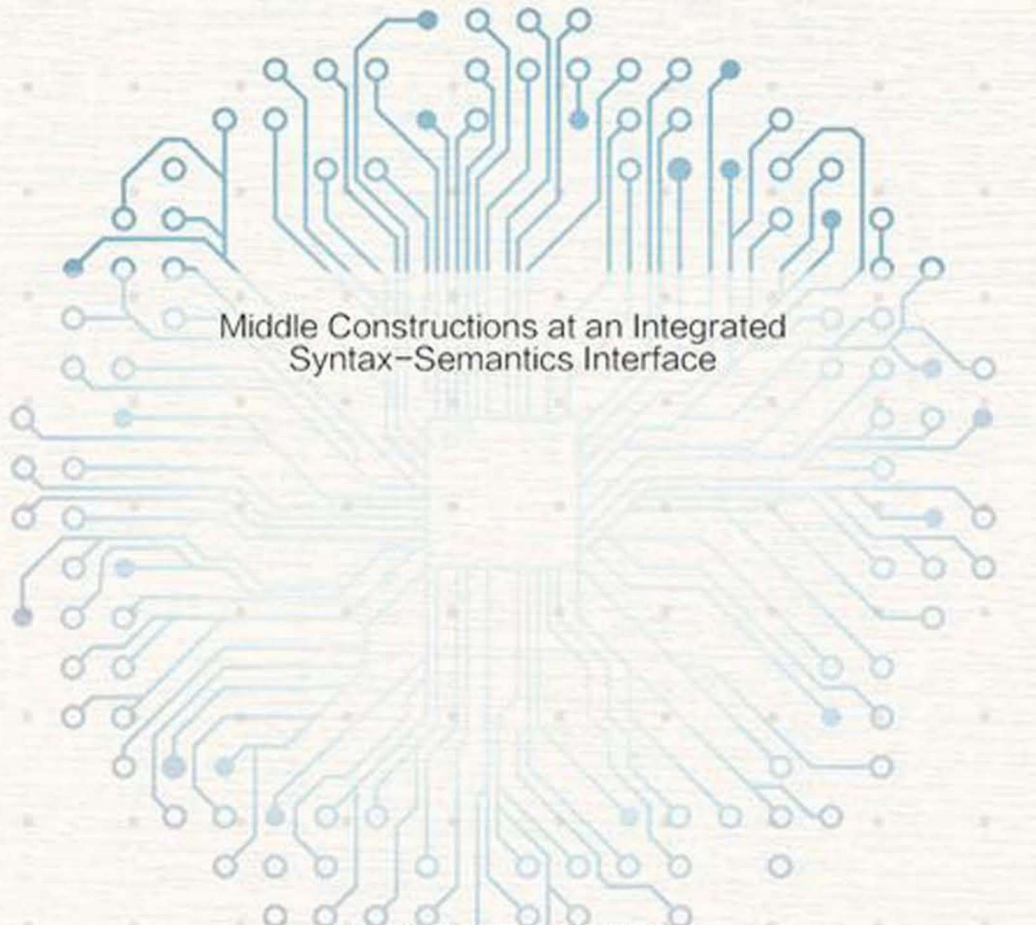



# 基于综合性句法-语义界面的 中动结构研究

高秀雪◆著



Middle Constructions at an Integrated  
Syntax-Semantics Interface

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# 要从会通的角度深入研究语法

(代序)

北京师范大学 周流溪

友生高秀雪以句法-语义界面(接口)理论的基本框架来研究英语和汉语的中动结构,取得了很好的进展,具见此书之中。这是她努力学习、应用和改造生成语法理论的阶段性成果,也是她能从会通的角度(a coalescent perspective)对语法进行深入研究的结果。

生成语法理论是一种解释性结构语言学理论(往往自称形式语言学),着重追求解释的充分性;这对于过去偏重于描写也大体满足于描写的语法研究来说是一个重大变革。而其所谓充分的解释还常常不止步于一般的概括性解释,乃是要从人类语言的共性(universality)或普遍现象(universals)的高度来进行解释。但是那就往往既难以做到,也难以讨好了。虽然如此,这条研究思路还继续在语言学界坚持前行。近来,生成语法理论的大将之一杰肯道夫下决心改造生成语法而提倡句法-语义界面理论;生成语言学阵营自称奉行认知路线,至此才真正出现这种举措(但杰肯道夫的认知路线并非体验主义的认知路线)。我及时让几位(在硕士阶段曾专攻生成语法的)博士生跟进句法-语义界面理论,率先在国内开展相应的英汉对比研究;高秀雪是第三个在此领域做出成果的同学。

