当代语言学研究文库

屈折词缀变异与中介语句法损伤问题研究（英文版）

A Study of Inflectional Optionality and the (Un) Impairment of Interlanguage Syntax

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上海交通大学出版社

内 容 提 要

　　本书在最简方案框内探讨第二语言中屈折词缀的变异是否意味着中介语句法系统的损伤,第二语言形态发展和句法发展之间的关系,以及导致第二语言屈折词缀缺失的因素。对中国英语学习者的实验表明,二语中屈折词缀的变异只能说明中介语形态系统的损伤,并不意味着中介语句法系统的损伤,二语习得者对异干互补屈折词缀形态的习得远好于词缀性质屈折形态,二语中形态系统的发展往往滞后于句法系统的发展,二语习得者对屈折词缀的使用受到多种因素的影响。

　　本书适用于语言学专业研究生,尤其是从事二语习得的研究者,参考阅读。

序

英语作为一门国际性语言,已成为人们生活中不可缺少的工具。尤其在中国加入 WTO 之后,对英语人才的需求无论在质量上还是在数量上飞速增长。回顾近 20 年中国英语教学的发展,我们已经取得了很大成就:教学大纲日臻完善与成熟,课程设置日趋合理,教材编写发展迅速,呈现一派百花齐放,百家争妍的大好局面。为中国的科学技术、社会经济发展和文化交流培养了大批英语人才。但是"我国目前的外语水平不高,教学方法普遍存在费时较多、收效较低的问题。"(李岚清)需要进一步拓宽我们的研究范围,探索新的研究途径,以提高中国英语学习者的学习效率,满足中国迅猛发展的需要。

长期以来,中国教师所受的培训主要侧重于如何教,教什么,而我们的研究也侧重于各种教学法、具体的教学方法、教材的编写和大纲的设计,而很少从学习的角度去研究中国的英语教学所面临的问题。近年来国际上二语习得研究的发展迅猛,取得了令人瞩目的成果。我国也有越来越多的学者从学生的视角研究中国的英语教学所面临的问题。中国英语学习者的二语习得研究在过去十多年间也得到了迅速的发展。

二语习得领域的研究系统地探索二语习得的本质和习得的过程。其主要任务就是揭示和描述学习者是如何获得第二语言的,并解释为什么学习者能够获得第二语言。Gass 在讨论二语习得的研究范畴时指出:二语习得的研究是对非母语习得的研究,也就是对除母语以外任何语言习得的研究。它研究学习者在有限接触目标语的条件下如何构建新的语言体系。目前,尽管二语习得研究已取得很大成果,我们还远远没有建立起一套完整的二语习得理论。学者们正试图从不同的学科视角来认识和研究二

语习得。因此,二语习得研究与语言学、心理学、心理语言学、社会学、社会语言学、教育学等等有着密切的关系。同时,由于二语习得与这些相邻学科之间的紧密关系,研究者们采用了不同的方法、不同的工具、从不同的学科视角来审视所采集的数据和样本。实际上,不同的方法和不同的学科视角又决定了研究者会采取不同的数据采集方法,运用不同的数据分析工具。因此这也决定了二语习得研究的交叉学科研究的本质。

人类的语言学习可分为母语习得和二语习得,前者指儿童在自己的生活环境中对母语的自然而然的习得。后者指人们习得母语后对第二门语言的学习。目前国外的二语习的研究的对象基本上为在目标语的环境中学习目标语。而中国的英语学习者则是在母语的大环境中学习其他民族的语言。换言之,中国的英语学习者是在课堂上学习英语的。他们是有意识地去学习一门语言,了解其语言结构、语法规则、词汇等等。离开了教室,他们接触目标语的机会非常有限。因此,中国英语学习者习得英语的过程及目标语的发展有可能有其自身的特征。研究中国英语学习者英语习得的过程对促进和提高中国英语教学效率有重要意义。本丛书的研究将涉及中国英语学习者的词汇习得、时体发展、语用能力发展、一语认知资源对二语学习的影响,交际策略的应用等诸多方面,希望能为读者较全面了解中国英语学习者二语发展提供帮助,为其他学者研究二语习得提供一些参考和启示。

