西方语言学丛书

# 句法：结构、意义与功能

# SYNTAX
## *STRUCTURE, MEANING AND FUNCTION*

ROBERT D. VAN VALIN, JR
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

RANDY J. LAPOLLA
CITY UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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# 出版说明

乔姆斯基的转换生成语法强调人类语言的普遍性，试图从语法原则与参数的高度揭开人类语言的普遍结构，更进一步揭示人类认知的奥秘。人类历史上似乎从未有哪一门学科如此富于创造性和挑战性，也很少有一种科学能够如此深刻地对相关学科产生如此广泛而深远的影响。这一理论在不断拓展的语料视野面前，在不断回应新思想方法的挑战过程中，不断地调整自己的思路和方法，跋涉了半个世纪，其所取得的成就不仅使语言学家激动和自豪，也令当代哲学、心理学、信息学、计算机科学、人工智能等众多领域的学者所瞩目。

乔姆斯基自称其理论远绍十七世纪法国普遍唯理语法。1898 年，马建忠在他的《马氏文通》后序中这样说："盖所见为不同者，惟此已形已声之字，皆人为之也。而亘古今，塞宇宙，其种之或黄或白，或紫或黑之钧是人也，天皆赋之以此心之所以能意，此意之所以能达之理。则常探讨画革旁行诸国语言之源流，若希腊、若拉丁之文词而属比之，见其字别种，而句司字，所以声其心而形其意者，皆有一定不易之律；而因以律吾经籍子史诸书，其大纲盖无不同。于是因所同以同夫所不同者，是则此编之所以成也。"马氏是留法的，普遍唯理语法对他的影响同样是深刻的。

不过，在中国，普遍主义的思想也就此昙花一现，很快就湮没在强调汉语特点的思路中。半个多世纪之后，转换生成语法逐渐为中国学者所知，可是很多人都认为它不适合汉语语法研究，只有在国外的学者在这方面做了些工作，取得了不少成绩。这种研究尽管还存在许许多多的问题，但至少可以说明，汉语研究同样可以走普遍语法的道路。

马氏的模仿是显然的。然而我们今天的研究就能肯定不是模仿了么？朱德熙先生曾经说："长期以来印欧语语法观念给汉语研究带来的消极影响……主要表现在用印欧语的眼光来看待汉语，把印欧语所有而汉语所无的东西强加给汉语。""我们现在在这里批评某些传统观念，很可能我们自己也正在不知不觉之中受这些传统观念的摆布。

这当然只能等将来由别人来纠正了，正所谓后之视今，亦犹今之视昔。”其言盖有深意焉。然而问题其实并不在于是否模仿，而在于模仿来的方法、视角是不是可以得出符合汉语事实的结论。反对模仿蕴涵着一个前提：即汉语与印欧语的结构没有相同之处。但是今天的我们对汉语的结构究竟了解了多少呢？

任何语言都有自己的特点，这一点毋庸置疑。但是不了解语言的普遍性，也就谈不上特点，也就无所谓走自己的道路。而且，在某一水平面上成为特点的规律，在更高或更深层的水平上也许就不成其为特点，而仅仅是普遍性的一种特殊表现而已。

当代社会文化领域中多元化是主流，当代语言学理论也趋于多元。在西方，形式语言学不大可能再如以往如此这般地波澜壮阔，而是进入一个相对平静的稳定发展的时期，语言的功能方面的研究已经占据一席之地。在未来的一段时期内，语言学将是一个酝酿期，为下一个重大突破作准备。而在中国，语言学在长期的“借鉴”之后，也在思考如何能够从汉语出发，取得重大突破，反哺世界学林。语言学发展到今天，又重新面临着路怎样走这一根本问题。

不管下一步怎么走，充分了解西方学者的成绩，借鉴他们的思路和方法无疑是必不可少的。特别是对于取得了如此重大成就的当代西方语言学，如果不能有正确的了解，无异于闭门造车，要想出门合辙，不亦难乎？

