

最简方案



——阿尔泰语言的句法结构

力提甫·托乎提 / 著



THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

Syntactic Structure of Altaic Languages

By

LITIP TOHTI



中央民族大学出版社
China Minzu University Press

最简方案



——阿尔泰语言的句法结构

力提甫·托乎提 / 著



THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM
Syntactic Structure of Altaic Languages

By

LITIP TOHTI



中央民族大学出版社
China Minzu University Press

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

最简方案:阿尔泰语言的句法结构/力提甫·托乎提著.
—北京:中央民族大学出版社,2017.9
ISBN 978-7-5660-1351-4

I. ①最… II. ①力… III. ①阿尔泰语系—
句法结构—研究 IV. ①H504

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2017)第 123506 号

最简方案:阿尔泰语言的句法结构

著 者 力提甫·托乎提
责任编辑 李 飞
封面设计 汤建军
出 版 者 中央民族大学出版社
北京市海淀区中关村南大街 27 号 邮编:100081
电话:68472815(发行部) 传真:68933757(发行部)
68932218(总编室) 68932447(办公室)
发 行 者 全国各地新华书店
印 刷 厂 北京盛华达印刷有限公司
开 本 787×1092(毫米) 1/16 印张:29.5
字 数 450 千字
版 次 2017 年 9 月第 1 版 2017 年 9 月第 1 次印刷
书 号 ISBN 978-7-5660-1351-4
定 价 106.00 元

版权所有 翻印必究

前 言

作为中央民族大学“985 工程”三期语言学与应用语言学学科建设项目子课题之一，本教材《最简方案——阿尔泰语言的句法结构》的编写申请早在 2011 年就被批准立项并得到相应的资助，编号为 985—3—YJY—4。我首先向我校语言学与应用语言学学科建设系列丛书总主编丁石庆教授的一贯支持表示衷心的感谢！很遗憾，由于各种主客观原因，我没能按时完成编写任务，交稿时间推迟至今。当我最终圆满完成写作任务，正为出版经费发愁时，我又得到了我学院“2016 年一流大学一流学科建设项目”的支持。在此我一并表示感谢！

自从 1994 年从美国留学归来，本人一直致力于阿尔泰语言的研究，编写出版了教育部留学回国人员研究启动金项目《维吾尔语及其他阿尔泰语言的生成句法研究》（2001）、国家级“九五”重点教材项目《阿尔泰语言学导论》（2002）、北京市精品教材项目《从短语结构到最简方案——阿尔泰语言的句法结构》（2004）和中央民族大学“985 工程”二期建设项目《现代维吾尔语参考语法》（2012）等教材和专著，在研究阿尔泰语言的历史比较研究和生成句法研究方面都积累了一定的基础性研究成果。目前，学者们虽然对阿尔泰语系各语言之间的亲属关系持不同的看法，但对阿尔泰语言作为黏着型语言所共享的句法特征的

意见还是比较一致。遗憾的是，由于过去传统语言学重实词类、轻功能类以及研究者把属于屈折型（inflectional）语言的印欧语言语法框架强加给属于黏着型的阿尔泰语言，给阿尔泰语言中一个个活跃的黏着型（agglutinative）功能成分盲目地贴上所谓构形（inflectional）成分的标签，使得我们处在“骑驴找驴”的被动境地，不但没能把阿尔泰各语言真正的语法特点揭示出来，反而在某些情况下歪曲了语言事实。如在以往的维吾尔语语法研究著作中连最简单的结构[[qästän qil] ma-] “不是故意做”与[qästän [qil-ma-]] “故意不做”之间有什么句法层次区别？为什么说[[yeni öy]+din]] “[从[新屋子]]”是唯一合乎语法和逻辑思维的分析，而*[yeni [öy+din]] “*[新[从屋子]]”是既不符合语法又不符合逻辑的分析？等这些问题都无法解释。现在，在被誉为语言学革命的乔姆斯基“生成语法”理论启发下，我们成功摆脱了“绑架”并误导黏着型阿尔泰语言半个多世纪的那些所谓的构形成分、名词的X范畴、动词的Y范畴等不实之词及相关的错误定义和解释，找到了解决问题的方法，把阿尔泰语言的研究引向了正确轨道。本教材呈献给读者的就是笔者在这方面取得的最新突破性研究成果。

本教材取名为《最简方案——阿尔泰语言的句法结构》。那么，最简方案给生成句法理论带来了什么变化呢？简言之，该方案在解释合并、复制、移位、插入、删除及递归性等普遍语法规则时，除了取消以往从深层结构到表层结构的多余的转换程序外，确立了语法功能成分的核心地位。如the book “这本书”这样的结构不再被称为名词短语（NP），而被称为限定词短语（DP）了，即在类似结构里语法功能成分the是核心，名词book是补足成分。应该说，这一转变为世界上各语言的句法研究提供

