 书 给
 ‘因为这个男人把这本书给这个女人’
 b. [weil] der Mann das Buch der Frau gibt
 因为 DET.NOM 男人 DET.ACC 书 DET.DAT 女人 给
 c. [weil] das Buch der Mann der Frau gibt
 因为 DET.ACC 书 DET.NOM 男人 DET.DAT 女人 给
 d. [weil] das Buch der Frau der Mann gibt
 因为 DET.ACC 书 DET.DAT 女人 DET.NOM 男人 给
 e. [weil] der Frau der Mann das Buch gibt
 因为 DET.DAT 女人 DET.NOM 男人 DET.ACC 书 给
 f. [weil] der Frau das Buch der Mann gibt
 因为 DET.DAT 女人 DET.ACC 书 DET.NOM 男人 给

在第2章的短语结构语法中, 我们应用特征来确保动词与正确数量的论元共现。下面(10)中规则被用来分析(9a)中的句子:

- (10) $S \rightarrow NP[nom] NP[dat] NP[acc] V_nom_dat_acc$

如果有人想分析(9)中的其他语序, 那么我们就需要增加五条规则, 即一共有六个:

- (11) $S \rightarrow NP[nom] NP[dat] NP[acc] V_nom_dat_acc$
 $S \rightarrow NP[nom] NP[acc] NP[dat] V_nom_dat_acc$
 $S \rightarrow NP[acc] NP[nom] NP[dat] V_nom_dat_acc$
 $S \rightarrow NP[acc] NP[dat] NP[nom] V_nom_dat_acc$
 $S \rightarrow NP[dat] NP[nom] NP[acc] V_nom_dat_acc$
 $S \rightarrow NP[dat] NP[acc] NP[nom] V_nom_dat_acc$

另外，针对动词位于首位的顺序，我们有必要假定另外六条规则：

- (12) $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[nom]\ NP[dat]\ NP[acc]$
 $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[nom]\ NP[acc]\ NP[dat]$
 $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[acc]\ NP[nom]\ NP[dat]$
 $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[acc]\ NP[dat]\ NP[nom]$
 $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[dat]\ NP[nom]\ NP[acc]$
 $S \rightarrow V_nom_dat_acc\ NP[dat]\ NP[acc]\ NP[nom]$

进而，我们也将需要及物动词和不及物动词的所有可能配价的平行规则。显然，这些规则的普遍性和他们的一般性并没有被捕捉到。关键是我们有同样数量的论元，他们可以按照任意顺序来实现，而且动词可以被放在首位或末位。作为语言学家，我们认为有必要捕捉德语语言中的这一属性，并在短语结构规则之外表示出来。在转换语法中，语序之间的关系通过移位来表示：深层结构对应于带有一定顺序论元的动词末位语序，而表层语序通过 Move- α 生成。由于 GPSG 是一个非转换的理论，这种解释就是不可能的了。相反，GPSG 在直接统制 (immediate dominance) 上面添加限制，这与线性优先性 (linear precedence, LP) 是不同的：像 (13) 的规则要被理解为统制规则，这些规则没有说明子节点的顺序 (Pullum 1982)。

- (13) $S \rightarrow V, NP[nom], NP[acc], NP[dat]$

(13) 中的规则简单证明了 S 统制所有其他节点。由于弃用了规则右边的语序限制，我们只能应用一条规则，而不是十二条。

无论如何，没有规则右边的任何一种限制的话，就有太多自由了。比如说，下面的语序也是被允许的：

- (14) *Der Frau der Mann gibt ein Buch.
 DET 女人.DAT DET.NOM 男人 给 DET.ACC 书

这样的语序被所谓的线性优先规则 (Linear Precedence Rules) 或 LP-规则排除了。LP-限制是在局部树上的限制，即深度为一的树。例如，有可能应用线性规则来证明图 5.2 中“V、NP[nom]、NP[acc] 和 NP[dat]”的语序。

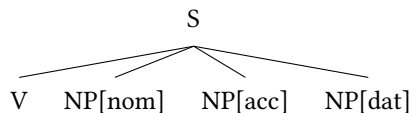


图 5.2: 局部树的例子

下面的线性规则用来排除 (14) 中的那些语序：The following linearization rules serve to exclude orders such as those in (14):

- (15) $V[+mc] < X$
 $X < V[-mc]$

mc表示主句（main clause）。LP-规则确保在主句中（+mc），动词位于所有其他成分前面，并在从句（-mc）中位于他们后面。有一个条件限制说所有带有 mc-值‘+’的动词也必须是（+fin）。这会排除位于首位的不定式形式。

这些 LP 规则不允许在局部树中被占有前场或后场的语序。这是想要的情况。我们将看到前置是如何在第 5.4 节进行说明的。

5.1.3 元规则

我们在之前就用过线性规则来处理带主语的句子，但是我们的规则具有例（16）的形式，即他们不包括主语：

- (16) $V2 \rightarrow H[7], N2[CASE\ dat]$
 $V2 \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ acc]$

这些规则可以用来分析（17）中出现的动词短语 *dem Mann das Buch zu geben*（给这个人这本书）和 *das Buch dem Mann zu geben*（把这本书给这个人），但是我们不能分析（9）这类句子，因为主语不在（16）的规则右边出现。

