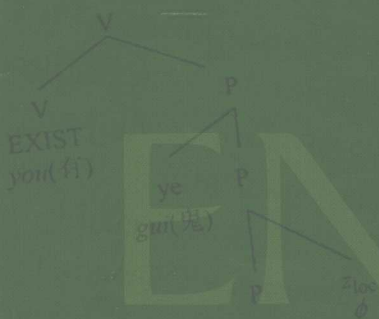


张达球 著

# 英汉非宾格性对比研究

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(59)



But the configuration in (58b) has the full phonological form of the domain and is projected in the sentential subject position. I suppose these two sentences are the alternative realizations of the core structure ("nuclear type" in Lakoff's term) of the EC, *gui zai jia-li* (鬼在家里 "ghost is at home"). Then how can this type of EC be generated as (58)? I assume that in Chinese the predicates are

- a. *chu<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>* (出牙/芽) *chu<sup>1</sup>qi<sup>4</sup>* (出气) *chu<sup>1</sup>xie<sup>3</sup>* (出血)  
*fa<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>* (发芽) *zhang<sup>3</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>* (长牙/芽) *sheng<sup>1</sup>qi<sup>4</sup>* (生气)  
*kai<sup>1</sup>hua<sup>1</sup>* (开花) *zhang<sup>3</sup>fei<sup>1</sup>zi* (长痱子) *diao<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>1</sup>* (掉牙)  
b. *nao<sup>4</sup>xin<sup>1</sup>* (闹心) *sheng<sup>1</sup>fei<sup>1</sup>zi* (生痱子)

英语博士研究文库

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# 英汉非宾格性对比研究

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF UNACCUSATIVITY  
BETWEEN ENGLISH AND MODERN CHINESE

张达球 著

上海交通大学出版社

## 内 容 提 要

本书在生成语法框架内对英汉非宾格性结构表达进行对比研究。在经典范畴之下,现代汉语对动词只进行及物性与不及物性两分,而本书认为汉语应该与英语一样,有必要对动词再作进一步的划分,把其中的不及物动词再分为非宾格性和非作格性两个次类。这样就可以对汉语中大量的不及物动词带宾语现象以及其他不及物动词后带名词现象作出明确的甄别。本书对非宾格性句法配置的研究,不是单纯在词库中对动词的词性进行非宾格性界定,而是在句法配置上对动词的非宾格性进行判别,对其句法结构表征进行生成解释。这不仅深化了汉语动词的及物性范畴,而且也拓宽了对汉语句法结构的研究视野,使汉语研究更好地与西方语言研究接轨。

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## 前言

本书在形态和句法层面对英汉两种语言中的非宾格现象进行对比研究。句法上,汉语中存在大量不及物动词带宾语现象,其中有词汇层面的动宾式(或称述宾式)复合动词,这是形态所涉及的范畴;也有短语结构层面的动宾式(或称述宾式)动词短语,这是句法所涉及的范畴。这种动宾式(或称述宾式)复合动词和动词短语的定性是学界长期争论悬而未决的老问题。形态上,本书主张从字本位出发,而不是从传统上的词本位出发,来探讨汉语的非宾格性问题。字本位观与本书所采用的分布形态观相类似。分布形态观对词性不作区分,而是把核心词类当作词根(Root),有名词词根、动词词根、形容词词根等。本书采纳这一体系把汉语的核心字类作为字根处理,如“出汗”、“流血”、“生气”、“闪光”、“出声”等传统上认定的动宾式复合词中都由一个动词性字根和一个名词性字根合并而成。

根据 Hale 和 Keyser 的论元结构理论,本书认为许多汉语动宾复合动词经历了一个词汇—句法操作过程。这些动宾复合动词在进入句法结构之前,本质上是非作格性的,但通过词汇—句法层面的合并操作,词汇内部结构以非宾格性形态进入句法推导,其句法语义功能仍保持非作格性。

汉语的典型不及物动词“来”、“死”、“笑”等都具有两类不同的结构表征:其中一类是在动词(如“来”、“死”)后直接带有 NP,另一类则可能通过动词(如“笑”)与其次谓词(如“死”)共同(“笑死”)带有一个名词 NP。汉语文献中一般都把这些结构看作是不及物动词带宾语现象。但本文认为,这些结构实际上就是不同形态的非宾格性表征:分别表征为存现结构(ECs)和动补结构(RCs)(包括描述性谓语结构)。

