张杰 著

英语句法与语用研究

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前　言

句法学和语用学为现代语言学学科中的两大主要分支。传统句法学研究句法构成规律。现代句法学以探讨语言普遍语法原则和参数为目的的生成语法为中心开展研究。生成语法由乔姆斯基20世纪50年代后期创立的现代语言学理论，近50年来，生成语法研究几经改进，日趋成熟。按照美国语言哲学家约翰·赛尔的说法，生成语法是“现代最辉煌的知识成果，其影响范围和完整程度足以与弗洛伊德相比”。语用学研究语言运用的规律。当今的语用学已由过去的“废物箱”转变为一门具有蓬勃生机的、独立的、与句法学处于平行地位的语言学学科，其基本分析单元包含指称、前提，会话含意，言语行为、话语结构等。

本书主要从句法和语用两个角度出发，挑选了十几个带有普遍意义的专题，逐题进行分析和讨论。句法方面，基于生成语法原则与参数理论，尤其是管约论（Government and Binding Theory）、最简方案（Minimalist Program）和最简探索框架（Minimalist Inquiries）的句法模式探讨英语和汉语反身代词、主题句、英语wh问句和汉语把字句等问题。通过对英语和汉语（间或涉及其他语言如日语、德语、法语等）在这几个层面上的异同进行对比和诠释，发掘语言共性，从而验证生成语法的普遍语法原则和加深对普遍语法规律的认识。语用方面选择的课题包括言语行为理论、会话含意，话语分析模式、功能变体、语体差异、语言性别歧视等。对各种话语成分进行动态的描写和研究，有助于找寻语言使用的内在的结构和规律。

本书虽未对句法学和语用学理论进行完整而又系统的阐述，但能从语言事实出发，理论联系实际，由浅入深，由表及里，重点突出，循序渐进；同时，尤其在句法探索的层面，能将研究方法融入其中，使读者身临其境领略句法理论构建的过程，进而提升语言学的研究

能力。

本书主要探讨当代句法学和语用学的理论及其运用问题，还有若干篇相关的英语教研文章。本书可供英语专业本、专科生、语言学专业研究生、对语言学感兴趣的读者、英语教师和英语教育研究者作为教学或参考之用。效果如何，敬请读者提出宝贵意见。

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句法篇

1. The Nature and Role of Transformational-generative Syntax

Transformational-generative grammar (TG for short), formalized by Noam Chomsky in the mid-1950s, has been developed by Chomsky and his followers over the last fifty years or so. Although the publication of Syntactic Structures in 1957 marks the birth of TG grammar, much of the influence of this school over linguistics and its neighboring disciplines stems from what is now called the Standard Theory of TG grammar. Standard Theory is a simplified and eclectic model introduced in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax published in 1965. In dwelling upon the nature and role of TG grammar or syntax, therefore, this article mainly focuses on Standard Theory although Classical theory and Revised Extended Standard Theory will be touched upon.

Linguistic theories are, in large part, motivated by dissatisfactions about certain aspects of previously accepted theories. TG syntax is no exception: It is, in many aspects, a reaction to Bloomfieldian structuralism although it itself is a version of structuralism. Children acquire language, for instance, not by a stimulus-response process, but they are, Chomsky argues, innately programmed with the knowledge of rule-governed language system. Chomsky draws a sharp distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance. The former is "the speaker-listener's knowledge of his language" while the latter is "the actual use of his language in concrete situations" (Chomsky, 1965,P4). In order to give a systematic description of the language system, Chomsky claims, any grammar should concern itself primarily with linguistic

competence, since natural languages are rule-governed and human beings are genetically programmed. TG grammar, therefore, almost exclusively deals with those linguistic abilities of the native speaker of a language which enable him to speak and understand language fluently. Although the speech community is heterogeneous and thus all speakers have their own accents and dialects, yet TG grammar does not bother about linguistic performance but only about an ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous speech community.

The Standard Theory of TG grammar is just this kind of model of competence. It is claimed to give a systematic description of linguistic competence with an aim to account for the native speaker's "ability to combine words together to form grammatical sentences in his native language, and to know which sequences of words form grammatical or ungrammatical sentences in language" (Radford, 1981, P3). The description takes the form of series of rules which are claimed to be universal, producing or generating all and only the grammatical sentences of a language. In Classical Theory introduced in Syntactic Structures, there are three sets of rules: Phrase-structure Rules, Transformational Rules and Morphophonological Rules. These rules operate like a sort of non-mechanical device or machine, the product of any one operation of which is a sentence. Standard Theory basically keeps these rules, however, the sketchy morphophonemic component is expanded and radically revised; the scope of the grammar is extended to include a semantic component and the forms of the syntactic rules are much altered.

Standard Theory proposes that a description of a language should comprise three components and a lexicon related to them. The most important component is the syntactic component which

generates syntactic structures. The semantic component and phonological component are the two interpretive components which assign semantic and phonological representations. Each of these three components has its own reasons to consult the lexicon. The whole architecture of Standard Theory is sketched as in Figure 1.