了共同基础，同时也为确认阿尔泰语言活跃的黏着性功能成分的句法核心地位提供了理论依据。当然，本教材的编写对我来说是一个新的挑战。因为随着最简方案的出台，我们不得不对过去的研究成果做相应的更新和调整。再加上生成语法理论从一开始就是在屈折型的英语等印欧语言的研究基础上形成和发展的，很少涉及黏着型的阿尔泰语言，一个根本性的任务始终摆在我面前，那就是必须在深入细致地掌握该理论精神实质的基础上，把它创造性地应用到阿尔泰语言的实际当中，以便达到真实充分地描写和解释阿尔泰诸语言特有的语言现象的目的。本书是否达到了这一目的，当然读者最有发言权。能为这样的目标付出的努力我感到高兴。

虽然阿尔泰语系的语言有40多种，本书并不涉及那么多，只是在我们力所能及的范围内，以语族为单位探讨相关的语言现象，比如在突厥语族语言中主要以现代维吾尔语作为研究对象；蒙古语族中主要以现代蒙古语作为研究对象；满—通古斯语族中主要以满语作为研究对象。当然，在相关语料匮乏的情况下，我们尽量扩大搜索范围，以后将会涉及更多的阿尔泰语言。在探讨相关理论问题时，我们也不要求在每次讨论中都必须从所有这些语言中举例说明。因为阿尔泰语言体系内部各语言的发展并不平衡，相互间也有差别。在本教材的编写过程中，木再帕尔博士、高莲花博士和敖特根博士等给我提供了关键性例句以及有益的意见建议。在此我向他们表示衷心的感谢。

力提甫·托乎提
于中央民族大学
2017年5月1日

Preface

Compilation of this textbook, entitled *The Minimalist Program: Syntactic Structure of Altaic Languages*, was approved as early as in 2011 as one of the sub-tasks in the field of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics of the 985th Project of Minzu University of China, and given generous financial support. Thus, I express my thanks to Professor Ding Shiqing, who was in charge of the project in general. However, I was unable to complete the task until recently for a number of reasons. When I finally managed to complete it and was worrying about its publishing costs, I received further support from our college project of Constructing the Double First-Rate Universities. Again, I am thankful for this generous support!

I have been working on the study of Altaic languages since 1994, when I returned from the United States after completing my nine-years of study there. In addition to more than 50 papers, I have compiled and published the following textbooks and monographs: *A study on the Syntactic Structure of Uyghur and Other Altaic Languages* (2001), supported by the project of Supporting the Returning Personnel from Overseas Studies by the State Education Ministry Fund; *Introduction to the Altaic Linguistics*, supported by the State-run Ninth-Five Year Plan's Special Textbook Project (2002); *From Phrase Structure to Minimalist Program: the Syntactic Structure of Altaic Languages*, supported by the Beijing Municipal Excellent Textbook Project (2004); and *A Reference Grammar of Modern Uyghur*, supported by the Third Period Sub-project of the 985th Project of Minzu University of China (2012). Thus, I should admit that I have achieved very substantial

accomplishments in terms of both the aspects of comparative historical studies and generative grammar studies of Altaic languages. Nowadays, scholars generally agree that the Altaic languages share common syntactic features, although they have diverse views on their genetic relationship. Unfortunately, since traditional linguistic theory always puts emphasis on content words while ignoring the syntactic function of grammatical-functional components, and since our pioneer grammarians treated our agglutinative suffixes from the very beginning as inflectional ones by imposing the grammatical frame of inflectional languages upon our agglutinative ones, we were not able to discover the real syntactic features of the Altaic languages, or in some cases, we came to misinterpretations of the language facts until recently. For example, in our early grammar books we couldn't find any answer to such simple questions as what the structural difference was between $[[qästän_{Adv} qil_V] -ma_{Neg} -]$ “not deliberately doing” and $[[qästän_{Adv} [qil_V - ma_{Neg} -]]]$ “deliberately not doing”. Why is the constituency $[[yeñi_A öy_N] + din_K]$ “[from [the new room]]” the only grammatical and logical interpretation of the surface string *yeñi öydin* “from the new room”, while the form $*[yeñi_A [öy_N + din_K]]$ “*[new [from the room]]” is not allowed? Thanks to the cognitive revolution launched by Chomskyan generative grammar theory, we are now able to get rid of all the false claims and related inaccurate definitions such as *inflectional suffixes*, *x category of nouns*, *y category of verbs*, etc., which ‘hijacked’ and misled the study of Altaic languages for more than a half a century in the past. Today, we are able to find the right ways to solve these problems and lead the studies of Altaic languages onto right track. This book presents the author's new breakthrough achievements in this regard.