这几本著作仅仅是本丛书出版计划的第一批。我们对纳入丛书的著作有着明确的要求:一是入选的著作力求具有相当的理论深度和原创性,能为中国英语学习者二语习得研究和中国英语教学起到推动作用;二是研究力求具有系统性,研究设计合理,研究方法科学,数据翔实,分析可靠,能把握二语习得研究前沿。我们真诚感谢上海交通大学出版社的领导和编辑人员对这套丛书的出版提供的支持和努力。我们也真诚地希望广大研究工作者和研究生提出批评、建议和帮助。

王同顺

2008 年 10 月

前　言

　　普遍语法可及性一直是基于生成语法理论的第二语言(二语)习得研究的一个中心问题。从 20 世纪 80 年代后期到 90 年代初对最初的普遍语法可及性问题的探讨,到 90 年代中期对二语初始状态的研究,再到 90 年代后期至今对中介语句法损伤的研究,无一不是对普遍语法可及性的探讨。第一阶段的研究在"管辖与约束理论"框架内展开,其考察的重心是参数重设;第二阶段和第三阶段的研究均在"最简方案"理论框架内展开,其考察重心是体现语言间参数差异的功能语类及其语法特征。

　　中介语句法损伤研究主要探讨功能语类在中介语中是否能够得到体现,功能语类的特征值能否重新设置,中介语中的特征核查机制是否完好无损,以及中介语句法系统是否受普遍语法的约束等。对中介语句法损伤的研究主要集中在功能语类 T 和 Agr 上,探讨的焦点是二语中与功能语类相关的动词屈折词缀的缺失是否意味着中介语句法的损伤,并出现了观点截然不同的两大阵营。"损伤说"认为中介语句法系统中的功能语类及特征系统是有损伤的。它又细分为两种不同的观点:一种认为中介语句法损伤是整体性的,或者说是根本性的,二语习得和一语习得存在本质的差别,被称为"整体损伤假说";另一种认为中介语句法损伤只是局部性的,仅限于功能语类的特征强度上,被称为"局部损伤假说",或者仅限于一语中没有实例化的特征上,被称为"特征失效假说"。与"损伤说"相反,"无损伤说"认为中介语句法系统没有损伤,其功能语类、组成特征以及特征核查系统在终极状态的二语中都能得以体现,其代表理论是"表层屈折词缀缺失假说"和"形态误读假说"。

　　本书根据笔者 2006 年在上海交通大学完成的博士学位论文

修改而成，并增补了三年来与本课题相关的最新研究成果。其探讨的主要内容包括：①第二语言中屈折词缀的变异是否意味着中介语句法系统的损伤；②第二语言形态发展和句法发展之间的关系；③导致第二语言屈折词缀缺失的因素。全书共分六章。第一章介绍中介语句法损伤问题争论的起源和发展，以及本研究的研究问题和意义。第二章回顾了以往一语习得和二语习得中的屈折词缀变异研究，重点是有关中介语句法损伤的两大阵营，并对以往的研究中存在的理论和实验问题进行剖析。第三章是本研究所采用的理论框架 —— 最简方案，介绍体现语言间差异的功能语类和形式特征，重点探索了英汉语中与定式相关的句法组特性。第四章是本研究的主体部分，通过对中国英语学习者的个案研究和横断面研究，全面、深入地探讨了屈折词缀变异与中介语句法损伤之间的关系，并与以往的研究进行对比。本研究增加了对二语习得者异干互补屈折形态的考察，并对实验数据进行了理论解释，使得对中介语句法损伤问题的研究更加全面。第五章通过实验数据验证无损伤说对二语中屈折词缀缺失的解释，并探索性地解析其他影响屈折词缀缺失的因素。第六章总结全书，并阐述目前研究遗留的问题和将来的研究方向。