在我和高秀雪就其博士论文的该研究课题进行切磋的过程中,我同她约定要以句法-语义界面理论(或曰改造过的生成语法理论)来深入研究中动结构,但又曾反复向她提出了要从会通的角度来进行英汉对比的要求。所谓会通,除了英汉会通之外,其实必然还要有路线的会通。只有从会通的角度来观察,才能在至今已有的(往往是单一路线的)研究中有所开拓并深入下去。她对此并无异词;但真正实行起来却还走了一段长路。现在我提及此事,不是要来说她个人的长短,而是想要就她和她的“同志”们原来所奉行之路线来说个长短。

最初高秀雪只准备按照当前语言学里一些人的思路来探讨中动结构,也就是“这道门拉起来很重”之类的句子。她认为按定义就应该只研究这类句子。但定义完全是人为的东西;人们大可为某个概念作不同的界定。由于在这样根本性的问题上一时跳不出一个虚幻的洋框框,她在论文开题过程中曾大伤脑筋:一方面很希冀自己的论文能有创见,一方面又还满足不了会通的要求。我不得不向她痛批一些“专家”的做法。某君曾在一篇发表在“核心期刊”的论文中,一开头即按“学术规范”给他要论述的“中间结构”(middle construction)以例证定下了范围,相当于下了个定义;而此定义很狭隘,是抄自外国学人的著作。其实所谓“中间结构”就是“中动语态”结构。在这些洋人和某君之前,至少几十年前,语法学家就已经颇为详细地探讨过中动语态这种语法现象了。在中国,既然

active voice 已经习称“主动语态”，而 passive voice 习称“被动语态”，那么 middle voice 译成“中动语态”不是顺理成章的事吗？虽然“中动语态”之名不一定完美，但它至少与现存的两个常见术语处在同一系列，一望而知；还有什么必要别出心裁另起一名呢？似乎某君不知道早有这种语态，却以为开天辟地是从他们开始的。但这还可能只是小事。而问题更在于学界的倾向：“中动语态”并非罕见之物，为何要等待当下某个学人来下定义？为何要以某个句型为准？若以为越雷池一步就不行，那么就不可能有大的作为，不可能有新的开创。在这一狼批的劝导下，高秀雪才打消了重大的顾虑，而解放了思想。不过因为要照顾当下的研究环境和便于开展句法和语义的理论阐述，她现在维持了 middle construction 一名，而译为“中动结构”。但这里最重要的事情就是确认了中动（语态）结构绝不止一两种已被虚幻地“认定”的句型。这样做了，研究的局面就打开了。

汉语中可以说有大量的语句采用中动（语态）结构。这很自然，因为其中标记不多或不明，判定为中动语态是适当的处理。如果一定要认定某些汉语的（无被动语态标记）句子是用被动语态，就难以服人。而说它们用的是中动语态，虽然也非绝对正确，但至少可以方便地类比于外语的相应结构。我告诉高秀雪：世界语（Esperanto）中有大量语句使用中动语态，带语法（词形）标记。很多人从来没有听说过世界语；要用世界语来谈论民族语言的语法好像不可靠，也难以想象。其实，世界语是从世界诸语言尤其是欧洲语言中提炼其优点而创造的国际语言；故也可借这把公用尺子来衡量各语言。它是模仿民族语言的，但有时从某个语言“抄”来的表达法在另一个语言的眼光看来不一定讨好。比如欧洲语言从古到今的不少带反身宾语的表达式就是如此。世界语从法语抄来一个存在句的 *sin trovi*（法语作 *se trouver* “发现自己”）：*Birdo sin trovas sur la arbo.*（“一只鸟发现自己在树上”——树上有一只鸟。）*Sin trovi*（亦可说 *trovi sin*）这个表达式就不“合理”。所以世界语者们把它改造为 *troviĝi*，如 *Birdo troviĝas sur la arbo.* 原来的 *sin trovi* 是主动语态，而 *troviĝi* 便是中动语态。（如果一定要用被动语态，那当然是可能的，形式是 *esti trovita*；但其意义与 *sin trovi* 并不相同，如 *Birdo estas trovita sur la arbo* 是“树上有一只鸟被发现了”。）又如，“洗澡”说成“洗自己”好像很有理，但太麻烦！于是 *Mi banas min*（我洗澡）也不妨说成 *Mi baniĝas*。有些事情的表达欧洲语言习惯用被动语态，到了世界语中就是：*Li estas nomita Johano*（“他被命名为约翰”——他叫约翰），*Li estis naskita en la jaro 1990*（“他被生于 1990 年”——他生于 1990 年）。然而现在世界语者们更愿意说 *Li nomiĝas Johano* 和 *Li naskiĝis en la jaro 1990*。这两句新的表达法里又用了中动语态。（看来是那些其本族语中不喜欢用被动语态的世界语者推动了这种语风转变。）要之，后缀 *-iĝi* 把一个及物动词变成了不及物动词，这是有形态标记的；改用这个标记的及物动词一般就可以判定为中动语态。但在汉语中类似表达的使用和分析不总是如此严格处理。“他叫约翰”，是他被人叫还是他叫自己呢，人们平常说汉语时根本没有想过。（英语说 *He is named* 或 *called John*，则是明确地表示被人起名叫做约翰了。）“他生于 1990 年”，是他自己生出自己吗？当然不是；他还是妈妈生的。但说“他被生”，岂非太费劲、太不自然吗？现代英语说成 *He was born...*，这个 *born* 本应是 *borne*（即 *bear* 的完成体被动分词），其所以变为 *born* 是因为说英语的人们也曾觉得 *borne* 太没必要了吧。但无论如何，至今英语于此并不像汉语那样干脆采用中动语态。中动语态的表达在这样事情上真是非常得体、简洁。