与其他语言一样,汉语仅在语义层面很难对哪些动词是非宾格动词作清晰的判断。汉语根据不及物动词的句法配置和功能投射,对动词的非宾格性也具有可预测性,但决定一个动词是否具有非宾格性需要通过

句法特征和词汇语义特征共同实现。

本研究发现,汉语用来表征非宾格性的两种典型结构,即存现结构和动补结构中,并不是所有与这两种结构相容的动词都具有非宾格性。存现结构和动补结构(包括描述性谓语结构)可以作为非宾格性诊断式。存现结构在事件关系上都表现为空间转移所致结果变化状态,而表达处所意义的外论元是由可适性(applicativization)中心语投射而来。英语存现结构中没有外论元,而在汉语里却可以有处所名词短语(locative NP)或领格名词短语(possessive NP)作为外论元。导致这种参数差异的就是可适性功能投射中心语( Appl P)的有无。

汉语中除了非子语类化动词(non-subcategorized verb)带有 NP 外,还有诸如“鸡吃完了”这类宾语前置所形成的话题化结构。本书认为,篇章功能语法中的此类话题化现象,其实就是句法结构中的动补复合成分的词汇被动式非宾格性结构表征。在动补结构中,非宾格性表现为核心结构中的凸像—背景配置关系。这一关系在事件结构上表达为使成结果状态变化意义。动补结构是由一个活动事件结构与一个表明状态变化的核心结构嫁接生成而来。这两个子事件之间存在使成关系,其活动事件结构由功能中心语 Voice 允准。

本书的主要观点如下:

1. 汉语中普遍存在非宾格结构表达;动词的非宾格性不是在词库中标识,而是在词汇—句法和句子—句法配置中,尤其是在完成性动词和达成性动词所表征的核心结构中表征出来;汉语中大量非作格动词实际上表现为非宾格性词汇—句法配置,其生成经历了一个词汇—句法推导过程。

2. 并非所有能进入存现结构的动词都具有非宾格性;汉语中由处所名词主语构成的存现结构的高度能产性是可适性化的结果。

3. 动补结构是非宾格性诊断式,但必须满足直接宾语限制条件;传统上的动补结构应分为:动补结构和描述性谓语结构两种不同性质的结构。

4. 汉语中包含结果变化意义的话题化可看作非典型非宾格性结构表征。

本书没能对汉语的非宾格动词列出清单,而重在对其结构表征提出

相关理论解释。这些研究结果只是建议性的而非规定性的,很多相关问题还需进一步研究。本书所做的只是为诸多语言现象的探索提供另一种视角,以期对汉语语言理论研究和对外汉语教学实践有所启示。

本书是笔者在博士论文基础上修改而成,其主要观点和研究思路对现代汉语的形态句法研究提供了一个崭新的视角,为现代汉语语言理论与西方语言理论接轨起到较好的先导作用,为相关研究提供了有益的借鉴。

张达球

2009年1月

# 英汉缩略语对照表

ag	agent	施事
AgrS	subject agreement	主语一致
AIH	aspectual interface hypothesis	体界面假设
ApplP	applicative phrase	可适性短语
AS	argument structure	论元结构
AUC	affiliated unaccusative construction	非宾语性从属结构
bd	biadic	二元性(动词配置)
CL	classifier	单位词(量词)
cmp	complement	补足语
DCLR	the directed change linking rule	直接变化连接规则
DE	definiteness effect	限定性效应
DL	Dengliu(a person's name)	邓六(人名)
DLR	the default linking rule	常规连接规则
DM	distributed morphology	分布形态
DMV	directed motion verb	方向运动类动词
DOR	direct object restriction	直接宾语限制
DS	deep structure	深层结构
Dur.	Durative	持续(体)
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking	特别格标记
ELR	the existence linking rule	存现结构连接规则
EST	the extended standard theory	扩展的标准理论
EPP	the extended projection principle	主语投射原则
GB	the government and binding theory	管约理论
h	head	中心语
ICLR	the immediate cause linking rule	直接使成连接规则
LCS	lexical concept structure	词汇概念结构
LF	logical form	逻辑式
LFG	lexical functional grammar	词汇功能语法
LIC	location inversion construction	处所倒置结构

