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英语否定极性项的共时与历时研究（英文版）

A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Negative Polarity Items in English

宋 蔚◎著

上海交通大学出版社
SHANGHAI JIAO TONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

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内容提要

本书在生成语法最简方案理论框架下研究否定极性项的句法生成机制和历史演变。本书基于 Chomsky(2000,2001,2007,2013)的理论,运用否定特征和焦点特征,确立了否定句、条件句、比较句、一般疑问句、定语从句等环境中 NPI 的句法生成机制。在解决各种环境中 NPI 句法问题的同时,验证了本书提出的 NPI 句法生成机制的合理性和必要性。另外,本书运用英语历史语料库 YCOE,PPCME2,PPCEME 对 any 的 NPI 用法和相关现象进行了数据收集和分析,并从历史语言学的角度提出了英语史中各时期 NPI 的句法生成机制和叶氏周期的第二阶段(即 ne 和 not 共同出现表示否定的阶段)的句法生成机制。本书运用了最简方案理论、历时研究方法以及英语历史资料和语料库,是对英语否定极性项的句法和历史演变的创新型研究,适合形式语言学和历史语言学方向的研究生以及对否定极性项和叶氏周期等感兴趣的研究者参阅。

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前　言

本书是在生成语法最简方案理论下的对否定极性项(Negative Polarity Item, NPI)的允准机制和历史演变的研究。现代英语中的 NPI,比如 any, ever, budge an inch 等,除了出现在否定句中,也出现在条件句、比较句、一般疑问句等语言环境中。对于 NPI 允准机制的分析是理论语言学研究中的热门话题,有一些相对成熟的分析法,比如下方含义、逆行一致和否定呼应等。这些方法既有独到见解,也存在一些问题,因此对 NPI 的系统研究仍具有极大的必要性和学术价值。

本书运用 Chomsky (2000, 2001)的一致系统创建了否定句中 NPI 的允准机制,并提出了在条件句、比较句、疑问句、定语从句等环境中 NPI 的允准机制。在解决各种环境中 NPI 允准问题的同时,本书所提出的运用否定特征和焦点特征分析 NPI 允准机制的合理性和必要性也得到了验证。另外本书通过分析运用历史语料库 YCOE, PPCME2, PPCEME 收集的 NPI any 和相关现象的数据,从历史语言学的角度提出了英语史中各时期 NPI 的允准机制和叶氏周期的第二阶段(即 ne 和 not 共同出现表示否定的阶段)的否定允准机制。本书还考查了英语史中 NPI 出现在主语里的时期和特征,提出在伊丽莎白时期的英语中存在的 NPI 出现在主语里的现象的消失是由同时期 V-to-T 移位的消失引起的。

本书利用英语的历史语料库提取数据并描述了英语 NPI 的相关现象,全面地展示了英语 NPI 的起源、演变和各个时期的相对频率。通过对英语 NPI 历史演变的研究验证和发展了语言演变理论,着重发掘和阐释了 NPI 演变的规律以及 NPI 与否定的相互作用关系,进而有助于明辨语言发展演

变的诱因,丰富了叶氏周期、特征秩序、语言演变的参数变化等理论。同时,本书合理地运用了生成语法最简方案理论、历时研究方法和语料库,是对NPI历史演变和允准机制的创新型研究。

本书主要为从事理论语言学,特别是生成语法研究的学者和研究生以及对否定极性项和历时语言学感兴趣的研究者提供参考,希望能帮助读者了解NPI的研究前沿,对完成相关研究课题,深入研究NPI有所启发。

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由于著者知识水平有限,本书在内容上存在的疏漏甚至错误之处,敬请读者批评指正。

