

Constructional Meaning and Compositionality

构式意义与组合性

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- ① 概述 (Introduction)
- ② 惯用语的连续性 (Continuum of idiomaticity)
- ③ 构式意义的种类 (Kinds of constructional meanings)
- ④ 信息流 (Information flow)
- ⑤ 总结 (Summary)

构式与组合性 (Constructions and compositionality)

Construction

C is a CONSTRUCTION iffdef C is a form-meaning pair $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predicatable from C's component parts or from some other previously established constructions.

任何一个语言学模式，只要其形式或意义（功能）中的某些特征不能从其组成成分或已有的其他构式中严格预测出来，该模式就是构式。

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The Principle of Compositionality (Frege's Principle)

The meaning of an expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the way they are syntactically combined.

一个表达的意义由它每部分的意义按照语法规则组合得到。

构式与组合性 (Constructions and compositionality)

句法和组合语义

- 句法规则和意义是直接相关的。
- 语义组合的基础是，每个词语都表示意义，句法规则仅从句法目的上决定符号的组合。
- 句法规则将词语组合成短语时，不能加入新的概念到词语提供的意义中，也不能改变词语的组合性质。

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To embrace a construction-based model of semantic composition is not to reject the existence of syntactically transparent composition but instead to treat it as a “default in a wider array of options”.

接受/承认基于构造模型的语义组合，并不代表拒绝句法透明组合的存在，而要将其视为“一般选项的默认值”。

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短语的意义有两种解释 (interpretation):

- 一般的“句法结构透明的组合语义”解释
- 构式本身赋予的语义解释

伪条件句 (Pseudo-conditional sentences)

- (1) a. If you're 3Com right now, you're considering buying add space in next week's issue.
- b. If you're George Bush, you're now allowed to lie in the faces of trusting young voters.
- c. If you're Betty Ford right now, you're probably thinking, you know, I hope everybody's OK.
- (2) If you're pleased with the outcome, you may feel like celebrating.

例子 (1) 中的句子都是伪条件句，句子 (2) 是普通条件句。

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例子 (1) 中句子的条件从句对于对话者来说是不可能成立的，甚至说话者真正想表达的内容也很难确定（含有言外之意）。

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但是，两类条件句都可以用 (3) 的形式表示。

- (3) If you are x , $p(x)$.

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伪条件句说明的问题

- 句子除了组合义以外，还可能存在构式赋予的意义。
- 构式不等同于表达形式的固化 (inflexibility)

句法透明组合 (Syntactically transparent composition)

If a language is compositional, it cannot contain a pair of non-synonymous complex expressions with identical structure and pairwise synonymous constituents.

如果一种语言是组合性的，那么它就不存在一对意义不同却具有相同结构和元素的表达。

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- (4) a. My yoga instructor sometimes pulls my leg.
b. 瑜伽教练有时会拉伸我的腿。
c. 瑜伽教练有时会和我开玩笑。
- (5) a. I'm afraid he's going to spill the beans.
b. 我担心他会把豆子洒出来。
c. 我担心他会泄漏秘密。

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Constructional approaches recognize as instances of compositionality cases in which two different meanings for the same syntactic form are licensed by two different collections of form-meaning licensors, i.e., by two different collections of constructions.

构式方法允许同样的语法形式被不同的构式赋予不同的意义。

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惯用语的连续性 (Continuum of idiomaticity)

There exists a gradient of idiomaticity-to-productivity stretching from frozen idioms to fully productive rules.