- (17) a. Er verspricht, [dem Mann das Buch zu geben].
他承诺 the.DAT 人 the.ACC 书 to 给
‘他承诺给这个人这本书。’
b. Er verspricht, [das Buch dem Mann zu geben].
他承诺 the.ACC 书 the.DAT 人 to 给
‘他承诺把这本书给这个人。’

带有（18）形式的规则不能用来分析德语的 GPSG 语法，因为它不能推导出（9）中的所有语序，因为主语可以出现在（9c）所示的 VP 的元素之中。

- (18) $S \rightarrow N2\ V2$

根据（18）中的规则，有可能分析如图 5.3 中的（9a），而且也可以分析在 VP 内部具有不同 NP 顺序的（9b）。但是，（9）中剩下的例子不能由（18）中的规则来分析。这与在同一局部树中的唯一元素有关系，也就是说，在规则右边出现的元素

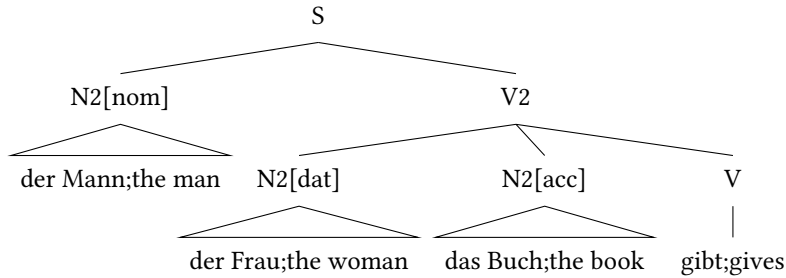


图 5.3: 德语的 VP 分析（在 GPSG 框架下并不合适）

可以被重新排序。当我们将 VP 的组成部分重新排序的时候，我们可以推导 (9b)，不可能把主语放在宾语之间的低位上。相反，我们可以运用元规则来分析句子，其中主语出现在动词的其他论元之间。这一规则将短语结构规则联系到其他短语结构规则上。元规则可以被理解作为一种指导原则，该原则为带有一定形式的每条规则创造出其他规则，而且这些新造的规则可以反过来允准局部树。

对于眼前这个例子，我们可以构成一个元规则，如下所示：如果在语法中有一条带有“V2 包括某些成分”形式的规则，那么也有另一条规则“V3 包括 V2 所包括的 + 主格中的 NP”。在形式化术语中，这种情况如下所示：

- (19) $V2 \rightarrow W \mapsto$
 $V3 \rightarrow W, N2[CASE\ nom]$

W 是一个变量，它表示任意数量的范畴 ($W = whatever$)。元规则创造了从 (16) 中的规则来的 (20) 中的规则：

- (20) $V3 \rightarrow H[7], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ nom]$
 $V3 \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ acc], N2[CASE\ nom]$

现在，主语和其他论元都出现在规则的右边，而且只要没有 LP 规则被违反了，就可以自由排序。

5.1.4 语义

Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985: Chapter 9–10) 所谓的语义学源于 Richard Montague (1974)。与规定每条规则的组合可能性的语义理论不同的是（请看第 2.3 节），GPSG 应用更为普遍性的规则。这有可能是基于这样的事实，每个需要组合的表达式都有一个语义类型。我们惯于区分实体 (e) 与真值 (t)。实体指称真实世界（或可能世界）中的对象，而整个句子可以为真，也可以为假，也就是说，他们有一个真值。我们有可能从类型 e 和 t 中创造出更为复杂的类型。通常来说，下面的情况是可能的：如果 a 和 b 是类型，那么 $\langle a, b \rangle$ 也是一个类型。复杂类型的例子有 $\langle e, t \rangle$ 和 $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ 。我们可以针对这类类型表达式界定如下的组合性规则：

- (21) 如果 α 属于类型 $\langle b, a \rangle$ 和 β of type b ，那么 $\alpha(\beta)$ 属于类型 a 。

这类组合也叫做功能性应用 (functional application)。根据 (21) 中的规则，有可能类型 $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ 对应于这样一个表达式，它需要与类型 e 的两个表达式相组合，以得到 t 的表达式。第一步与 e 的组合会产出 $\langle e, t \rangle$ ，而且第二步与深层 e 的组合会得到 t 。这与我们在第 57 页看到的 λ -表达式相似： $\lambda y \lambda x \text{ like}'(x, y)$ 需要将 y 和 x 相组合。这一例子的结果是 $m\ddot{o}gen'$ ($max', lotte'$)，即在相关世界中要么为真，要么为假的表达式。

在 Gazdar et al. (1985) 中，另一个类型是指其中表达式为真或为假的世界。为了表述的简单，我在这里就不展开了。我们在 (22) 中给出了句子、NPs、N's、限定词和 VPs 的类型：

- (22) a. $TYP(S) = t$
 b. $TYP(NP) = \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$

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- c. $TYP(N') = \langle e, t \rangle$
- d. $TYP(Det) = \langle TYP(N'), TYP(NP) \rangle$
- e. $TYP(VP) = \langle e, t \rangle$

句子属于类型 t ，因为它可能为真，也可能为假。一个 VP 需要类型 e 的表达式来产出类型 t 的句子。NP 的类型也许乍看起来很奇怪，但是，如果我们考虑带有数量词的 NPs 的意义，我们就有能理解它。对于诸如 (23a) 的句子，我们一般会假定如 (23b) 的表达式：

- (23) a. All children laugh.
所有孩子 笑
‘所有的孩子都在笑。’
b. $\forall x \text{ child}'(x) \rightarrow \text{laugh}'(x)$