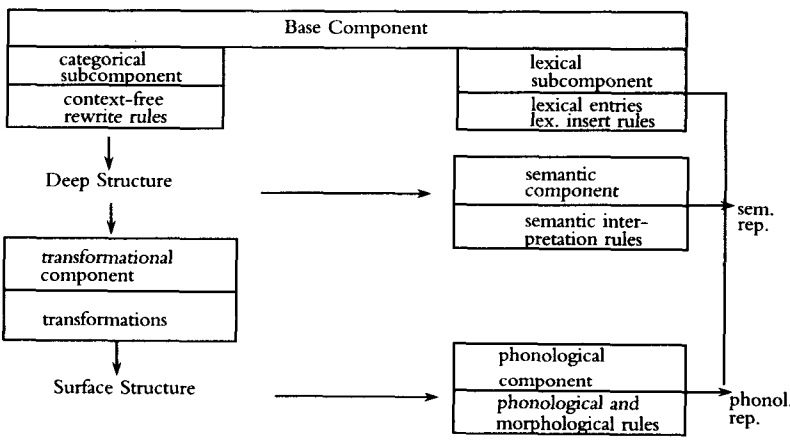


Figure 1 (Stephen Magee)

The syntactic component, which is the core of the whole structure, comprises the base component and the transformational component. The base aims to capture generalizations about basic categorical structures. It consists of categorical-subcomponent and lexical subcomponent. The categorical subcomponent includes context-free rewrite rules or PS rules which are quite similar to those PS rules in Classical Theory. If we are given some data like "The dog chased the cat", a set of PS Rules can be written out:

1) S → NP+VP
2) VP → V+NP
3) NP → Det+N
4) Aux → Past

5) V → chase,...

6) N → dog, cat,...

7) Det → the

8) Past → ed

These rules contain an instruction to rewrite the symbol on the left of the rewrite arrow as the string of symbols on the right-hand side. The formal relationships between the symbols on the right-hand may be one of a very limited set of types. These relationships mirror syntactic relations holding between elements of a natural language. Simple though this grammar may be, its capacity to generate sentences beyond the original data is great. The possibility of choosing Rule 6) allows us to produce four sentences. (The dog chased the dog. The dog chased the cat. The cat chased the cat. The cat chased the dog.)

This grammar not only generates sentences, but also assigns to it categorical structures as in Figure 2.

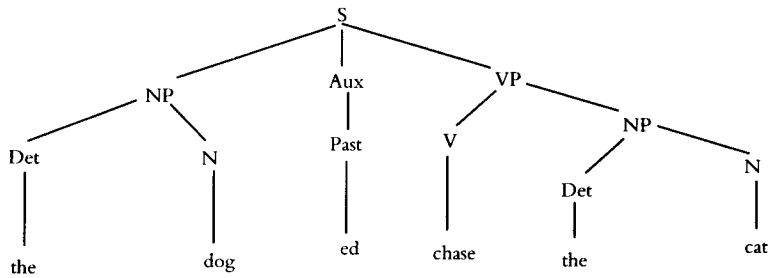


Figure 2

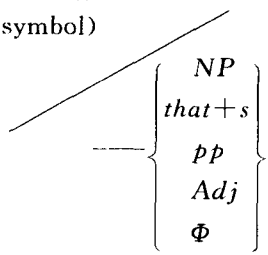
In comparison with the early model of Classical Theory, this part of the grammar is almost the same. A crucial difference, however, is that whereas the early model had simply rewritten category symbols as lexical items, they are now rewritten as complex symbols which are arrays of syntactic features characterizing classes of

items. These syntactic features are obtained through subcategorisation rules which are incorporated into the base component and apply after the phrase-structure branching rules. One kind of subcategorization rules is called a strict subcategorization rule which "subcategorizes a lexical category in terms of the frame of category symbols in which it appears"(Chomsky, 1965,P94). For instance, the verbs eat and believe are subcategorised in the following way:

Eat [Vt ____ NP]

Believe [Vt ____ NP+____ that+s]

V→CS (complex symbol)



Such strict subcategorisation rules are just those lexical insertion rules in the lexical subcomponent of the base, the function of which is to lexicalize the generated categorical structures.

The base component is the generative part of Standard Theory. The output it generates is a kind of syntactically abstract underlying structure called Deep Structure, which is a lexicalized phrase-marker. Deep Structure acts as the essential bridge between the syntax and the semantics. It is the input both to semantic component for semantic interpretations and to the transformational component.

The central feature of the standard theory model is that the syntax is the core of the whole system, and the most prominent part of the syntax is the transformational component. The trans-

formational component not only explains surface forms, but also takes the responsibility of accounting for structural relatedness between sentences.