固定习语和生成规则之间不是割裂的。

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固定习语 (Frozen idioms)

- the salt of the earth (指善良和诚实的人)
- in the doghouse (惹上麻烦, 大事不妙)
- under the weather (身体不适)

生成规则 (Productive rules)

- Kim blinked (the Subject-Predicate Construction)
- in the kitchen (the Head-Complement Construction)

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四类构式

- 固定词汇、句式特别: right away, by and large, cheek by jowl
- 固定词汇、句式常见: a red herring, water under the bridge
- 轻微的形态和句式变化: kick/kicks/kicked/kicking the bucket
- 只固定词法范畴: Watch NP[ACC] VP[BSE]

习语 (idioms)

VP 型习语 (VP idioms)

- (6) a. blow one's nose
b. blow someone's mind
- (7) a. slip someone a Mickey
b. give someone the slip
- (8) a. The world has passed someone by.
b. Someone's time is up.
c. Where does someone get off?/I wonder where someone gets off.

例句 (6) 是有固定动词和代词论元的 VP 型习语。

例句 (7) 是带可变宾语的 VP 型习语。

例句 (8) 是少见的带主语的 VP 型习语。

习语 (idoms)

名词外置 (Nominal Extraposition)

- (9) a. It's amazing the people you see here.
b. It was terrible, really, the joy I took at the notion of skunking Pigeyes.
c. It's staggering the number of books that can pile up.
- (10) It_{BE} AP [_{NP}the CN].

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关联条件 (Correlative Conditional/Comparative Correlative)

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怀疑构式 (Incredulity Construction)

- (12) Him get first prize?!

联合条件 (The conjunctive conditional)

- (13) a. One more beer and I'm leaving.
b. Bouges pas ou je tire! (“Don't move or I'll shoot!”)

Overview

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模型理论和真值条件语义 (Model-theoretic and truth-conditional meaning)

构式决定

- 子节点的语义如何组合得到父结点的语义
- 和构式本身引入的额外语义

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语法和语义分析的分支最初是独立的, 通过层级继承得到混合的句法语义类型 (hybrid syntactico-semantic type), 从而通过传统的形式-语义结合方法描述构式概念。

疑问从句 (interrogative clauses)

Head-filler Construction 的六种子类型

- (14) a. 一般疑问句: *Did Kim leave?*
- b. 无主语 wh 疑问句: *What did Kim see? [I wonder] what Kim saw*
- c. 主语 wh 疑问句: *Who left? [I wonder] who left*
- d. 重复疑问句: *You saw WHO? Did I see WHO? Go WHERE?
You're leaving?*
- e. 直接原位疑问句: *You saw WHO? Kim saw Sandy?*
- f. 模糊疑问句: *Who? I wonder who.*

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- *wh*-感叹句 (*wh*-exclamatives)
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分析

- 这五种类型都提取出了 a clause-initial filler phrase 和 a gap in the clausal head daughter 间的依存关系 (dependency), 但它们在句法上有不同的表现。

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- 句法上的不同表现是由语义和篇章语用的不同造成的。
- 由于这一系统对构式的描述可以包括语法、语义和使用条件的任意组合, 所以, 这一模型可以合并更加特别形式化的、解释性的、带有语用限制的类型。

论元结构 (Argument structure)

The principal contribution of constructional approaches to the semantics of argument structure has been the thesis that patterns of argument structure (argument-structure constructions) exist independently of lexical, argument-taking predicates.

构式方法对论元结构语义的主要贡献是“论元结构构式独立于词汇化的、带论元的谓词存在”的论点。

Caused Motion Construction

- (14) a. They laughed him *off the stage*.
b. *They laughed him.
- (15) a. Frank sneezed the tissue *off the table*.
b. *Frank sneezed the tissue.
- (16) a. The kids swam the logs *upstream*.
b. *The kids swam the logs.
- (17) a. Frank squeezed the ball *through the crack*.
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由于动词本身并没有许可路径表达的 PP，为了解释这一现象，Goldberg 提出了 Caused Motion Construction。

Caused Motion Construction

Caused Motion Construction 为动词和介词的语义引入了 caused motion 的概念。Gawron 等人认为，这一构式已经足以通过语用推理对句子进行解释，如例句 (15)：

- ① Frank 打喷嚏了，
- ② 并且发现纸巾掉到地上了，
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但是，有时候语用推理是存在伪歧义的。

- (18) a. The top was spinning.
b. Kim was spinning the top.
c. The top was spinning off the table.
d. Kim was spinning the top off the table.