符号 \forall 表示全称量词。该公式可以这样来解读。对于每一个对象而言，它具有孩子这样的属性，而且它也在笑。如果我们考虑 NP 的贡献，那么我们会看到全称量词对孩子的限制以及从 NP 而来的逻辑蕴涵：

- (24) $\forall x \text{ child}'(x) \rightarrow P(x)$

这就意味着 NP 是需要与表达式相组合的，该表达式只有一个公开的槽，对应于 (24) 中的 x 。这一过程在 (22b) 中形成：一个 NP 对应于需要某种以构成真或假的表达式的类型 $\langle e, t \rangle$ 的语义表达式（即，属于类型 t ）。

N' 表示类型 $\lambda x \text{ child}(x)$ 的名词性表达式。这意味着，如果有一个具体的个体可以插入到 x 的位置上，那么我们将得到一个要么为真要么为假的表达式。对于一个给定的条件，要么 John 具有称为孩子的属性，要么没有。 N' 具有与 VP 相同的类型。

(22d) 中的 $TYP(N')$ 和 $TYP(NP)$ 表示 (22c) 和 (22b) 中的类型，即，限定词在语义上需要与 N' 的意义相组合，以给出 NP 的含义。

Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985: 209) 指出了遵守规则到规则假说的语法的语义具体化是冗余的（请看第 2.3 节），因为，不管有关组合的规则与规则的要求，它在很多方面都是足够的，简单来说函子被应用于论元。如果我们使用 (22) 中那些类型，也很清楚哪个成分是函子，哪个是论元。按照这一方式，名词不能被应用于限定词，而相反是可以的。(25a) 中的组合得不到合乎语法的结果，而 (25b) 被规则排除了。

- (25) a. $Det'(N')$
b. $N'(Det')$

普遍的组合原则如下所示：

- (26) 针对子节点的语义贡献的组合的功能性应用会产出对应于母节点类型的合乎语法的表达。

GPSG 著作的作者们认为这一原则可以应用于大部分的 GPSG 规则，这样只有少部分情况需要用外在的规则来处理。

5.1.5 状语

对于英语中的名词性结构, Gazdar et al. (1985: 126) 认为 \bar{X} 分析以及我们在第 2.4.1 节看到的分析适用于德语的名词结构。尽管如此, 如果我们假定平面分支结构的话, 在动词域内对状语的分析会有问题, 因为状语可以自由出现在论元之间:

- (27) a. weil der Mann der Frau das Buch *gestern* gab
 因为DET 男人 DET 女人DET 书 昨天 给
 ‘因为这个男人昨天把这本书给这个女人了’
 b. weil der Mann der Frau *gestern* das Buch gab
 因为DET 男人 DET 女人昨天 DET 书 给
 c. weil der Mann *gestern* der Frau das Buch gab
 因为DET 男人 昨天 DET 女人DET 书 给
 d. weil *gestern* der Mann der Frau das Buch gab
 因为昨天 DET 男人 DET 女人DET 书 给

对于 (27) 来说, 我们需要如下的规则:

- (28) $V3 \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ acc], N2[CASE\ nom], AdvP$

当然, 状语也可以出现在其他配价类型的动词的论元之间:

- (29) weil (oft) die Frau (oft) dem Mann (oft) hilft
 因为 经常DET 女人 经常DET 男人 经常帮助
 ‘因为这个女人经常帮助这个男人’

进而, 副词可以出现在 VP 的论元之间:

- (30) Der Mann hat versucht, der Frau heimlich das Buch zu geben.
 DET 男人 AUX 尝试 DET 女人秘密地 DET 书 INF 给
 ‘这个男人试着秘密地把这本书给这个女人。’

为了分析这些句子, 我们可以使用一条元规则, 其中在 V2 的右边加上一个状语 (Uszkoreit 1987: 146)。

- (31) $V2 \rightarrow W \mapsto$
 $V2 \rightarrow W, AdvP$

通过在 (19) 中主语引入的元规则, (28) 中的 V3-规则由 V2-规则推导出来。由于在一个句子中有几个状语, 像 (31) 的元规则必须被允许应用多次。元规则的循环应用在文献中经常因为生成能力而被规则排除 (请看第 17 章) (Thompson 1982、Uszkoreit 1987: 146)。如果我们用 Kleene 星号表示, 那么就可以构成状语的元规则, 这样就不用重复应用了 (Uszkoreit 1987: 146):

- (32) $V2 \rightarrow W \mapsto$
 $V2 \rightarrow W, AdvP^*$

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如果我们采用 (32) 中的规则, 那么如何决定状语的语义贡献就不够清楚了。² 对于 (31) 中的规则, 我们可以在输入规则中将 AdvP 的语义贡献与 V2 的语义贡献组合起来。如果元规则被应用多次的话, 这自然也是可能的。如果元规则被应用于 (33a), 比如说, (33a) 中的 V2-节点包括第一个副词的语义贡献。

- (33) a. $V2 \rightarrow V, NP, AdvP$
b. $V2 \rightarrow V, NP, AdvP, AdvP$

(33b) 中的 V2-节点接收到在 (33a) 中应用到 V2-节点上的副词的语义表示。

Weisweber & Preuss (1992) 指出, 如果不想应用元规则来计算短语结构规则的集合, 而是在句子分析的过程中直接应用元规则的话, 可以应用像 (31) 一样的元规则。因为句子总是有限长度的, 而且元规则在新允准的规则右边引入一个额外的 AdvP, 元规则只能被应用于有限的次数。