北大出版社多年来坚持学术为本的出版方针，我们愿意为语言学在新世纪的发展尽一分绵薄之力。为了推动我国语言学事业的发展，在总编张文定先生的主持下，我们将原版引进一批高质量的语言学专著和教材，命之曰“西方语言学丛书”，以飨学林。引进的作品将包括语音学、韵律学、句法学、语义学、语言史、词源学、方言学等各个领域；既包括宏观的理论研究，也包括重要问题的个案研究；既包括形式语言学的方法，也包括认知、功能等视角。但不管是哪一种，都是经过精挑细选，庶几开卷有益。

我们期待着中国语言学的新突破！

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This book is an introduction to syntactic theory and analysis which can be used for both introductory and advanced courses in theoretical syntax. Offering an alternative to the standard generative view of the subject, it deals with the major issues in syntax with which all theories are concerned. It presents syntactic phenomena from a wide range of languages and introduces students to the major typological issues that syntactic theories must address. A generous number of exercises is included, which provide practice with the concepts introduced in the text and in addition expose the student to in-depth analysis of data from many languages. Each chapter contains suggestions for further reading which encompass work from many theoretical perspectives.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book began as transcripts of lectures given in a syntax course by the first author. They were used in courses at several universities over the years, and during that time many people, both students and faculty, gave suggestions, made comments and contributed to them in many ways. We would like to thank everyone who read and commented on the earliest versions of this text. In the past two years the transcripts have undergone an intense process of rethinking, rewriting, revising and expansion, and the resulting text owes a great deal to the many linguists who have read and commented on drafts, provided data and contributed in important ways. We would like to thank first and foremost our two editors from the Textbooks in Linguistics series, Bernard Comrie and Nigel Vincent, for their valuable comments and guidance. Jean-Pierre Koenig read the entire manuscript and provided many very helpful criticisms and suggestions. Balthasar Bickel, Knud Lambrecht and David Wilkins also contributed very useful comments and ideas on different parts of the text. We would also like to thank the following people for their valuable comments and suggestions: Keith Allan, Melissa Bowerman, R. M. W. Dixon, Yoko Hasegawa, Jeri Jaeger, Beth Levin, Wataru Nakamura, Dan Slobin, James Watters and Richard Weist.

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The first author did a lot of writing on the book during two stints as a visitor in the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the Max-Planck-Institut für

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Finally, we would like to thank our families for their patience during the long writing process and for their encouragement and support.

# NOTES FOR INSTRUCTORS

The purpose of this book is to provide an introduction to syntactic theory and analysis which can be used with both beginning and advanced students. The theoretical orientation of the presentation is laid out in chapter 1 and placed in the context of contemporary linguistic theories. There is more material in the book than could be easily covered in a single semester; accordingly, it has been organized in such a way as to facilitate breaking it up for introductory and more advanced courses.

If used as an introductory text, the book presupposes a standard introduction to the basic notions in syntax and morphology. The recommended sections for an introduction to syntactic theory course are:

chapter 1: all (optional)
chapter 2: all (section 2.4 optional)
chapter 3: all
chapter 4: sections 4.0–4.5
chapter 5: sections 5.0–5.4
chapter 6: all
chapter 7: sections 7.0–7.3 (section 7.3.2 optional)
chapter 8: sections 8.0–8.4
chapter 9: sections 9.0–9.2
Epilog: all (optional)

There are a number of options available when using the book for more advanced courses. First, if the introductory course were based on this book as well, then the sections listed above could be reviewed and then the more advanced material in the remaining sections could be worked through. Second, if the introductory course were based on GB or another generative theory, then presumably the material listed above could be covered more quickly, due to the students' familiarity with the major issues in syntactic theory. Many of the topics that are of particular concern to GB and related theories, e.g. binding, subjacency and quantifier scope, are dealt with in sections from chapters 5, 7 and 9 not listed above. Chapter 1 and the Epilog should definitely be included in such a course, since chapter 1 contrasts the orientation

of this book with that of GB and the Epilog deals with the important issue of language acquisition.