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同时，由于构式独立于谓词，Caused Motion Construction 过于生成了。

- (19) a. *He bragged her to sleep. (Cf. *He bored her to sleep.*)
b. *The storm raged the roof off the house. (Cf. *The storm tore the roof off the house.*)

Way Construction

- (20) a. She was hacking her way through the brush, when...
b. He whistled his way home.
c. *He whistled her way home.

Way Construction 由一个非及物动词（或非及物使用的及物动词）、带领属代词的 NP (someone's way) 和表示路径或者目的地的短语组成。

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b. *She gave parties her way into café society.

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这一构式假设沿着路走/走向目的地的过程中是存在一定困难的：

- (22) a. ??She walked her way home.
b. ??She swam her way across the pool.
c. Exhausted by the struggle, she barely managed to swim her way to safety.

与事移动 (Dative Movement)

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(23) Kim sent Sandy a letter

(24) a. Kim forwarded the letter to Sandy.

b. Kim forwarded Sandy the letter.

c. Kim forwarded the letter to Oshkosh General Delivery.

d. *Kim forwarded Oshkosh General Delivery the letter.

与事移动 (Dative Movement)

Most constructional approaches to argument structure have considered either additions to the argument structure of verbs or alternate syntactic valences with possible semantic consequences as in the dative alternation.

大部分论元结构的构式方法都会考虑为动词添加新成分（论元）或者改变论元的句法配价。

(23) Kim sent Sandy a letter

(24) a. Kim forwarded the letter to Sandy.

b. Kim forwarded Sandy the letter.

c. Kim forwarded the letter to Oshkosh General Delivery.

d. *Kim forwarded Oshkosh General Delivery the letter.

论元结构构式 (Argument structure construction) 除了可以添加论元、交换论元以外，还可以删除论元。

规约含义或语用预设 (Conventional implicature, or pragmatic presupposition)

It seems appropriate to allow the notion of compositionality to comprise these 'pragmatic' instructions embedded in the grammar that provide the addressee with a certain semantic structure and instruct him or her to find content in the context that satisfies that structure.

考虑组合性时，考察语法中嵌入的“语用”指令是合适的。这类指令向对话者提供特定的语义结构，并引导他们在上下文中找到满足这一结构的内容。

规约含义或语用预设 (Conventional implicature, or pragmatic presupposition)

标量模型 (Scalar model)

- (23) a. Kim won't (even) get question eight right *let alone* Sandy get question nine.
- b. Sandy doesn't eat chicken *let alone* Kim eat duck.

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上下文运算 (Contextual operators)

- (24) The teachers called their *respective* mothers.
(25) a. John_i thinks [every boy]_j loves his_{i,j} mother.
b. John thinks that every boy loves his mother and *vice versa*.
(26) a. The secretaries called their *respective* senators.
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背景框架 (Background frame)

- (27) a. on the ground
b. on land

较少发现的言外之意 (Less commonly recognized illocutionary forces)

“Mad Magazine” 句

(28) Him get first prize?!

(29) Now watch me get wet.

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指出异常，期望得到解释

(30) a. What's this fly doing in my soup?

b. What's this scratch doing on the table?

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伪条件句

(31) If you're Barack Obama, how much do you trust Howard Dean?

元语言否定 (Metalinguistic negation)

(32) The King of France is not bald, because there is no King of France.

例句 (32):

- 既不是普遍的命题否定
- 也不是两个独立命题的否定操作

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(33) a. Her name isn't [æn'drijə]; it's [andrej'ə].

b. It's not pretty; it's gorgeous.

c. It's not the unique criteria; its the unique criterion.

d. The cow isn't pissing, son, she's urinating.