然则我们完全不必因为英语中没有(或少有)类似的说法就怀疑汉语中的这些形式是否是中动语态。中动语态在汉语中的使用相当普遍。别的语言也尽有类似的情况,不少表达形式并带有语法标记。世界语采用之或仿用之,是完全自然的事,等于是承认了众多语言中的这一常见的普遍现象而已。而汉语中的中动语态还常常简化到连相配的介词也不用,如:“此问题的论述见于第三章”、“此问题的论述见第三章”——后者并不比前者少见,虽然按理前者更“严密”。但应注意:“关于此问题的论述,参见第三章”却是主动语态的说法(祈使式),因为“参见(参看)第三章”是“请你参阅第三章”(See Chapter III)之意。一般外语学人对于汉语中的这些形式各异的表达法并不一定都熟练掌握和自如运用,或曰对于汉语的语态问题并不很敏感。这也就难怪外语界中不少攻语言学者往往人云亦云,一听到令人妄称的雷池就顿感心虚而裹足不前了。

高秀雪在着手研究的关键阶段决然扩大了她所研究的中动结构的范围,包括广泛见于汉语中的许多形式,并且旗帜鲜明地把中动结构形式总体上概括为两大类型:一类是评价性中动结构,另一类是描写性中动结构。这两种结构分别对主语的性质进行评价和对主语的状态进行描写。这是很好的见解。

作者认为:汉语的中动结构不是被动结构也不是作格(ergative)结构,而是话题结构的一部分。故探讨汉语中动结构也同探讨英语中动结构一样要解释其话题结构的机制。但因汉语是话题凸显型语言,而英语是主语凸显型语言,汉语中动结构里的话题机制与英语的自然不全一样。这些作者已在书里合理解释过了。

书中还有不少胜义,值得体会。作者把中动结构的特征大别为两种:典型性特征和定义性特征(主动形式表示被动意义和隐含论元是定义性特征)。从定义性特征出发,书中扩大了中动结构的范围(尤其是汉语中动结构的范围)。这就从定义的迷雾中走出一条路来。作者指出:结构、功能、认知三种研究路径都存在一些问题——生成语法研究过分注重结构的一致性,对非典型中动结构缺乏解释;更严重的问题是中动构成规则缺乏概念/经验基础,具有特设性。认知语法研究和功能语法研究虽然具有概念/经验基础,但不能把中动结构和其他相关结构区别开,忽视了中动结构的句法特征。作者要结合生成语法研究和体验性认知研究的优点并避免其缺陷,采用了句法-语义界面的理论。但是题元角色、词汇语义事件结构和句法事件结构这三种界面都存在问题而不适合做句法-语义界面;故作者以杰肯道夫平行框架理论为基础建立了一个综合性的句法-语义界面,它包含三个方面的概念结构:事件结构、物性结构和信息结构;其中事件结构在句法-语义连接中起主导作用,物性结构和信息结构通过遵循语义相容原则和语用原则起补充作用。注意:生成语言学尽量少谈语义,更不讲语用学;但句法-语义界面理论则不但要重点谈语义,还要借助语用学。在信息结构层面,世界知识、句内语境、话题链和其他语用因素能够解释那些事件结构和物性结构难以解释的中动结构。