5.2 作为元规则的被动

德语被动式可以按照下面保持整个理论中立的方式来描述:³

- 主语受到抑制。
- 如果有宾格宾语, 那么该宾语变为主语。

这对可以构成被动的所有动词来说都是正确的。不管动词是带一个、两个还是三个论元, 都没有什么区别:

- (34) a. weil er noch gearbeitet hat
 因为他.NOM 仍然 工作 AUX
 ‘因为他仍然在工作’
b. weil noch gearbeitet wurde
 因为仍然 工作 AUX
 ‘因为那儿仍然有工作’
- (35) a. weil er an Maria gedacht hat
 因为他.NOM PREP Maria 想 AUX
 ‘因为他想起了 Maria’
b. weil an Maria gedacht wurde
 因为PREP Maria 想 AUX
 ‘因为 Maria 被想起了’

² 在 LFG 中, 状语被安排在功能性结构的集合中 (请看第 7.1.6 节)。这也适用于 Kleene 星号标记的使用。从 f-结构来看, 有可能通过指向 c-结构来计算出相应域的语义指称。在 HPSG 中, Kasper (1994) 提出了一个与 GPSG 相关的方法, 该方法是关于平面分支结构与任意数量的状语的。然而, 在 HPSG 中, 我们可以利用所谓的关系限制。这与可以在复杂结构中创造关系的小项目是类似的。应用这些关系限制, 就可能计算出平面分支结构中未受到数量限制的状语的意义。

³ 这一描述不能适用于其他语言。比如说, 冰岛语允许与格宾语。请看 Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson (1985)。

- (36) a. weil sie ihn geschlagen hat
 因为她.NOM 他.ACC 打 AUX
 ‘因为她打了他’
 b. weil er geschlagen wurde
 因为他.NOM 打 AUX
 ‘因为他被打了’
- (37) a. weil er ihm den Aufsatz gegeben hat
 因为他.NOM 他.DAT DET.ACC 文章 给 AUX
 ‘因为他把这篇文章给他了’
 b. weil ihm der Aufsatz gegeben wurde
 因为他.DAT DET.NOM 文章 给 AUX
 ‘因为他被给了这篇文章’

在简单的短语结构语法中，我们需要针对每对句子列出两条独立的规则，指向要研究动词的配价类型。上面讨论的被动的特征就不会在规则集合中被明确地证明出来。在 GPSG 中，有可能应用元规则来解释主动和被动规则之间的关系：对于每条主动规则，带有受到抑制的主语的对应被动原则被允准了。主动句和被动句之间的联系可以这样来描述。

转换语法/GB 的一个重要区别是我们没有在两棵树之间创造关系，而是在主动与被动规则之间创造关系。这两条规则允准了两个没有联系的结构，即 (38b) 中的结构并不是从 (38a) 的结构中推导而来的。

- (38) a. weil sie ihn geschlagen hat
 因为她.NOM 他.ACC 打 AUX
 ‘因为她打了他’
 b. weil er geschlagen wurde
 因为他.NOM 打 AUX
 ‘因为他被打了’

尽管如此，主动/被动之间的普遍性还是被捕捉到了。

接下来，我将详细讨论 Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985) 中给出的被动的分析。作者认为下面的元规则适用于英语（第 59 页）：⁴

- (39) $VP \rightarrow W, NP \mapsto$
 $VP[PAS] \rightarrow W, (PP[by])$

该规则说明带一个宾语的动词可以出现在不带该宾语的被动式 VP 中。进而，可以加上 *by*-PP。如果我们将这一元规则应用到 (40) 的规则中，那么就会得到 (41) 中的规则：

⁴ 请看 Weisweber & Preuss (1992: 1114) 针对德语的平行规则，该规则是指元规则左边的宾格。

- (40) $VP \rightarrow H[2], NP$
 $VP \rightarrow H[3], NP, PP[to]$
- (41) $VP_{[PAS]} \rightarrow H[2], (PP[by])$
 $VP_{[PAS]} \rightarrow H[3], PP[to], (PP[by])$

可以用 (40) 中的规则来分析主动句中的动词短语:

- (42) a. $[_S \text{ The man } [_{VP} \text{ devoured the carcass}]]$.
 b. $[_S \text{ The man } [_{VP} \text{ handed the sword to Tracy}]]$.

VP 与主语的组合同由额外的规则允准 ($S \rightarrow NP, VP$)。

根据 (41) 中的规则, 我们可以分析 (43) 中的相应被动句的 VPs:

- (43) a. $[_S \text{ The carcass was } [_{VP_{[PAS]}} \text{ devoured (by the man)}]]$.
 b. $[_S \text{ The sword was } [_{VP_{[PAS]}} \text{ handed to Tracy (by the man)}]]$.