　　本研究的主要发现包括：①二语中屈折词缀的变异只能说明中介语形态系统的损伤，并不意味着中介语句法系统的损伤，功能语类在二语中能够得以体现，其特征值能够重新设置，特征核查机制也完好无损；②二语中形态的发展和句法的发展不是同步的，形态系统的发展往往滞后于句法系统的发展；③二语习得者对异干互补屈折形态的习得远好于词缀性质的屈折形态，这可以在分布形态学、双机制理论以及语言习得理论框架内得到解释；四，语言产出是一个复杂的过程，二语习得者对屈折词缀的使用受到多种因素的影响，形态能力的发展需要较长的时间。

　　本研究与以往研究的不同点在于：①增加考察了被忽视的异干互补屈折形态；②将与定式相关的组特性组合起来通过二语习得者的语言表现推断其语言能力；③跳出乔氏生成语言学对二语习得者的屈折词缀习得差异从理论上作出了解释；④对以往研究中二语习得者屈折词缀缺失的解释进行了检验，并探讨了其他影响因素；⑤同时使用个案研究和横断面研究，前者可以和以往研究比较并深入探讨中介语句法损伤问题，后者可以提供大样本的被试已增加本研究的可信度和可

推广性。

　　本研究对语言教学、教材编写和测试学均具有一定的指导意义。既然二语中屈折词缀的缺失并不意味着中介语句法的损伤，二语形态系统的发展滞后于句法系统的发展，屈折词缀的使用受到多种因素的影响，形态能力的发展需要较长的时间，那么我们就不应该在测试和英语教学中把英语二语学习者 *-s* 和 *-ed* 的丢失看作是严重错误或低级错误而大量扣分或反复训练，也不应该在教材编写时花很多篇幅训练屈折词缀。

　　本书适用于语言学专业研究生，尤其是从事二语习得的研究者参考阅读。希望本研究能够得到关注和推广，在一定程度上推动我国基于生成语法的二语习得研究。

　　在本书即将付梓之际，我要对长期以来关心和帮助我的师友们表示感谢。我的博士导师陈永捷教授，是他把我引入了更广阔的二语习得世界，并培养我治学精神和传授我研究方法；俞理明教授和王同顺教授，与他们的交流和讨论给了我很多的启发；周国强教授，他的句法学课使我打下了坚实的理论基础；王奇博士和杨小虎博士，与他们的交流大大促进了我对生成语法的理解和二语习得研究的实践。本书的出版得到了上海交通大学"985"二期哲学社会科学创新基地项目"现代语言应用与外国文学理论研究"的资助，在此对王同顺教授的邀请撰稿深表感谢。

　　当然，作为国内一项效果有关中介语句法损伤的研究，本书还存在一些不完善的地方，恳切期望国内同行专家和广大读者惠予批评指正。

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常　辉

2010 年 2 月 1 日

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Abbreviations

Agr	agreement	一致
AgrP	agreement phrase	一致短语
C	complementizer	标句词
CS	computational system	计算系统
D	determiner	限定词
DM	Distributed Morphology	分布形态学
EPP	Extended Projection Principle	扩充的投射原则
FFR	Full Functional Representation	完整功能表征
GB	Government and Binding Theory	管辖与约束理论
IFR	Impaired Functional Representation	损伤功能表征
Infl	inflection	屈折
IP	inflection phrase	屈折短语
L1	first language	母语
L2	second language	二语
L1A	first language acquisition	一语习得
L2A	second language acquisition	二语习得
L1ers	first language acquirers	一语习得者
L2ers	second language learners	二语习得者
LF	Logical Form	逻辑式
LIs	lexical items	词项
LIH	Local Impairment Hypothesis	局部损伤假说
MP	Minimalist Program	最简方案
MSIH	Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis	表层屈折成分缺失假说
MS	Morphological Structure	形态结构
Neg	negation	否定