当然,生成语言学“注重语言形式和形式化处理”这个优点此书是保留下来了。这从作者对两大类中动结构的事件程式之形式化表述里就可以看出来。这种形式化表述可以简明地显示句法结构的组成及其运转机制。除了事件程式之外,物性结构和信息结构为中动结构的生成提供了更多的制约条件。按,制约条件是解释性结构语言学的“常规武器”;如果不明确规定制约条件,则所谓解释就“上不了(分数)线”。比如在汉语中,有些动

词结构被物性结构层面的生命度限制和预测性条件所排除，不能成为中动结构。这就是一种带有可操作性的解释。

书中专门设了一章来从语（言类）型学的角度讨论英汉中动结构的异同。这是必要的，也是使解释能更好地落实的举措。比如对于汉语能出现更多的中动结构（“这把椅子坐起来舒服”等），而英语不然，就提供了不同的解释。但这些解释仍有待深入探讨。其实英语中动结构也有泛滥的一面。但为何泛滥，作者和很多人都并未回答。其实这同英语语法越来越松散随意的演变趋势直接相关。这要从历史语言学和认知语言学的角度来特别进行研究。（在习惯中动结构的中国人看来，英语某个中动结构的泛滥好像不算怪事，但那些其母语有严格形态的人感觉如何就难说了。比如在另一个极端：梵语动词要在形式上区分主动语态和中动语态[两个语态各有9个形式]，二者都可稍作变通而兼表被动意义。显然，不能只依据英语的现象来强行解释一切语言。）

无论如何，高秀雪这项会通性成果应该说是很可观的。不过我们还不能满足于已有的成绩，仍然要继续开拓。开展英汉对比是会通的行动，定会有所收获。但按理我们还应该去观察、比较尽量多的语言，才能真正发现或验证语言的共性。语法范畴是很微妙的东西。试观察一下形容词。汉语没有级的范畴，但我认为可以建立一个“生动性”（vividness）范畴：“红”能有“红红”、“红彤彤”、“红艳艳”等生动形式；这种现象带有普遍性，也就可以考虑给它立一个范畴。其次，汉语的“红红”、“人人”、“个个”、“看看”都是重叠形式，但在不同词类中重叠的作用又不一样。此中是否有共同性呢？若无共同性汉语为什么出现这些跨词类形式呢？我们或者能说，重叠就意味着信息的增加（这是通则）；但那是怎样的增加，还要细论。英语不怎么使用重叠形式；但其他语言也有使用的，不但东方语言重叠形式较多，西方语言也不一定排斥重叠形式。这就值得对比研究。汉语的动词重叠可见于这样的句子：“那样的歌儿哼哼还可以，真要高声唱出来就不好听了！”（这里面有无中动结构？）

鄂伦春语的语态范畴有5个之多：主动语态、使动语态、被动语态、互动语态和共动语态，各有其语法形式。像使动语态（causative aspect）这种现象，本来并不稀奇，但很少语法书会把它作为与主动语态、被动语态并列的语态来处理。如果我们习惯于主动语态、被动语态的二分老框框，就会把使动语态归入主动语态。（使动结构倒是当前各派语法关注的热点。）但我们不能说鄂伦春语的传统语法体系是没有道理的；反之，我们还要预备面对其他语言的比这更复杂的情况（前人曾提及各语言的“语态”差异可达10种以上）。那么，能否把鄂伦春语或别的什么语言的某个范畴与我们已知的范畴统一起来作出解释，就成为对语法理论的考验。

还有比这难些的问题，如上文提到的作格结构。汉语、英语没有这种结构；俄语和梵语格很多，也无作格。藏语却有。无作格的语言和有作格的语言怎样在格的理论上统一解释呢？犹记不久之前，有人想用作格理论解释“中国女排大败韩国队”和“中国女排大胜韩国队”里的句法奥秘；结果不了了之。因为汉语没有作格，硬要套用作格理论是困难的。但现在语法学界有把作格泛化的倾向。此书说：中动结构会使用及物动词（或说它加上宾语是“复合及物动词”）、作格动词、不及物动词。按：作格是名词的格；严格说来不应该有“作格动词”。其实此书（和别的不少著作）所举的英语例句并不真正出现作格（作格