As for the reason for naming this textbook *The Minimalist Program: Syntactic Structure of Altaic Languages*, we make use of several simplified primary notions as Universal Grammar rules brought by the Minimalist Program such as merge, copy, move, insert, delete and recursion, as well as the elimination of redundant procedures required to go from deep structure to surface structure. But the most significant notion introduced by the Minimalist Program is the recognition

of the head status of functional categories in syntax. For example, a phrase like *the book* is no longer called NP, but DP, since the determiner *the* heads the projection, while the noun *book* is its complement. As this shift turned out to be a common base for syntactic studies for all languages in the world, we are also able to identify the head status of active agglutinative functional particles and suffixes in the Altaic languages.

Of course, compiling a textbook like this is still a new challenge to me, since the introduction of the minimalist program to our studies means renewing and readjusting our early works. Moreover, since generative grammar theory itself developed from the very beginning on the basis of studying English and other inflectional Indo-European languages and was less concerned with agglutinative Altaic languages, I always face a very basic task: how can we grasp the essential idea of generative syntax and apply it to the Altaic languages in an innovative way so that we can reach our goal of adequately describing and explaining all the descriptive facts of Altaic languages? Of course, whether this book has already reached such a goal or not is something I leave to the judgement of its readers. What I am happy with is the efforts made so far towards such a goal.

Although more than 40 languages are included in the Altaic family, this book only covers several representative languages from each language branch; that is, Uyghur from the Turkic branch, Mongolian from the Mongolic branch and Manchu from the Manchu-Tungusic branch. Of course, in some cases I extended my search to languages for more data. I am also not very consistent with providing relevant examples from each language for each issue discussed all the time since the languages themselves are not consistent in their development through the ages. Finally, I should express my thanks to Dr. Muzappar, Dr. Gao Lianhua and Dr. Autegen for their providing me with very useful sentences and ideas.

Litip Tohti

Minzu University of China

Beijing, China

本书缩略词语及符号

A. 本书所用的缩略词语

缩略语	英语	汉义
1	1 st person	第一人称
2	2 nd person	第二人称
3	3 rd person	第三人称
A	adjective	形容词
ABL	ablative case	从格
ABIL	ability aspect	能动体
ACC	accusative case	宾格
ADJL	adjectivalizer	形容词化成分
ADVL	adverbializer	副词化成分
ADVN	advancing aspect	先动体
ALTR	altruism aspect	利他体
ARG	argument	论元
ASP	aspect	体
AUX	auxiliary	助词
CAUS	causative	使动态
COMT	comitative	随同格
COND	conditional	条件语气

续表

缩略语	英语	汉义
CONJ	conjunctive	并列连接词
CONT	continuative aspect	持续体
COP	copula	判断词
DAT	dative case	与格
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	指示代词
DES	desiderative	意愿式
DEPR	deprivation suffix	剥夺词缀
DEV	devotion aspect	投入体
DIM	diminutive	指小、减弱成分
DISP	disposal aspect	处置体
DISTR	distraction	分心体
DO	direct object	直接宾语
DUR	durative aspect	连续体
ELM	eliminating aspect	除去体
EMPH	emphatic	强调成分
EQUI	equivalence case	量似格
EST	estimative	猜测、估计语气
EVID	evidential	间陈、传据
EXP	experiential	经验体
FACT	factual aspect	呈现体
FOC	focus	焦点
FPers	force-person	语气力度—人称
FPersP	force-person phrase	语气力度—人称短语
FUT	future tense	将来时

续表

缩略语	英语	汉义
GEN	genitive case	领有格
GOAL	goal	目的标记
HAB	habitual aspect	惯常/习惯体
HRS	hearsay evidential	转述、听说
IL	illustrative	例证式
IMP	imperative	命令式
IMPF	imperfective	未完成体
INDC	indicative	指示标记（-ki）
INDEF	indefinite	不定指
INF	infinitive	不定式
INIT	initiative	起始体
INS	instrumental case	工具格，凭借格
INTNS	intensifying aspect	强化体
INTR	intransitive	不及物
INTRJ	interjection	感叹词
INTRP	interrogative pronoun	疑问代词
INT	intention aspect	欲动体
IO	indirect object	间接宾语
ITR	iterative aspect	重复体
LMT	limitative case	界限格
LOC	locative case	时位格（//地点格）
LQ	locative-qualitative case	地点标志格
M	mood particle	语气助词
MOD	modality	情态