元语言否定可以从命题内容以外的任何角度反对话语。

元语言否定的形态句法特点

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- 元语言否定不允许形态或词汇包含否定。

- (35) a. A bad outcome is **improbable/not probable*; it's certain.
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- 元语言否定的纠正从句，开头不能有 *but*。

(36) a. He's not happy; (**but*) he's delirious.
b. Her name isn't [dʒæ'kwɔɪn]; (**but*) it's [ʒaklin'].

元语言比较 (Metalinguistic comparative)

- (37) a. This cat is more stupid than malicious.
b. *This cat is stupider than malicious.
c. This cat is more stupid than he is malicious.
d. This cat's stupidity exceeds his malice.

例句 (37a) 是元语言比较句。

例句 (37c) 和例句 (37d) 意义相同，但都不是元语言比较句。

模糊限制语 (hedges)

英语中的模糊限制语：

- *strictly speaking*
- *loosely*
- *technically (speaking)*
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In this sort of metalinguistic comment, the words that are the subject of the comment occur both in their familiar role as part of the linguistic stream and in a theoretically unfamiliar role as part of the world the utterance is about.

在这种元语言评论中，评论的主语既可以在常规位置作为语言流的一部分，也可以在一个理论上不常见的位置作为话语相关世界的一部分。

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- (39) a. Chomsky has a very *slightly* classical theory of syntax.
b. Chomsky has a very *sorta* classical theory of syntax.

模糊限制语 (hedges)

Sorta 和减弱副词在句法上的不同

- (38) a. a very *slightly* but unevenly worn tire
b. *a very *sorta* but surprisingly classical theory
- (39) a. That tire is worn very *slightly*.
b. *That tire is worn very *sorta*.
- (40) a. That tire is worn, but only very *slightly*.
b. *That tire is worn, but only very *sorta*.
- (41) a. That [*very slightly*]_i worn tire is proportionately_i discounted.
b. *That [*very sorta*]_i worn tire is proportionately_i discounted.

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- ② 惯用语的连续性 (Continuum of idiomaticity)
- ③ 构式意义的种类 (Kinds of constructional meanings)
- ④ 信息流 (Information flow)**
- ⑤ 总结 (Summary)

信息流 (Information flow)

语言提供了许多方式来表达同个命题，是因为英语等语言的构式空间在语法角色、语义角色和语用角色（特别是话题和焦点）关系的层次映射限制。

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- (42) a. The dog ate the LEFTOVERS.
b. The DOG ate the LEFTOVERS.
c. The LEFTOVERS, the DOG ate.
d. It's the DOG that ate the leftovers.

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Focus construction

- Ⓐ Argument focus, e.g., *SOCIETY's to blame*
功能：在预设的开放命题中确定变量。
- Ⓑ Predicate focus, e.g., *She speaks several LANGUAGES.*
功能：断定给定主题的属性。
- Ⓒ Sentence focus, e.g., *Your SHOE's untied*
功能：引入新的篇章所指或报告包含该所指的事件/状态。

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总结 (Summary)

In asking what constructions mean we must also ask how constructions mean.

想要知道构式表达了什么，我们需要知道构式是怎么表达的。

Constructions invoke formal properties ranging from syntactic categories to prosodic features to fixed lexical forms. All such patterns must interact in the licensing of utterances.

构式的形式属性包括句法范畴、音韵特征和固定词汇结构等。所有这些模式都必须是在话语中可以出现的。

总结 (Summary)

The seamless integration in actual sentences of the relatively idiomatic constructions, with the special meanings they introduce, and the more productive ones—which fit well the notion of narrow compositionality—at once demonstrate the usefulness of the broad concept of compositionality and provide an attractive challenge for semantic research.

在实际语句中，惯用语相关的构式结构和它们带来的特别意义，以及更加生成性的句子和它们的组合性，都向我们说明了广义组合概念是有用的，并为语义研究提供了更大的挑战。