有形态标记)。作格,在各语言中情况也不尽相同,例如:(1)有的语言主语用作格,动词是及物的,宾语用游离格(游离格也做不及物动词的主语);(2)有的语言主语用作格,动词是及物的(宾语用对格),不及物动词的主语则用主格;(3)有的语言(印地语)主语用作格(=斜格+后置词),动词限于完成体,而未完成体动词的主语和宾语都用直格(原格)。显然,要在这些语言的不同情况之间作出统一的解释已非易事,还要兼顾那些没有作格的语言呢。此书肯定了那些批评韩礼德功能理论不善处理中动语态的意见;但韩礼德是在其及物性系统里谈中动语态,它与“动效语态”(包含主动语态和被动语态)相对立——这好歹是自成系统的说法(生成语言学家也把中动结构看成是及物动词结构里的事)。而那些将功能观点与认知观点结合起来的人所提出的解决方案把中动语态不放在语言的观念(表现)功能层面而放在人际功能层面,也不容易把问题说清楚。要之,恰当确认语法范畴并做出统一的贯通性解释,是很难的事;而这却是语法研究的重要目标之一。

此外,在语言研究中我们可因旨趣之异而进行描写、比较、解释、计算。必要时,描写、比较、计算都可以为解释服务。按照不同的路线或思路(结构、功能、认知等)来工作,描写、比较、解释、计算又可有不同的作为;如何结合具体情况实行会通研究,如何把语言研究多方面引向深入,确实还有很大的活动空间。语言研究没有“唯一正确”的路线。在研究中维持路线的纯粹性或严谨性,有正当的理由;但是语言研究不是数学研究或化学研究,语言研究带有人文性,要严格“科学地”遵循某条纯粹的路线是困难的。我谈及这些,是赞赏高秀雪能解放思想而取得现在的成果;也是希望作者能再接再厉,不断扩大研究范围,更好地借助会通性的研究而在语言学理论上做出更大的贡献。



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# Abstract

The book is a contrastive study of English and Chinese middle constructions (MC) in the framework of syntax-semantics interface. The middle construction has received much attention in literature because of the mismatches between syntax and semantics, which is shown at the peculiarities of this construction, such as Patient-subject, implicit argument and active form with passive meaning. The main aim of this book is to re-delimit middle constructions, explore their generation mechanism and find the typological reasons for the differences between English and Chinese middle constructions. By this study, it is hoped that we can provide a new approach to argument realization, develop the theory of syntax-semantics interface and at last solve the linking problem of syntax and semantics in some significant areas.

Middle construction and middle voice are two related concepts. Middle voice, as a grammatical category, indicates the syntactic function within a verb phrase, reflecting the perspective and attitude of the speaker towards the situation. Middle constructions are semantic and syntactic instantiations of middle voice. The middle event is in a continuum between two-participant event and one-participant event as far as transitivity is concerned, so that there are many kinds of middle constructions in terms of the degree of transitivity. The middle construction in this book is the middle-passive type (i.e., the middle construction with passive meaning).

There are varieties of syntactic and semantic properties in middle constructions. The cross-linguistic study shows that these properties can be divided into typical ones and defining ones. The properties such as noneventiveness, obligatory adverbial modifier, simple tense and aspect, genericity, and modality are proved to be the typical properties whereas the properties of active form with passive meaning and implicit argument are proved to be the defining properties. According to the defining properties, middle constructions have been found to have neither uniform syntactic form nor uniform semantic meaning, therefore the scope of middle constructions has greatly widened by us, especially Chinese middle constructions. Chinese middle constructions are Patient-subject constructions (PSC), but not all Patient-subject constructions are middles. Chinese middle constructions are neither passives nor ergatives but are within topic constructions (TC). From the semantic perspective, middle constructions can be classified into two kinds: evaluative middles and descriptive middles which evaluate or describe the subjects respectively.

Various linguistic schools have studied the mechanism of generation for middle constructions to solve the linking problem of syntax-semantics mismatches. There are three approaches to middle constructions: generative grammar, cognitive grammar and functional grammar. The generative study sticks to the uniformity of syntax-semantics interface and tries to find the mechanism of generation from the inner side of language. The generative study is further divided into four approaches: syntactic approach, pre-syntactic approach, mixed approach and interface approach. The cognitive study is guided by the action-chain theory and the prototypical theory to look for the cognitive basis for the generation of middle constructions. The functional study combines cognition and the interpersonal function of language to explain the constraints for middle formation from a functional-cognitive perspective.

All three approaches are problematic: The generative approach overpays attention to the uniformity of structural interface. It accounts for the typical middles well but leaves the atypical middles unaccounted. The more serious is that its middle formation rules are made without empirical or conceptual motivations, but on *ad hoc* stipulations. Both cognitive and functional approaches are conceptually- or empirically-based, but they cannot distinguish middles from other related constructions and they also ignore the syntactic structure of middle constructions. The study of Chinese middle constructions has been carried out either in the generative approach or in the cognitive approach. Thus it has the problems of middle construction study in general, and what's more, it makes a seriously far-fetched comparison with English middle constructions. Therefore, this book rejects the three previous approaches above and adopts an empiricism-based conceptual semantic approach which combines the advantages of both generative linguistics and experientialism-based cognitive linguistics and at the same time avoids their shortages.