续表

缩略语	英语	汉义
MEAS	measure word	量词
N	noun	名词
NEC	necessity	必然性成分
NEG	negative component	否定成分
NOM	nominative case	主格
NOML	nominalizer	名词化成分
NP	noun phrase	名词短语
NPST	non-past tense	非过去时
NUM	numeral	数词
NUMM	numeral - measure structure	数量结构
OBL	oblique	旁格
ORD	ordinal	序数成分
P	patient/undergoer	受事者
PART	particle	助词，小品词
PASS	passive	被动态
PERF	perfective aspect	完成体
PERS	person	人称
PL	plural	复数成分
POL	polite	尊称
POS	possessee	从属成分
POST	postposition	后置词
PREF	prefix	前缀
PREP	preposition	前置词/介词
PRFM	performing aspect	执行体

续表

缩略语	英语	汉义
PRO	pronoun	代词
PROG	progressive	进行体
PROH	prohibitive	禁止式成分
PRES	present tense	现在时
PROS	prospective aspect	将行体
PRP	purposive	目的标记
PRS	persistent aspect	一贯体
PST	past tense	过去时
Q	question marker	疑问句标记
QNT	quantifier	指量词
QUOT	quotation, quotative	引用语
RC	relative clause	关系小句
RECIP	reciprocal	交互态
REDUP	reduplication	重叠
REFL	reflexive pronoun	反身代词
refl	reflexive aspect	反身态
REP	repetitive	反复体
RPOS	reflexive possessive	反身领属
RSP	respectful	敬称
SELF	self-regard aspect	利己体
Sg.	singular	单数
SML	similitude case	形似格、比喻格
SIM	simultaneous action	同时发生的动作
SUB	substantive	静词

续表

缩略语	英语	汉义
SUBZ	substantivizer	静词化成分
SUFF	suffix	后缀
SUPER	superlative	最高级
T	tense	时，时制
TENT	tentative mood	尝试体
TERM	terminating aspect	终结体
TOP	topic	话题标记
TP	tense phrase	时制短语
UNINT	uninterrupted aspect	无阻体
V	verb	动词
v	light verb	轻动词
VIS	visual witness	亲见
VOC	vocative	称呼语
VP	verb phrase	动词短语

B. 本书所用的转写符号

本书使用的转写符号的实际发音与方括号内的国际音标表示的音相一致：

a [a], ä [ε], b [b], č [tʃ^h], d [d], e [e], f [f], g [g],
ɣ ~ ğ [ɣ], x [x], h [ɦ], i [i], j [dʒ], k [k^h], l [l], m [m], n
[n], ŋ [ŋ], o [o], ö [ø], p [p^h], q [q^h], r [r], s [s], š [ʃ],
t [t^h], u [u], ü [y], v [v], w [w], y [j], z [z], ž [ʒ]。

目 录

前言	(1)
第一章 绪 论	(1)
1.0 引 言	(1)
1.1 语言机制的天生性假设与维吾尔语的 TILI ĆIQMAQ 一词	(3)
1.2 语言生物基础的重新认识给人类自然语言研究带来的启示 ...	(5)
1.3 生成句法的研究方法	(8)
1.4 普遍语法与阿尔泰语言的关系	(16)
1.5 原则与参数以及阿尔泰语言的参数设置	(26)
1.6 词法与句法的界限	(31)
第二章 阿尔泰语言的词汇类及其子语类化	(45)
2.0 引 言	(45)
2.1 名 词	(46)
2.1.1 名词的定义	(46)
2.1.2 名词的分类	(46)
2.1.3 名词的句法特征	(49)
2.2 形容词	(50)
2.2.1 形容词的定义	(50)
2.2.2 形容词的分类	(50)
2.2.3 形容词的句法特性	(56)
2.3 数 词	(57)
2.3.1 数词的定义	(57)

2.3.2	数词的分类	(57)
2.3.3	数词的句法特征	(60)
2.4	量词	(61)
2.4.1	量词的定义	(61)
2.4.2	量词的分类	(62)
2.4.3	量词的句法特征	(63)
2.5	副词	(63)
2.5.1	副词的定义	(63)
2.5.2	副词的分类	(64)
2.5.3	副词的句法特征	(66)
2.6	模拟词	(66)
2.6.1	模拟词的定义	(66)
2.6.2	模拟词的分类	(66)
2.6.3	模拟词的句法特征	(67)
2.7	代词	(68)
2.7.1	代词的定义	(68)
2.7.2	代词的分类	(68)
2.8	动词	(83)
2.8.1	动词的定义	(83)
2.8.2	动词的分类	(83)
第三章	阿尔泰语言的自由功能语类	(106)
3.0	引言	(106)
3.1	后置词	(107)
3.1.1	后置词的定义及其内容	(107)
3.1.2	后置词的句法特征	(108)
3.2	体助动词及其功能	(113)
3.3	连词	(121)
3.3.1	连词的定义	(121)
3.3.2	常见的连词及其句法功能	(122)