著　者

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
adj	adjective
ASP	aspect
c/ca.	circa
Cen.	century
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)
D(P)	determiner (phrase)
F	feature/function/functional head/focus
Fin	finite
Foc	focus
IMP	imperfect
Int(P)	Interrogative (phrase)
I(P)	inflectional (phrase)
MASC	masculine
neg	negative (marker)
Neg(P)	negative (phrase)
N(P)	noun (phrase)
NOM	nominative case
Op	operator
Part (P)	participle (phrase)
PAST	past tense

pl	plural
Q	question (marker)
S	sentence
sg	singular
SN	sentential negation
Spec	specifier
Top	topic
T(P)	tense (phrase)
VGP	verb group
V(P)	verb (phrase)
v(P)	little/small verb (phrase)
2	second person
3	third person

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Negative Polarity Items

There exist a group of words and expressions in natural languages which appear to be considerably curious. These forms can only occur in a positive or negative environment, viz. they are *polarity-sensitive*. Forms that can only occur in a positive environment are termed positive polarity items (henceforth, PPIs; see [1] below), while forms that can merely occur in a negative environment are termed negative polarity items (henceforth, NPIs; see [2] below). We can recognize examples in [1a] and [2a] as ungrammatical (indicated by an asterisk).

[1] a. * I'm not *pretty* pleased with it.
(PPI in a negative sentence)
b. I am *pretty* pleased with it.
(PPI in a positive sentence)

(Linebarger, 1980: 7)

[2] a. * I think I could *ever* trust you.

(NPI in a positive sentence)

b. I don't think I could *ever* trust you.

(NPI in a negative sentence)

(cf. Hoeksema, 2000: 115)

It is widely recognized in the literature that these forms exist crosslinguistically. As far as I know, no researchers have ever claimed the existence of languages whereby no PPIs or NPIs are attested. Nevertheless, PPIs and NPIs are not found in artificial languages, like a programming language. In this sense, PPIs and NPIs are not logically necessary. Therefore, research on PPIs and NPIs may reveal the nature of natural languages.

There are a large variety of NPIs in English. I will introduce the classification of NPIs in a simple fashion for reasons of space. NPIs vary in part of speech[1] and length (from one word to several words). Zwarts (1997) and van der Wouden (1997), among others, classify NPIs according to the elements that license them, as illustrated in [3].

[3] a. Superstrong NPIs

licensed only by anti-morphic contexts (overt/sentential negation),

e.g. *until*, *either*, and *in* + indefinite time expression.

b. Strong NPIs

licensed by anti-morphic and anti-additive[2] contexts (expressions like *nobody*, *never*, and *without*),

e.g. *lift a finger* and *give a damn*.

c. Weak NPIs

licensed by anti-morphic, anti-additive, and monotone decreasing contexts,

e.g. *ever*, *at all*, *any*.

Another classification of NPIs is pointed out by Giannakidou (2011), as shown in the diagram in [4].

[4] A. Narrower NPIs (with a narrow distribution in only negatives)
B. Broader NPIs (with a broad distribution in negative, downward entailing (hereafter, DE), and nonveridical environments)
a. Non-scalar NPIs
b. Scalar NPIs
a) Narrower NPIs (including minimizers),
e.g. *in* + indefinite time expression.
b) Broader NPIs,
e.g. *any*.

A number of NPIs will be discussed in this monograph. Among them, *any* will be the most discussed one. In some analyses below, *any* is the only representative of all NPIs or all weak/broader NPIs. However, in some cases, *any* just represents itself.

Note that *any* is not used as an NPI in all contexts. In some contexts, *any* denotes free choice. If *any* appears in an environment where no negation or other elements can license NPIs, it has a free choice reading. On the other hand, when *any* appears in an environment in which it can be licensed, say, negatives, the sentences are generally ambiguous, allowing both an NPI reading and a free choice reading.[3]

Despite the complexity of ambiguity, some characteristics enable us to distinguish them in most cases. Roberts (2007: 73) suggests that the free choice *any* can be modified by *just*[4], *almost*, or *absolutely*, while the NPI *any* cannot. If *any* precedes numeral-and-noun constructions (e.g. *any five books*), it has a free choice reading. If *any* combines with *old* to

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