The transformational component consists of set of transformational rules, which involve, not the division of the sentence or its parts into smaller parts, but, as the name implies, the alteration or rearrangement of a structure in various ways. If we attempt to generate Yesterday Brian arrived and Brian arrived yesterday in one and the same grammar, we find that this is most efficiently done if we generate the first via the deep structure of the second. We might use a movement rule like NP + V + Adv → Adv + NP + V. Such rules are optional transformational rules. There are some rules which are obligatory, meaning that they must be applied if the conditions specified in the string on the left arise. The affix transformational rule is an example. It switches affixes and verbs. By Affix Movement, a deep structure like Mary pres will have en be ing do the work would be turned into a surface structure like Mary will have been doing the work.

Transformational rules are not permitted in the PS rules; they operate on a string of symbols rather than one only, as shown in the above examples. They can add, delete, or move categories but can not change meaning, as Chomsky put it, they "cannot introduce meaning bearing elements" (Chomsky, 1965, P44). Generally speaking, there are four types of transformations:

(1) Movement (e. g. Affix Movement, Negative Movement)

(2) Insertion (e. g. There Insertion, Do-support, Passive)

(3) Deletion (e. g. Dative Movement)

(4) Copying (e. g. Tag-formation)

Suppose we get from the base component an underlying deep structure like the following.

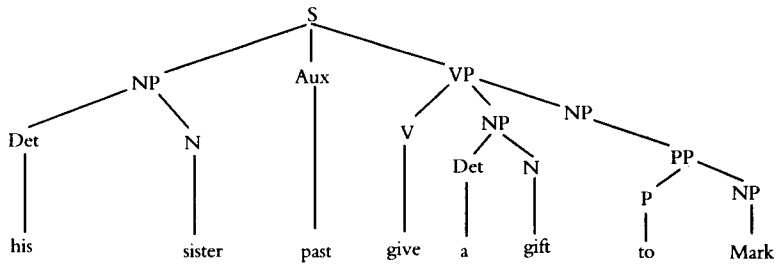


Figure 3

Then several transformations are involved to generate the surface structure "Wasn't Mark given a gift by his sister":

(1) Dative Movement: his sister past give Mark a gift

(2) Passive: Mark past be en give a gift by his sister

(3) Negative Insertion: Mark past be not en give a gift by his sister

(4) Contraction: Mark past be n't en give a gift by his sister

(5) Question: past be n't Mark en give a gift by his sister?

(6) Affix Movement: Wasn't Mark given a gift by his sister?

Transformations can add, delete or move constituents. They, too, need access to the lexicon to ensure that transformations are appropriately applied to trees containing particular lexical items. Take the verb resemble. The lexical entry for resemble, for instance, could be annotated with a feature [-Passive], meaning that "resemble" can only occur in active sentences like Brian resembles Mary but not in passive sentences like Mary is resembled by Brian. Thus a lexical restriction is needed to ensure that this kind of verb will not go through the passive transformations. Each transformational rule operates on an input structure and generates a derived structure. The final generated structure after the operation of all the transformations is the syntactic surface structure. This structure is made available to the morphophonemic component for a pho-

nological and orthographic interpretation.

TG grammar is a tripartite grammar. The syntactic component is the central part. The next two parts are the semantic component and the phonological component. The semantic component operates on the syntactic deep structure to produce a representation of certain aspects of the meaning of the structure by means of interpretation rules. The phonological component assigns a concrete form to all the abstract symbols; it gives phonological sound and orthographic shape to the items after the application of the base rules and transformational rules.

The standard theory model of TG syntax has the virtues of simplicity; deep structure is semantically interpreted to give the meaning of a sentence, and transformations give the surface structure which is phonetically interpreted to provide the pronunciation. But this model was constructed by putting together the three components already existent in Classical Theory and then by making certain adjustments to ensure "a device for pairing phonetically represented signals with semantic interpretations" (Chomsky, 1964, P9). But the integrated theory has new problems. Some transformations, for instance, have a bearing on semantic interpretations: the meaning of Many arrows did not hit the target is different from that of the target was not hit by many arrows. Although Standard Theory envisages a semantic component and a lexicon, yet the nature of the two is not clearly defined and little attention is paid to the role they might have in a total description.

Faced with criticisms and challenges within or without TG grammar, Chomsky and his followers thus suggest a new model called Extended Standard Theory and later Revised Extended Standard Theory. In comparison with the standard theory model, the striking feature of the new model is that the bulk of the de-

scriptive work, performed by the phrase structure component and, crucially, by the syntactic transformations, is greatly decreased. In fact, most of the transformations have been abandoned, and the effect of those that remain are largely predictable. Much of the power is now transferred elsewhere in the grammar and a transformational component may contain but a single transformation called a movement.

TG grammar has dominated theoretical syntax for several decades and is still a major linguistic school in linguistics. But the role of the transformational rules, which are the prominent part of the syntax, has been continually restricted and constrained. No wonder people say that the future of TG grammar is currently in doubt.