OIs	optional infinitives	选择性不定式
PF	Phonological Form	音系式
PFI	Principle of Full Interpretation	完全解释原则
QP	quantifier phrase	量词短语
RIs	root infinitives	主句不定式
T	Tense	时态
UG	Universal Grammar	普遍语法
VIs	vocabulary items	词汇项

Contents

CHAPTER 1

The Impairment of Interlanguage Syntax

1. 1   Debate on the Impairment of Interlanguage Syntax

The generative approach to second language① acquisition (L2A) is generally UG (Universal Grammar)-oriented. From the original UG access studies in the 1980s and early 1990s, the UG-based L2 studies shifted their research concentration to the initial state of L2 grammar in the mid-1990s and more recently to the impairment of interlanguage (IL) syntax②. Following this trend, this book discusses the question of the IL syntax impairment.

One argument for the impairment of IL syntax is that there exist big differences between first language acquisition (L1A) and second language acquisition (L2A). The most conspicuous properties of L1A are uniformity, rapidity and effortlessness. That is, all the infants with normal abilities can acquire their first language uniformly. And they will acquire all the major structures of their first language by the

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① According to the conventions of second language research, we do not distinguish between second language, foreign language and interlanguage, or between first language, mother tongue and native language, or between acquisition and learning in this dissertation.

② Interlanguage (IL) syntax is impaired in the sense that it is not constrained by UG.

age of three and their understanding of complex and subtle structural distinctions is adult-like by five. Furthermore, they generally do not have to engage in special learning to acquire their first language, and interaction with native speakers and exposure to language samples are enough to ensure their acquisition. By contrast, very few adult second language learners (L2ers) can successfully achieve a perfect command of the target language and they will show fossilization with some kinds of incomplete and indeterminate grammar. Usually L2ers need to work hard in their acquisition of the target language and sometimes formal instruction is even required. In addition, negative evidence plays an important role in L2A. These big differences between L1A and L2A lead some linguists (e.g., Bley-Vroman, Clahsen, Meisel) to the conclusion that L1A and L2A are fundamentally different and that IL syntax is impaired.

Another argument for the impairment of IL syntax comes from the divergent outcomes in L2A and syntactic optionality or variability[①] in non-native grammars. Early work on UG and L2A often assumes that identical or similar stages between L1A and L2A, and identical or similar outcomes between native speakers and L2ers should be expected. Research (e.g., Bley-Vroman, 1989, 1990; Clahsen & Muysken, 1986, 1989), however, shows that L2ers' competence or performance diverges from that of adult native speakers as well as first language acquirers (L1ers). Grammatical competence is even divergent among L2ers. Failure to find such similarities became a major motivation for the claim that UG is inaccessible for L2ers, and that IL syntax is impaired (e.g., Bley-Vroman, 1989, 1990; Clahsen & Muysken, 1986, 1989; Schachter, 1988). Additionally, optionality is found not only at intermediate stages of L2A (e.g., Beck, 1998; Eubank et al., 1997), but also at advanced stages, even in the end-state grammars of non-native speakers who have reached the stage of ultimate attainment and achieved native-like competence. The optionality

① In this dissertation, optionality and variability are used interchangeably.

in L2 grammar has strengthened the argument that IL syntax is impaired. Recently, however, there has been recognition that divergence and optionality do not necessarily lead to the impairment of IL syntax and can be accommodated within a UG framework (e.g., Prévost & White, 2000). Thus, the debate on the impairment of IL syntax through the study of L2ers' syntactic representation has become one of the foci in second language research within the framework of generative grammar.