初看上去, 这一分析看起来很奇怪, 因为宾语在 VP 内部替换为一个 PP, 该 PP 在主动句中是主语。尽管该分析针对句法上具有合乎语法的结构做出了正确的判断, 但是语义分析并不清楚。尽管如此, 我们也是可以使用词汇规则来允准被动分词, 并按照某种方式来操控输出词汇项的语义, 其中 *by*-PP 在语义上被正确地整合进来 (Gazdar et al. 1985: 219)。

但是, 如果我们试着将这一分析应用到德语, 我们就会遇到问题。因为非人称被动不能简单地通过抑制宾语而得到。诸如 *arbeiten* (工作) 和 *denken* (想) 的动词的 V2-规则被用在下面 (34a) 和 (35a) 的分析中:

- (44) $V2 \rightarrow H[5]$
 $V2 \rightarrow H[13], PP[an]$

在这些规则的右边没有 NP 能够变成 *von*-PP。如果被动在规则中被分析为名词论元的抑制, 那么它就应该从非人称被动的存在而来, 被动的元规则必须应用到可以允准定式小句的规则上, 因为关于是否有主语的信息只出现在定式小句的规则中。⁵在这类系统中, 定式句子 (V3) 的规则是基本规则, 而 V2 的规则可以从中推导出来。只有能够应用到 V3 的是适用于德语的, 因为英语没有在规则右边既包括主语也包括宾语的 V3 规则。⁶对于英语来说, 一般认为句子包括一个主语和一个 VP (请看 Gazdar et al. 1985: 139)。这就意味着我们对英语和德语的被动式会得到两个非常不同的分析结果, 该结果并不能得到同样的描述性结论, 即被动是主语的抑制与宾语的提升。德语和英语的核心区别看上去是英语强制要求有一个主语,⁷这就是为什么英语没有非人称被动。这是一个独立于被动的属性, 但是, 它会影响到是否有被动结构的可能性。

⁵ GPSG 与 GB 的不同之处在于, 非定式动词投射不包括空主语的节点。这在本书讨论的所有其他理论中也是真的, 除了树邻接语法。

⁶ Gazdar et al. (1985: 62) 提出了一条元规则与我们在第 167 页提出的主语引入的元规则相似。由他们的元规则允准的规则被用来分析英语中助词的位置, 并只允准 AUX NP VP 的形式序列。在这类结构中, 主语和宾语不在同一棵局部树内。

⁷ 在某些条件下, 主语在英语中也可以被省略。更多有关命令式和其他无主句的例子, 请看第 500 页。

GPSG 分析的问题在于配价信息在短语结构规则中编码，而主语在动词短语的规则中是没有的。在下面的章节中，我们将看到 LFG、范畴语法、HPSG、构式语法和依存语法的理论方法，其中配价是与短语结构规则分开编码的，这样就不会在非人称被动上出现原则性的问题了。

请看 Jacobson (1987b: 394–396) 在 GPSG 中有关被动分析的更多有问题的地方，而且可以看到在范畴语法、GB、LFG 和 HPSG 中配价的词汇表征可以实现现象的词汇分析，在 GPSG 中配价表征的基础假设的原则问题是不可能实现的。

5.3 动词位置

Uszkoreit (1987) 将动词位于首位与位于末尾的语序分析为平面树的线性顺序变体。这一分析的细节已经在第 5.1.2 节进行了讨论。

GPSG 版本的另一种分析来自于 Jacobs (1986: 110)：Jacobs 的分析是在 GB 中提出动词移位分析。他认为在末位有一个空动词，并将其应用技术手段联系到位于首位的动词。我们将在下一节讲到更多细节。

5.4 作为局部依存结果的长距离依存

GPSG 的一个创新点是它将长距离依存看作是局部依存的序列 (Gazdar 1981b)。以德语为例，该方法可以解释为将成分提前到前场。截至目前，我们只看到动词首位与动词末位的 GPSG 分析：(45) 中的序列只是简单的线性变体。

- (45) a. [dass] der Mann der Frau das Buch gibt
 CONJ DET 男人 DET 女人 DET 书 给
 ‘这个男人把这本书给这个女人’
 b. Gibt der Mann der Frau das Buch?
 给 DET 男人 DET 女人 DET 书
 ‘这个男人把这本书给这个女人了吗?’

我们想要的是从 (45b) 中的 V1 语序得到 (46) 中的动词位于第二位语序的例子。

- (46) a. Der Mann gibt der Frau das Buch.
 DET 男人 给 DET 女人 DET 书
 ‘这个男人给这个女人这本书。’
 b. Der Frau gibt der Mann das Buch.
 DET 女人 给 DET 男人 DET 书
 ‘这个女人给这个男人这本书。’

对此，必须使用 (47) 中的元规则。该元规则从规则右边的范畴集合中去除了一个任意的范畴 X，并在左边用斜杠 (‘/’) 来表示：⁸

⁸ 这里解释的另一种 Uszkoreit 的无语迹的分析 (1987: 77)，包括在 GB 中对提取的元素使用语迹来表示。

5 广义短语结构语法

- (47) $V3 \rightarrow W, X \mapsto$
 $V3/X \rightarrow W$

该规则从 (48) 中创造了 (49) 的规则:

- (48) $V3 \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ acc], N2[CASE\ nom]$

- (49) $V3/N2[CASE\ nom] \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ acc]$
 $V3/N2[CASE\ dat] \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ acc], N2[CASE\ nom]$
 $V3/N2[CASE\ acc] \rightarrow H[8], N2[CASE\ dat], N2[CASE\ nom]$

(50) 中的规则将动词位于首位的语序与句中缺失的成分联系起来:

- (50) $V3[+FIN] \rightarrow X[+TOP], V3[+MC]/X$

在 (50) 中, X 代表一个任意范畴, 在 V3 中用 “/” 标记为空。X 指填充语 (filler)。在我们的例子中, X 的值的格在 (51) 中被详细列出来:

- (51) $V3[+FIN] \rightarrow N2[+TOP, CASE\ nom], V3[+MC]/N2[CASE\ nom]$
 $V3[+FIN] \rightarrow N2[+TOP, CASE\ dat], V3[+MC]/N2[CASE\ dat]$
 $V3[+FIN] \rightarrow N2[+TOP, CASE\ acc], V3[+MC]/N2[CASE\ acc]$

(51) 并没有显示实际的规则。相反, (51) 展示了将具体范畴插入 X-位置的例子, 即规则的不同实例。

下列线性规则保证了 (50) 中标记为 [+TOP] 的成分位于句子其他成分之前:

- (52) $[+TOP] < X$

TOP 表示话题化 (topicalized)。正如我们在第 98 页提到的, 前场并没有限制为话题。焦点元素与虚位成分可以在前场出现, 这就是为什么特征名称并不理想的原因。但是, 有可能将其替换为其他名称, 如前场 (prefield)。这不会影响我们的分析。(52) 中的 X 表示一个任意范畴。这是一个新的 X, 与 (50) 中的那个是不同的。

图 5.4 on the following page 显示了 (53) 中分析的规则的互动关系。⁹

- (53) Dem Mann gibt er das Buch.
DET.DAT 男人 给 他.NOM DET.ACC 书
‘他给这个男人这本书。’

(47) 中的元规则允准了将与格宾语加到斜杠上的规则。该规则现在允准了 “gibt er das Buch” (给他这本书) 的子树。V[+MC] < X 的线性规则规定了动词位于 V3 局部树的最左边。下一步, 斜杠后面的成分被绑定了。在 LP-规则 [+TOP] < X 之后, 绑定的成分必须位于 V3 节点的左边。

图 5.4 中的分析看起来有点过于复杂, 因为 (53) 中的名词短语全都依存于同一个动词。我们可以创建一个线性规则系统来允许我们分析带有整个平铺结构的 (53)。尽管如此, 我们仍然需要在第 98 页的 (37) 中的句子 – 为了方便, 这里重复为 (54) – 的分析:

⁹ FIN 特征在某些节点上被省略了, 因为它是冗余的: +MC-动词总是需要 FIN 的值为 “+”。

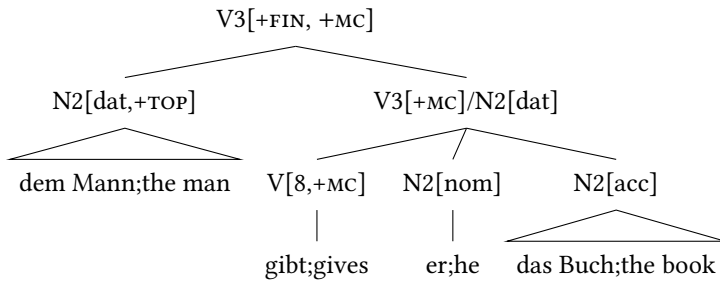


图 5.4: GPSG 中前置的分析

- (54) a. [Um zwei Millionen Mark]_i soll er versucht haben, [eine Versicherung _{-i}
 大约两 百万 马克 应该他 试图 AUX ART 保险公司
 zu betrügen].¹⁰
 INF 欺骗
 ‘他显然试图从保险公司骗取两百万德国马克。’
- b. „Wer_i, glaubt er, daß er _{-i} ist?“ erregte sich ein Politiker vom Nil.¹¹
 谁 相信 他 CONJ 他 AUX 反驳 REFL ART 政客 PREP 尼罗河
 ‘“他认为他是谁呀?”, 一位来自尼罗河的政客声称道。’
- c. Wen_i glaubst du, daß ich _{-i} gesehen habe?¹²
 谁 认为 你 CONJ 我 看见 AUX
 ‘你认为我看到谁了?’
- d. [Gegen ihn]_i falle es den Republikanern hingegen schwerer, [[Angriffe _{-i}]
 反对 他 陷阱它 DET 共和党人 但是 更难 攻击
 zu lancieren].¹³
 INF 发起
 ‘但是, 共和党们更难对他发起攻击。’

(54) 中的句子不能按照局部重新排序来进行解释, 因为前场中的元素并不依存于最高的动词, 但是相反是从低层的小句而来的。因为只有从同一局部树中而来的元素才能重新排序, (54) 中的句子不能在针对长距离依存安排其他机制的情况下得到分析。¹⁴

¹⁰ taz, 2001 年 5 月 4 日, 第 20 页。

¹¹ Spiegel, 1999 年 8 月, 第 18 页。

¹² Scherpenisse (1986: 84).

¹³ taz, 2008 年 2 月 8 日, 第 9 页。

¹⁴ 我们可以想象, 针对非局部依存的特征机制只针对那些真正包括非局部依存的句子。这在 HPSG 中, 由Kathol (1995)和Wetta (2011)做到了, 在依存语法中由Groß & Osborne (2009)做到了。我将在第 11.7.1 节详细讨论依存语法分析, 并且指出将简单的 V2 句子处理为非 V2 句子的变体的分析在下面几个方面是有问题的, 包括前置状语的范围、简单句的和非局部依存句的并列, 以及所谓的多重前置。

在我对这章进行总结之前，我还将讨论另一个前置的例子，即（54）中更为复杂的例子。（54）中的分析包括几个步骤：导入、渗透和最后绑定长距离依存信息。这些步骤如图 5.5 所示。简单来说，我认为 *gesehen habe*（已经看见）就像一个正