One central task of the syntax-semantics interface theory is to explain how to realize arguments in syntax or find the linking rules between syntax and semantics. But where is the syntax-semantics interface? There are mainly three views about the syntax-semantics interface: thematic roles, lexical semantic event structure and syntactic event structure. But all kinds of interfaces are problematic: thematic roles take a verb-centered mapping view and stick to the rigorous Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH); semantic event structure pays more attention to explicit arguments but ignores implicit arguments; syntactic event structure is converged with syntactic structure of generative grammar, while generative grammar is problematic, therefore, neither of them is a suitable syntax-semantics interface. The book establishes a new syntax-semantics interface—an integrated syntax-semantics interface on the basis of Jackendoff's Tripartite Parallel Architecture (TPA). The integrated syntax-semantics interface is actually a conceptual structure which consists of three parts: event structure, qualia structure and information structure. Event structure plays a dominant role in linking syntax and semantics, and qualia structure of nominals and information structure are good complements in realizing arguments by following the principle of semantic compatibility and pragmatic principles. A sentence is acceptable only when it satisfies all the factors in three aspects.

Taking the integrated syntax-semantics interface as the theoretical model, we study English and Chinese middle constructions respectively. English evaluative middles and Chinese evaluative *V-qilai* middles have a close correspondence and their event schemas can account for their peculiarities respectively.

(1) a. *The Event Schema of English Evaluative Middles*

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LET} ([Y], [_{\text{EVENT}} \text{AFF}_{+\text{vol}} ([X], [Y])]) \\ \text{STATE} \text{AFF} ([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

b. *The Event Schema of V-qilai Middles*

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LET} ([Y], [_{\text{EVENT}} \text{CAUSE} ([_{\text{EVENT}} \text{AFF}_{+\text{vol}} ([X], [Y]), \\ \text{STATE} \text{BE} ([Y], [Z])])]) \\ \text{STATE} \text{AFF}([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

The event schemas of English and Chinese evaluative middles share the same predicate functions, viz., LET function in the thematic tier and AFF function in the action tier. Y acts as Patient and X acts as Actor, and they are the antagonist and agonist in terms of force transmission in the action tier. The subject acts as Causer in the thematic tier which allows the underlying event to take place in a certain way and Patient or Patient-like arguments can be mapped into the subject position. In the underlying event, there is an affecting relation between the implicit argument and Patient or Patient-like argument. Therefore, both the implicit argument and the subject have more than one semantic role, which makes middle constructions to have the characteristics of both active and passive voice. But there are differences between English and Chinese evaluative schemas: the event structure of *V-qilai* middle has a cause-result relationship in the underlying event. The Causer is the affected event and the result is the subject being in a state. The complex underlying event makes Chinese evaluative middles more productive and less restricted in the verb and AP selections.

The event schemas of descriptive middles are distinguished from those of evaluative middles in that the subject is endowed with attributes in the evaluative middles whereas the subject is caused to have some attributes in the descriptive middles. English and Chinese descriptive middles have the similar event schemas except that English descriptive middles only allow Patient subject whereas Chinese descriptive middles have more flexibility in choosing semantic roles for the subject:

(2) *The Event Schema of Descriptive Middles*

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE} ([_{\text{EVENT}} \text{AFF}_{+\text{vol}} ([X], [Y])], [_{\text{STATE}} \text{BE} ([Y], [Z])]) \\ \text{STATE} \text{AFF} ([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

In the thematic tier, the affecting event causes the subject to be in the change of state or maintenance of state. In the action tier, the subject acts as Patient and the antagonist and the implicit argument acts as agent and the agonist in terms of force transmission. In the middle event, the Patient subject is profiled whereas the implicit Agent is deprofiled.

The event schemas cannot solve all the problems in the generation of middle constructions. The qualia structure and the information structure provide more constraining factors for generating acceptable middle constructions. The qualia structure of the subject nominal requires that the co-composition between the subject and the predicate must be semantically compatible, so that there are more restrictions on the verb selection besides the aspectual constraint. The information structure requires that the generation of middle constructions must follow pragmatic principles. For examples, in English middle constructions, the qualia structure of the subject explains the behaviour asymmetry of some pair verbs and the information structure explains the adverbial effect, which is required by the news-worthiness. And in Chinese middle constructions, not all resultative verb compounds can participate in middle formation because they are ruled out by the animacy constraint and the predictability condition between two elements in the resultative verb compound at the qualia structure level. And at the information structure level, world knowledge, the topic chain, sentential context and other pragmatic factors help explain some middles unexplained by event structure and qualia structure.