The exercises at the end of each chapter are keyed to specific sections in the chapter. This is indicated by a section number in square brackets at the end of the text part of the problem, e.g. '[section 3.2.1]'. This means that the student should be able to do the exercise after having mastered the material in that section. This will allow the instructor to assign exercises that are appropriate for the material covered. Inquiries, comments and suggestions regarding the exercises are welcome; please direct them to VANVALIN@ACSU.BUFFALO.EDU. An instructor's guide, including solutions to all of the exercises, is available from the first author.

There are suggested readings at the end of each chapter, and they are not limited to work sharing the same theoretical orientation as the book; rather, they are intended to direct the student toward important work on a particular topic from a variety of theoretical perspectives. We have not included a glossary of terms used in syntactic theory and analysis; we recommend R. L. Trask's *A dictionary of grammatical terms in linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1993) as a companion to this volume, as it contains a comprehensive list of terms with definitions, exemplifications and references.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| A, ACT | Actor, actor of transitive verb |
| AAJ | Argument adjunct |
| ABS | Absolutive |
| ACC | Accusative |
| ACS | Accessible |
| ACV | Active, activated |
| Adj(P) | Adjective (phrase) |
| ADV | Adverb |
| AFD | Actual focus domain |
| AJT | Adjunct |
| ALL | Allative |
| AN(IM) | Animate |
| ANT | Anterior |
| ANTI | Antipassive |
| AOR | Aorist |
| APL | Applicative |
| ARG | Argument |
| AR/J | Argument or argument adjunct |
| ART | Article |
| ASC | Associative |
| ASP | Aspect |
| ATV | Active voice |
| AUG | Stem augment |
| AUX | Auxiliary |
| BEN | Benefactive |
| CatG | Categorial Grammar |
| CAUS | Causative |
| CD | Complement of degree |
| CL | Classifier |
| CL-A | Clausal actor |
| CL-U | Clausal undergoer |



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| | |
|---|---|
| CLM | Clause linkage marker |
| CMPL | Complementizer |
| CMPV | Completive |
| CNTR | Contrastive |
| CogG | Cognitive Grammar |
| COM | Comitative |
| ConG | Construction Grammar |
| CONJ | Conjunction |
| CONT | Continuative |
| COP | Copula |
| DAT | Dative |
| DCA | Direct core argument |
| DCT | Direct |
| DEC | Declarative |
| DEF | Definite(ness) |
| DEIC | Deictic |
| DEM | Demonstrative pronoun |
| DEP | Dependent |
| DEPR | Deprecating |
| DES | Desiderative |
| DET | Determiner |
| DfP | Different pivot |
| DIM | Diminutive |
| DIR | Directional |
| dl | Dual |
| d.n.a. | does not apply |
| DO | Direct object |
| DP | Detached phrase |
| DS | Different subject |
| d-S | Derived intransitive subject |
| DT | Different topic |
| DUR | Durative |
| ECS | Extra-core slot |
| ERG | Ergative |
| EVID | Evidential |
| EX | Exclusive |
| EXCL | Exclamation |
| EXH | Exhortative |
| EXT | Extent of action |
| F, FEM | Feminine |
| FG | Functional Grammar |

| | |
|---|---|
| FIN | Finite |
| FOC | Focus |
| FUT | Future |
| GB | Government and Binding Theory |
| GEN | Genitive |
| GPSG | Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar |
| HAB | Habitual |
| HPSG | Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar |
| HS | Hearsay |
| IC | Immediate constituent |
| IF | Illocutionary force |
| IIF | Indirect information flow |
| IMM | Immediate past |
| IMP | Imperative |
| IMPER | Impersonal |
| IMPF | Imperfective |
| INA | Inactive |
| INAN | Inanimate |
| INC | Inclusive |
| IND(IC) | Indicative |
| INF | Infinitive |
| INGR | Ingressive |
| INES | Inessive |
| INST | Instrument, instrumental voice |
| INT | Interrogative |
| INTR | Intransitive |
| INTS | Intensive |
| INV | Inverse |
| IO | Indirect object |
| IRR | Irrealis |
| ISC | Invariable syntactic controller |
| LAD | Language acquisition device |
| LDP | Left-detached position |
| LFG | Lexical–Functional Grammar |
| LNK | Linker |
| LOC | Locative |
| LS | Logical structure |
| LSC | Layered structure of the clause |
| LSNP | Layered structure of the noun phrase |
| M, MASC | Masculine |
| MID | Middle voice |