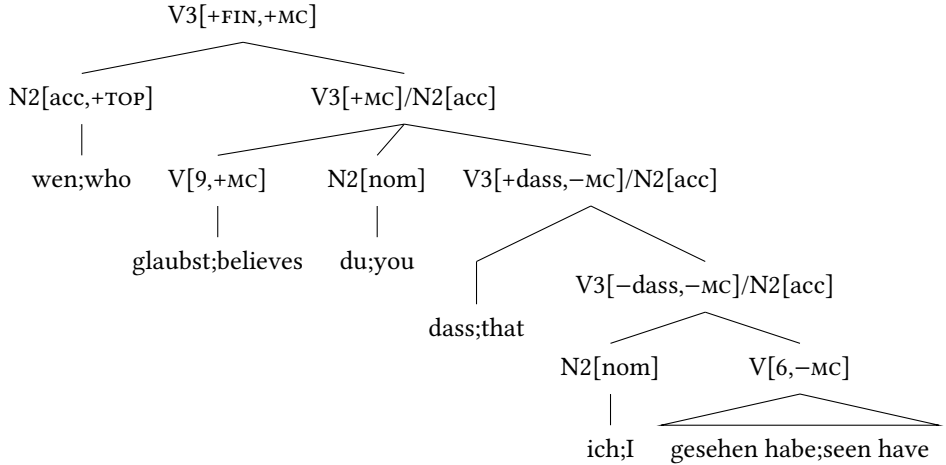


图 5.5: GPSG 中的长距离依存分析

常的及物动词。¹⁵ 由（47）中的元规则允准的短语结构规则允准了“*ich*”（我）和“*gesehen habe*”（已经看见）的组合，并在 V3 节点上表示为缺失的宾格宾语。标句词“*dass*”（那个）与“*ich gesehen habe*”（我已经看见）相组合，而且有关宾格 NP 缺失的信息在树中具有渗透性。这一渗透过程由所谓的次特征原则（Foot Feature Principle）控制，它是指所有的子节点的次特征也在母节点上出现。因为 SLASH 特征（空位特征）是一个次特征，如果他们没有在局部树内绑定的话，在“/”后的范畴会在树中自下而上地渗透。最后一步，V3/N2[acc] 与缺失的 N2[acc] 相组合。结果是一个在最高投射层的完整的定式陈述句。

5.5 总结

在 Chomsky 针对短语结构语法的批评二十年后，GPSG 框架下的大规模语法片段做成了，而且针对简单的短语结构规则无法解释的现象都提供了解释。尽管 GPSG 的工作基本上是基于 Harman1963 年的无转换的语法，他们也已经远远超越了这一层次。特别是，GPSG 的一个特殊成就是 Gazdar (1981b) 对长距离依存的处理。通过应用 SLASH-机制，可以解释同时从连词中提取元素（跨域提取，Ross 1967）下面从 Gazdar (1981b: 173) 选取的例子表明了连词中的空位必须是一致的，即某范畴的填充语必须对应于每个连词的空位：Some

- (55) a. The kennel which Mary made and Fido sleeps in has been stolen.
(= S/NP & S/NP)

¹⁵ 请看 Nerbonne (1986a) 和 Johnson (1986) 有关 GPSG 中动词复杂式的分析。

- b. The kennel in which Mary keeps drugs and Fido sleeps has been stolen.
(= S/PP & S/PP)
- c. * The kennel (in) which Mary made and Fido sleeps has been stolen.
(= S/NP & S/PP)

GPSG 貌似可以处理这类带有空位信息传送的机制。在对称并列结构中，每个连词中的 *SLASH* 成分必须是相同的。一方面，转换的方法并不直接，因为我们通常认为这类分析中有一棵树，其中树中的每个成分移到其他位置上而留下了一个语迹。但是，在并列结构中，填充语对应于两个或更多个语迹，而且它不能解释为什么填充语来自不只一个地方。

但是跨域提取分析是 GPSG 中的一个重中之重，其中有一些问题，我将在下面指出：配价与形态的互动、配价与部分动词短语前置的表征，以及 GPSG 形式化的表现力。

5.5.1 配价与形态

GPSG 中配价的编码在几个方面是有问题的。例如，形态化进程将词的配价属性考虑进来。带有后缀 *-bar* 的形容词只跟及物动词是可以生成的，即带有宾格宾语的动词可以进行被动化：

- (56) a. *lös-bar* (主格, 宾格)
解决-able
- b. *vergleich-bar* (主格, 宾格, PP[mit])
比较-able
- c. **schlaf-bar* (主格)
睡觉-able
- d. **helf-bar* (主格, 与格)
帮助-able

带有 *-bar* 的推导规则必须指向配价信息。这在 GPSG 语法中是不可能的，因为每个词条都只能指派给一个数字，该数字说明可以使用的这个词条的规则相关的信息。对于 *-bar-derivations* 来说，我们必须在推导规则中列出与宾格宾语的规则相对应的所有数字，他们当然无法充分地描述这些现象。进而，得到的形容词的配价也受限于动词的配价。例如，*vergleichen*（比较）这类动词需要一个 *mit (with)-PP*，而且 *vergleichbar* 也是一样的（Riehemann 1993: 7, 54、1998: 68）。在下面的章节中，我们将会遇到这样的模型，其中词汇项包括动词是否选择了宾格宾语的信息。在这类模型中，需要语言对象的配价属性的形态规则可以被较好地形式化表示出来。