For the past several decades, second language researchers have been exploring the underlying causes of the general failure in L2A and in what aspects IL syntax is impaired. They relied on generative grammar to examine the IL syntactic system so as to explore L2ers mental representation of syntax. The Government and Binding Theory (GB, Chomsky, 1981, 1986) enabled second language researchers to compare the parametric differences between languages, to analyze the role of L1 in L2A, and to examine the resetting of parameters. As Lardiere (2005) points out, however, L2A is not simply a process of parameter resetting, but involves more subtle learning, such as delinking and reassembly of features as well as semantic learning. Hence, GB is not adequate for further second language research. Recently, the Minimalist Program (MP, Chomsky, 1993, 1995, 1999, 2000) has taken shape, which provides a new perspective to second language research. Within this theoretical framework, the fundamental differences between languages lie in functional categories and their associated features. Accordingly, L2A is a process of resetting the featural values. Since inflectional morphology is the surface representation of functional categories, research on inflections, especially verbal inflections, has become a new hot topic in recent second language research.

Under such circumstances, a more recent argument for the impairment of IL syntax is the optionality in the production of inflectional morphology by L2ers. L1 research (e.g., Wexler, 1994; Rizzi, 1993/1994) shows that child L1ers go through a stage at which they alternatively use inflection for lexical verbs in root clauses in

their early grammars, which is called the Root Infinitive (RI) phenomenon. Likewise, much evidence (e. g. , Lardiere, 1998a, 1998b; Beck, 1998; Herschensohn, 2001) shows that L2ers also optionally use verbal inflections in their speech. That is, the verbs in finite clauses may be either a finite or a nonfinite form. Based on this fact, some researchers (e. g. , Meisel, Beck), argue that optionality in the use of tense and agreement inflections implies that the associated functional categories of T (ense) and Agr (eement) are somewhat impaired in IL syntactic system. But other researchers (e. g. , Lardiere, Herschensohn and White) contend that IL syntactic system is unimpaired and the functional categories of T and Agr are indeed present despite L2ers' optional use of tense and agreement inflections, with the lack of overt inflections attributable to some other causes. Missing inflection from lexical verbs, according to them, only shows that L2 morphological system is impaired, but not that L2 syntactic system is impaired.

1.2　Research Questions and Significance

Following this trend, the present research aims to examine the morphological or syntactic impairment debate in recent years, to explore the potential relationship between missing inflection in L2 and the impairment of IL syntax, to further discuss the relationship between morphological development and syntactic development in L2, and to go a more step further to explore the causes of inflectional omission in L2 by investigating Chinese-speaking L2ers' knowledge of English finiteness within the theoretical framework of MP. To be specific, the research questions in this study are:

● Research question 1
Are RIs in L1 grammars identical to the infinitival verbs of finite clauses in L2 by nature?

● Research question 2

Does inflectional optionality in L2 reflect some kind of impairment of IL syntactic system, or do missing inflections imply the impairment of the associated functional categories and feature system?

● Research question 3
What kind of relationship exists between morphological development and syntactic development in L2?

● Research question 4
What leads L2ers to omit morphological inflections?

The significance of this research lies in the following six aspects. Firstly, the research on the impairment of IL syntax could shed light on the nature of interlanguage representation. Is interlanguage a natural language system in the sense that it is systematic with its own characteristics despite its obvious differences from both native and target languages and that it is constrained by UG (Selinker, 1972; Ellis, 1985; White, 1998)? The nature of interlanguage is the ontological question of the second language, so it is the most important and fundamental question of second language research. Secondly, examining the inflectional system and IL syntactic system helps to explore the relationship between morphology and syntax in L2. Are they directly linked to or independent of each other or is there other relationship? Does the acquisition of one trigger the acquisition of the other? Moreover, their relationship is also the locus of differences between Impaired Camp and Unimpaired Camp. Thirdly, this research may shed some light on the relationship between performance and competence. The use of inflections is L2ers' performance, while their syntactic knowledge is their competence. Does L2ers' performance directly reflect or understate their competence? How can we know L2ers' competence from their performance? Fourthly, the debate on the impairment of IL syntax has a long history in second language research.