Although both English and Chinese middle constructions are licensed by event structure, there are many differences between them, which are shown in three aspects—productivity, sensitivity to the constraints of middle formation and context-dependency. These differences are due to the typological differences between English and Chinese: Chinese is a topic-prominent language whereas English is a subject-prominent language; Chinese is an aspect-prominent language whereas English is a tense-prominent language; Chinese is more flexible in argument realization than English. Just because Chinese is topic-prominent, aspect-prominent, and more flexible in word order, Chinese middle constructions are unmarked, more productive, less constrained and less context-dependent. English and Chinese middle constructions are not special constructions for their grammars; but they must be consistent with their grammars. Chinese grammar can satisfy more conditions to generate middle constructions than English.

**Key Words:** Middle Construction; Integrated Syntax-semantics Interface; Event Structure; Qualia Structure; Information Structure; Typological Differences

# 中文提要

本书是在句法-语义界面（接口）理论框架下的英汉中动结构之比较研究。中动结构因其句法-语义错配现象在文献中备受关注；这种错配表现在许多特性上，如受事主语、隐含论元、主动形式表示被动意义等方面。本书的主要目的是重新界定中动结构，探索中动结构的生成机制，以及英语和汉语中动结构差异的语言类型学原因；最终目的是为论元的句法实现提供一个新的研究路径，从而发展句法-语义界面理论，在一些重要问题上解决句法-语义连接问题。

中动结构和中动语态是两个互相关联的概念。作为语法范畴的中动语态用来表示一个动词短语中的句法功能，反映说话人对于特定情景的视角和态度，而中动结构是中动语态的语义和句法实现。就及物性而言，中动事件处于两个参与者事件和一个参与者事件的连续统之间；因此，中动结构有多种实现方式。本书所研究的中动结构是其中之一，即具有被动意义的中动结构。

中动结构拥有多种句法和语义特征，跨语言研究表明这些特征可分为典型性特征和定义性特征。非事件性、必要副词修饰语、一般时和体、泛指性、情态性等特征是典型性特征；主动形式表示被动意义和隐含论元是定义性特征。以定义性特征作为判断标准，我们发现跨语言的中动结构既没有统一的句法形式也没有统一的语义内容；因此，我们扩大了中动结构的范围，尤其是汉语中动结构的范围。汉语中动结构是受事主语结构，但并非所有受事结构都是中动结构。汉语中动结构既不是被动结构也不是作格结构，而是话题结构的一部分。本书把中动结构从语义的角度分为两种：评价性中动结构和描写性中动结构。这两种结构分别对中动主语的性质进行评价和对主语的状态进行描写。

各个语言学流派都对中动结构的生成机制进行了研究，以期解决句法-语义错配现象的连接问题。中动结构的研究路径可分为三类：生成语法研究、认知语法研究和功能语法研究。生成语法研究坚持句法-语义界面一致性，从语言内部寻找生成机制，该路径又分为四种：句法研究、前句法研究、混合研究、界面研究。认知语法研究主要采用行为链理论和原型理论探寻中动结构生成的认知基础。功能语法研究原来对中动结构探讨不够深，近来采取功能-认知视角把语言的人际功能和认知结合起来解释中动结构生成的制约条件。这三种研究路径都存在一些问题：生成语法研究过分注重结构的一致性，对非典型中动结构缺乏解释；更严重的问题是中动构成规则缺乏概念/经验基础，具有特设性。认知语法研究和功能语法研究虽然具有概念/经验基础，但是不能把中动结构和其他相关结构区别开，忽视了中动结构的句法特征。汉语中动结构研究一般采取的是生成语法研究和认知语法研究，具有这两个研究路径存在的一般问题，而且还存在与英语中动结构研究牵强

比附的问题。因此，本书摒弃以上三种研究路径，采取基于经验的概念语义研究路径；该路径结合了生成语法研究和体验派认知研究的优点，同时避免了它们的缺陷。

句法-语义界面理论的目的是解释论元如何在句法中实现，或者说找出句法和语义之间的连接规则。那么句法-语义界面在哪里？对此文献中存在三种观点：题元角色、词汇语义事件结构和句法事件结构。但是这三种界面都存在问题：论元角色采取以动词为中心的映射观点，坚持严格的题元分配一致性假设；词汇语义事件重视显性论元却忽视隐性论元；句法事件结构和句法结构聚合为一体，但是生成句法结构本身有问题。因此，以上三种界面都不适合做句法-语义界面。本书以杰肯道夫平行框架理论为基础，建立了一个综合性的句法-语义界面，即包含三个方面的概念结构：事件结构、物性结构和信息结构；其中事件结构在句法-语义连接中起主导作用，物性结构和信息结构通过遵循语义相容原则和语用原则起补充作用。只有三个方面的限制都满足了，一个句子才可以被接受。