关于配价和派生形态的问题还会在第 21.2.2 节有所讨论，我们会讨论 LFG 和构式语法中用到的方法，这些方法都共享了 GPSG 中有关配价的编码的思想。

5.5.2 配价与部分动词短语前置

Nerbonne (1986a) 和 Johnson (1986) 在 GPSG 框架下研究了部分 VPs 的前置问题。如 (57) 所示：在 (57a) 中，光杆动词前置，而其论元在中场被实现，在 (57b)

中，一个宾语与动词一起前置，而且在 (57c) 中所有的宾语都与动词一起前置。

- (57) a. Erzählen wird er seiner Tochter ein Märchen können.
告诉 AUX 他他的 女儿 一 童话故事AUX
- b. Ein Märchen erzählen wird er seiner Tochter können.
一 童话故事告诉 AUX 他他的 女儿 AUX
- c. Seiner Tochter ein Märchen erzählen wird er können.
他的 女儿 一 童话故事告诉 AUX 他AUX
'他能够给他的女儿讲一个童话故事。'

(57) 中的句子的问题是动词 *erzählen* (告诉) 的配价要求在句子中的多个位置上被满足。对于前置的成分，我们需要一条规则来允许双及物动词实现为没有论元或者带有一个或两个宾语。进而，需要确保的是，在前场缺失的论元在小句的剩余部分被实现。省略必有论元或者将论元实现为不同的格属性是不合法的，如 (58) 中的例子所示：

- (58) a. Verschlungen hat er es nicht.
吞噬 AUX 他.NOM 它.ACC 不
'他没有把它吞噬。'
- b. *Verschlungen hat er nicht.
吞噬 AUX 他.NOM 不
- c. *Verschlungen hat er ihm nicht.
吞噬 AUX 他.NOM 他.DAT 不

明显的结论是前置和非前置的论元必须加在属于动词的所有集合中。这在 GPSG 中基于规则的配价表征中是极为少见的。在诸如范畴语法的理论中 (请看第 8 章)，有可能构成 (58) 中较好的分析 (Geach 1970)。Nerbonne 和 Johnson 都提出了诸如 (58) 的句子的分析，其中最终在范畴语法的导向下改变了配价信息的表征。

在我转向 GPSG 的形式化的表示力的问题之前，我要指出的是，我们在前面几节中讨论的问题都与 GPSG 的配价表征是相关的。我们在讨论第 5.2 节的被动的时候就已经发现了与配价相关的问题：由于主语和宾语由短语结构规则导入，而且由于在有些语言中，主语和宾语不在同一棵局部树内，看起来无法描述 GPSG 中主语受到抑制的被动式。

5.5.3 普遍能力

在 GPSG 中，线性系统、统制和元规则通常由条件所限制。这些条件我们不会在这里按照下面的方式来讨论，即我们可以从 GPSG 语法的具体化中创造出我们在第 2 章看到的这类短语结构语法。这类语法也叫做上下文无关文法。在上世纪 80 年代中期，一般认为上下文无关文法无法描述自然语言，语言需要比上下文无关文法更为强有力的语法形式化系统 (Shieber 1985; Culy 1985，历史文献请看 Pullum (1986))。所谓的语法形式化的生成能力 (generative capacity) 在第 17 章有所讨论。

随着 HPSG 这类基于约束的模型 (请看第 9 章) 和范畴语法这类基于约束的模型变体 (请看第 8 章和 Uszkoreit 1986a) 的出现，大部分之前在 GPSG 框架下工作的

学者转向了其他理论框架。GPSG 对长距离依存的分析以及直接统制和线性优先的区别仍然在如今的 HPSG 和构式语法的变体中使用。请看第 12.2 节有关树邻接语法的变体将优先与统制区别开来的分析。

思考题

1. 在 ID/LP 形式下，语法是指什么？
2. 中场的成分变体的顺序在 GPSG 中是如何分析的？
3. 请找出一些由转换语法描述的现象，并思考 GPSG 是如何运用其他手段来分析这些现象的。

Exercises

1. 请写出能够分析下列句子的一个小型的 GPSG 语法：

- (59) a. [dass] der Mann ihn liest
 CONJ DET.NOM 男人 它.ACC 读
 ‘这个男人在读它’
- b. [dass] ihn der Mann liest
 CONJ 它.ACC DET..NOM 男人 读
 ‘这个男人在读它’
- c. Der Mann liest ihn.
 DET..NOM 男人 读 它.ACC
 ‘这个男人在读它。’

注意要在每条规则中包括所有的论元，而不是应用一条引入主语的元规则。

延伸阅读

GPSG 的主要文献是 Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag (1985)。该书被 Jacobson (1987b) 进行了严肃的评判。有些有问题的分析与范畴语法中的方法进行了对比，而且参考了受到范畴语法重大影响的 Pollard (1984)，这篇文献被认为是 HPSG 的先驱之作。Jacobson 的一些设想可以在 HPSG 晚一些的文献中找到。

德语语法可以在 Uszkoreit (1987) 和 Busemann (1992) 中找到。Gazdar (1981b) 提出了长距离依存分析，该方法如今仍在 HPSG 等理论中所使用。

GPSG 的历史起源可以在 Pullum (1989b) 中找到相关的信息。

第零部分 讨论

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Grammatical theory

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

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

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