| | |
|---|---|
| MOD | Modality |
| MOM | Momentaneous |
| NASP | Nominal aspect |
| NCBR | Non-clause-bounded reflexive |
| NEC | Necessity |
| NEG | Negative |
| N, NEUT | Neuter |
| NFIN | Non-finite |
| NM | Noun marker |
| NMZ | Nominalizer |
| NOM | Nominative |
| N(P) | Noun (phrase) |
| NPIP | NP-initial position |
| NPST | Non-past |
| nsg | Non-singular |
| NUC | Nucleus |
| NUM | Number |
| OBJ | Object |
| OBL | Oblique |
| OBLIG | Obligation |
| OBV | Obviative |
| OCA | Oblique core argument |
| OP | Operator |
| p | Person |
| P | Patient (object) of transitive verb |
| P&P | Principles and Parameters Theory |
| PART | Participle |
| PASS | Passive |
| P(A)ST | Past |
| PER | Periphery |
| PERF | Perfect |
| PFD | Potential focus domain |
| pl | Plural |
| PNCT | Punctual |
| PNM | Proper noun marker |
| PO | Primary object |
| PoCS | Postcore slot |
| POSS | Possessive |
| P(P) | Pre-/postposition (phrase) |
| PPP | Past participle passive |
| PrCS | Precore slot |

| | |
|---|---|
| PRDM | Predicate marker |
| PRED | Predicate |
| PRES | Present |
| PRFV | Perfective |
| PRO | Pronoun |
| PROG | Progressive |
| PROP | Proper noun |
| PROX | Proximate |
| PrP | Pragmatic pivot |
| PRPR | Proprietive case |
| PRT | Particle |
| PRTV | Partitive |
| PRV | Preradical vowel |
| PSA | Privileged syntactic argument(s) |
| PSBL | Possibility |
| PSTP | Past participle |
| PURP | Purposive |
| PVB | Preverb |
| Q | Question |
| QNT | Quantifier |
| QUOT | Quotation, quotative |
| RDP | Right-detached position |
| REAL | Realis |
| REC | Recent past |
| REF | Referential NP |
| REFL | Reflexive |
| REL | Relative clause marker |
| RelG | Relational Grammar |
| REPET | Repetitive |
| RRG | Role and Reference Grammar |
| S | Subject of intransitive verb |
| SBJ | Subjunctive |
| SEQ | Sequential conjunction |
| SFG | Systemic Functional Grammar |
| sg | Singular |
| SIM | Simultaneous action |
| SmC | Semantic controller |
| SMLF | Semelfactive aspect |
| SO | Secondary object |
| SP | Same pivot |
| SPEC | (Referential-)specific |

| | |
|---|---|
| S/R | Switch-reference marker |
| SS | Same subject |
| STA | Status |
| SUB | Subordinator |
| SUBJ | Subject |
| SUFF | Suffix |
| TEL | Telic |
| TM | Terminal marker |
| TNP | Transitive, non-past |
| TNS | Tense |
| TOP | Topic |
| TPAST | Past tense – earlier today |
| TRANS | Transitive |
| UG | Universal grammar |
| U, UND | Undergoer |
| V(P) | Verb (phrase) |
| VSP | Variable syntactic pivot |
| WG | Word Grammar |
| X(P) | Head or phrase of any category |
| YPAST | Past tense – yesterday |

Arabic numbers refer to Bantu noun class agreement markers or person in other examples. Roman numerals refer to Dyirbal noun classes.

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