本书以一种综合性句法-语义界面为理论模型分别研究了英汉中动结构。英语评价性中动结构和汉语评价性 V- 起来中动结构有很大的一致性，其事件程式都能够解释各自的特性。

(1) a. 英语评价性中动结构的事件程式

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LET} ([Y], [\text{EVENT AFF}_{+vol} ([X], [Y])]) \\ \text{STATE AFF} ([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

b. 汉语评价性 V- 起来中动结构的事件程式

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{LET} ([Y], [\text{EVENT CAUSE} ([\text{EVENT AFF}_{+vol} ([X], [Y])], \\ \text{STATE BE} ([Y], [Z])])]) \\ \text{STATE AFF} ([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

英汉评价性中动结构的事件程式享有共同的功能项，即主题层上的 LET（让）功能，以及动作层上的 AFF 功能。在动作层，就能量传递而言，主语是受事，隐含论元是施事，分别承担着反施力者 (antagonist) 和施力者 (agonist) 的角色。在主题层，主语作为使役者 (causer) 使得潜在的事件以某种方式发生，受事和类似受事的论元能映射到主语位置而得到凸显。潜在事件中的隐含论元和受事或类似受事的论元之间有着影响关系。因此，中动结构的主语和隐含论元拥有一个以上的语义角色。一对多的句法 / 语义关系使得中动结构同时具有主动语态和被动语态的特点。英汉中动结构的事件程式也存在一些不同点：V- 起来中动结构的潜在事件具有致使—结果的复杂关系。这一特征使得 V- 起来中动结构相对英语评价性中动结构具有多产性、在动词和形容词短语选择方面具有较少制约性。

描写性中动结构的事件程式区别于评价性中动结构的事件程式。区别表现在评价性中动结构的主语被赋予一些属性，而描写性中动结构的主语被致使拥有一些特性。英汉描写性中动结构具有相似的事件程式，唯一不同在于英语中动结构只允许受事作主语，而汉语中动结构的主语在选择语义角色方面具有较大的灵活性。



## (2) 描写中动结构事件程式

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAUSE} ([_{\text{EVENT}} \text{AFF}_{+\text{vol}} ([X], [Y])], [_{\text{STATE}} \text{BE} ([Y], [Z])]) \\ \text{STATE} \text{AFF} ([X], [Y]) \end{array} \right]$$

在主题层，影响事件使主语处于状态的变化或保持之中。在动作层，主语经历或体验了由隐含论元引发的变化。在能量传递方面，主语是受事，隐含论元是施事，分别承担反施力者和施力者的角色。主语在事件中凸显，隐含论元在事件中被弱化。

事件结构并不能解决中动结构生成中的所有问题；物性结构和信息结构为中动结构的生成提供了更多的制约条件。中动结构主语名词的物性结构要求主语和谓语之间的共组 (co-composition) 在语义上要相容不悖，所以动词选择除了体限制之外还有其他限制。信息结构要求中动结构的生成必须遵循语用原则。例如，在英语中动结构中，主语名词的物性结构能够解释成对动词的非对称表现，信息结构能够解释状语在中动结构中的作用，即通过状语来满足结构信息性的要求。在汉语中动结构中，并不是所有的结果复合动词都能进入中动结构，它们被物性结构层面的生命度 (animacy) 限制和预测性 (predicability) 条件排除在外。在信息结构层面，世界知识、句内语境、话题链和其他语用因素能够解释那些事件结构和物性结构难以解释的中动结构。

尽管英汉中动结构都由事件结构许可，但二者存在一些差异，主要表现在三个方面：多产性、中动构成限制的敏感性以及语境依赖性。这些差异有着语言类型学原因：汉语为话题凸显型语言，英语为主语凸显型语言；汉语是体凸显型语言而英语是时凸显型语言；汉语的论元实现具有较高的灵活性。正是因为汉语话题凸显、体凸显、语序灵活，汉语中动结构才成为非标记语言结构，表现为多产、较少受限制、较少依赖语境。英汉中动结构相对于各自的语法都不是特殊的结构，而是和各自的语法相一致的。汉语语法比英语语法更能满足中动结构生成的条件。

**关键词：**中动结构，综合性句法—语义界面，事件结构，物性结构，信息结构，类型差异