loc	location	处所
LRS	lexical relational structure	词汇关系结构
LS	Lisi(a person's name)	李四(人名)
md	monoadic	一元性(动词配置)
NP <sub>LOC</sub>	location NP	处所名词短语
Perf.	Perfective	完成体
PF	phonetic form	语音式
P&P	principles and parameters	原则与参数
RC	resultative construction	动补结构
RVCs	resultative verb compounds	动结性合成词
SC	small clause	小句
Spec	specifier	句标词(标志语)
td	triadic	三元性(动词配置)
th	theme	客事(客体)
$\theta$ -Criterion	theta-criterion	题元准则
TP	time phrase	时间短语
UAH	universal alignment hypothesis	普遍联系假设
UH	unaccusative hypothesis	非宾格假设
URC	unergative resultative construction	非作格性动补结构
UTAH	uniformity of theta assignment hypothesis	题元指派一致性假设
v	little v	小动词(小 v)
VoiceP	voice phrase	主谓(使成)关系短语
WM	Wangmian (a person's name)	王冕(人名)
WW	Wangwu(a person's name)	王五(人名)
ZS	Zhangsan(a person's name)	张三(人名)

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# 1 Introduction

The present study is motivated by the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter, 1978; Burzio, 1986) which has been cross-linguistically attested plausible in many western languages and some oriental languages, and has theoretically justified the split of intransitive verbs into two subclasses: unergatives and unaccusatives.

Unaccusativity (also split intransitivity) as the occurrence of a subset of intransitive verbs typically realized with a nonagentive subject—is a crucial phenomenon in linguistics, for it provides a window on interfaces between syntax and semantics: unaccusatives have been described as resulting from lexical operations (e. g. , Reinhart, 1997) or morphological processes (e. g. , Pesetsky, 1995), or as being crucially syntactically determined (e. g. , Burzio, 1986; Borer, 2004), or semantically licensed (e. g. , Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995). Unaccusatives have also been observed to cause difficulties in L1 acquisition (e. g. , Snyder, et al. , 1995; Babyonyshev, et al. , 2001), L2 learning (e. g. , Montrul, 1999; Oshita, 2001; Sorace and Shomura, 2001), and in cases of acquired language disorder (e. g. , Kegl, 1995; Thompson, 2003).

All this has led to some interesting and important theories on the subject of unaccusatives, in various attempts to capture their properties (Froud, 2006). Unaccusativity has been taken as the starting point in the study of the complex properties of the specification of verbs and verb classes. Although the unaccusative-unergative dichotomy was introduced and discussed for the one-place predicates, unaccusativity is not limited to these verbs. Two-place predicates such as experiencer-object verbs, taking a theme and an experiencer arguments, and two-place predicates such as double object verbs, taking a theme and a goal/source arguments have also been argued to have derived subject, thus qualifying as two-place unaccusatives in English (see den Besten, 1982; Belletti and Rizzi, 1988; Grewendorf, 1989; among others) .

The unaccusative hypothesis is not limited to verbs, but extends to other categories. Cinque (1990) has argued adjectives can be divided as unaccusative and unergative as well. This extension, beyond the mainstream of the verbs, is

not much covered in the study in question in English. And here I will neither try to do so. But this is an unavoidable issue in Modern Chinese, which is always in dispute in terms of whether adjectives can function as predicate or should they be labeled as verbs (see more deliberated discussion in Chapter 4). The fact that unaccusativity is profoundly explored in various European languages, like in the Germanic languages, Romance languages, Slavic languages, in East Asian languages like Japanese and Korean, etc. and many other less popular languages worldwide. Chinese language is touched on, but no systematic related research is found. On these observations, this book assumes and tries to justify that unaccusativity is also productive in Chinese, so as to further the theoretical research in the orientation of General Principles of Chomskyan linguistics as well as to improve the Chinese language (as FL) teaching from a fresh perspective on an introspective approach to unaccusativity at the syntax and semantics interface.

At the syntax and semantics interface, two questions may arise: (i) Are syntactic properties of lexical items universally predictable from their meanings? (ii) How shall we account for the fact that intralinguistically one verb may have different syntactic configurations? To answer these questions, the present study is to be conducted primarily on a contrastive basis from the perspective of the syntactic representations of unaccusativity. Thus related are the two questions: (i) How are lexical structures related to the syntactic structures of unaccusative verbs in Modern Chinese? (ii) How shall we uniformly account for the unaccusative syntactic configurations in Modern Chinese?

This book employs the morphosyntactic theories to interpret the unaccusativity in Modern Chinese where some of the controversial issues will be addressed with respect to the complex performance of unergative and unaccusative verbs in Chinese in particular. The main claims of this book are as follows:

- (1) Unaccusative Hypothesis is generally justified in Modern Chinese. Unaccusativity of verbs are very productive. The unaccusativity is not labeled in the lexicon, but rather represented in the syntactic configuration, especially in the underlying core structure of the achievements and accomplishments.
- (2) A large number of unergative compounds in Modern Chinese are actually unaccusativized unergative verbs which have undergone a lexical syntactic derivation.

- (3) Not all the verbs compatible with the Existential Construction in Modern Chinese are unaccusatives as against the general claim. The high productivity of existential constructions (ECs) with location NP as the subject is the result of Applicativization.
- (4) Resultative Constructions (RCs) are real diagnostics of unaccusativity, which should observe DOR. Meanwhile, in Modern Chinese it is necessary to distinguish the resultative predicates and the depictive predicates, which are traditionally in confusion. The causative depictive predicates can also be a diagnostic of unaccusativity.
- (5) Topicalization is possibly a syntactic representation of unaccusativity in the form of lexical passivization.

What is stated above are the main proposals this book will address in different chapters to come as organized in the following section:

In Chapter 2, theoretical background is reviewed, which flips through the literature on the linguistic findings at the syntax and semantics interface, with foci on argument structure theories, event and aspectual theories which may be closely related with representations of unaccusativity.

In Chapter 3, the Unaccusative Hypothesis by Perlmutter (1978) and the interpretation by Mateu (1999, 2002) that there is a strong homomorphism between the relational syntax and semantics of argument structure are reviewed. This hypothesis gains theoretical support iff a fundamental distinction is drawn: meaning is a function of both non-syntactically transparent conceptual content and syntactically transparent semantic construal. Accordingly, a syntactically transparent approach to semantic composition is adopted in the present framework, which partakes in both Hale and Keyser's (1993, 1998, 2002) syntactic theory of the basic argument structure types and Mateu's (1999, 2002) semantic theory of argument structure, which assumes that certain meanings are associated to certain structures.

In Chapter 4, a relational syntactic and semantic description of Chinese lexical unaccusative representations is raised: unergative compounds like *kaihua* (开花 “blossom”), *chuhān* (出汗 “sweat”), *shengqi* (生气 “enrage”), etc. are actually unaccusativized unergatives which have undergone an I-syntactic derivation (internally causativized). This claim can be supported from the same operation of location verbs like *shangjia* (上架 “shelve”), locatum verbs like *shangsuō* (上锁

“lock”), etc., which are actually denominals derived by incorporation of the location PP *zai... shangmian* (在...上面 “on something”) with the location NP *jia* (架 “shelf”) and the instrument NP *suo* (锁 “lock”), respectively, which have undergone an abstract P-N conflation (externally causativized). Besides, deadjectival predicates like *mang* (忙 “busy”), *lei* (累 “tired”), *fan* (烦 “depressed”), *chou* (愁 “melancholy”), etc., are typically productive in Chinese, which have also undergone a V-A conflation, and display the properties of unaccusatives.

In Chapter 5, the relational syntax and semantics of unaccusatives with respect to the verbs of existence and appearance is addressed. The present analysis of unaccusativity is exemplified with a cross-linguistic contrast of the syntactic representations primarily between English and Modern Chinese, with some examples from the Romance languages (e. g., Italian and Spanish), Germanic languages (e. g., Dutch), and East Asian languages (e. g., Japanese and Korean). Meanwhile, the lexical syntactic derivation is further addressed in the sentential syntactic level, with the introduction of an external argument. This additional argument may involve Applicativization.

In Chapter 6, a relational syntactic and semantic account of the crosslinguistic variation involved in the so called “elasticity of verb meaning” (Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 1998) with respect to the Resultative Constructions in Modern Chinese is given. Such a variation is argued to be related with Talmy’s (1985, 2000) typological distinction between “satellite-framed languages” and “verb-framed languages”. In particular, two kinds of complex telic constructions (RCs and Directed Motion Constructions) deserve special attention.

The so called “Direct Object Restriction” (DOR) on resultative constructions in Modern Chinese is to be revisited in the framework of the relational syntax and semantics of argument structure, holding that the outer unergative structure is conflated to the inner unaccusative structure by adjunction rather than the other way around as generally claimed and is realized as Root serialization (Wang, 2006). Illustrations from Chinese will justify that the causative relation between the two elements of the compound predicates and their arguments may not guarantee their unaccusativity.

Chapter 7 will summarize the whole book with the preliminary description and

interpretation of the unaccusative argument structure configurations in Modern Chinese at the syntax and semantics interface, which may provide a fresh perspective to and raise some unsolvable problems for the future research in the Chinese linguistics.

In sum, this book is not intended to give an explicit word list or a full description of the unaccusative verbs, but rather attempts to attest the UH in Modern Chinese and systematically account in the generative framework for the unaccusativity at the lexical and syntactic levels. Many problems related are still beyond this book and more work is awaited for the future research.

## 2 Theoretical Background

It is generally agreed that, of the two fundamental lexical categories, verb and noun, verb holds the dominant status in the specifications of information, offers complex syntactic and semantic information for a sentence, and also determines the syntactic structures with the semantic restrictions on the co-occurrence of the nominal components (Fillmore, 1968; Chafe, 1970). Verbs are generally splitted into two subclasses, the transitive and the intransitive, in terms of whether they take an object or not. But things are not so simply regular. Many transitives may not necessarily subcategorize an object NP, whereby they are supposed to have the property of intransitive verbs. On the other hand, many intransitive verbs sometimes also take an "object" NP, which may be regarded as having the property of the transitive verbs. This is a popular case, and it is no exception in Modern Chinese. As a result, it seems to be justified that in Modern Chinese no clear boundary is found between transitive and intransitive verbs, just as it is the case with the entanglement of various intransitive verbs which should have been distinguished otherwise as unergative and unaccusative verbs in terms of their syntactic properties as have been done in European languages. But this reclassification wins no much response from the scholars working on Chinese. No systematical research has been done on the unaccusativity of the Chinese language ever since the debut of the Unaccusative Hypothesis by Perlmutter (1978). Just on the basis of such observation, this book mainly deals with the syntax and semantics of the argument structure configurations of the intransitive verbs, the unaccusative ones in particular, in Modern Chinese.

This book will follow Chomskyan generative framework, primarily following the theory of argument structure (Hale and Keyser, 1993, 2002) and distributed morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997), to try to answer the aforecited questions raised in Chapter 1.

## 2.1 Argument Structure(AS) Theory

In recent years, research on verb phrases at the syntax and semantics interface has been extensively conducted, which involves argument structure, event structure, aspectual structure (aktionsart), and more lately the distributed morphology. Different approaches, mainly syntactic and semantic, try to explore the nature of the verbs. Unaccusatives have been described as resulting from lexical operations (e. g. , Reinhart, 1997) or morphological processes (e. g. , Pesetsky, 1995), or as being crucially syntactically determined (e. g. , Burzio, 1986; Borer, 2004), and/or semantically licensed (e. g. , Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995). Unaccusatives have also been observed to cause difficulties in L1 acquisition (e. g. , Snyder et al. , 1995; Babyonyshev et al. , 2001), L2 learning (e. g. , Montrul, 1999; Oshita, 2001; Sorace and Shomura, 2001), and in cases of acquired language disorder (e. g. , Kegl, 1995; Thompson, 2003; Froud, 2006). All this has led to some interesting and important theorizing on the subject of unaccusatives, in various attempts to capture their properties. In particular, the observation that many unaccusatives also have transitive alternations has prompted proposals about the nature of the argument structure change that determines the surface realization of verbal predicates.

Argument structure of a verb has been heatedly probed over the years at the syntax and semantics interface. Various theories approach the lexicon-syntax relations from quite different perspectives. In this section, an overview on three main approaches: the lexicalist approach of theta roles, the lexical semantic approach of event structure, and the syntactic approach of argument structure configurations is respectively addressed. On account of the fact that this book is mainly based on the syntactic approach of argument structure configurations, it is singled out in Section 2.3 a bit later.

### 2.1.1 Argument Structure in the Lexicalist Framework

Verb-nominal relations can typically be represented by the argument structure, which is the crucial part of any theory of syntax. It can date back to Chomsky's (1957) Phrase Structure rules, which argue that the verbs strictly subcategorize their complements. Under the Extended Standard Theory (EST),