



北京第二外国语学院学报

JOURNAL OF BEIJING INTERNATIONAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY

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基于语段一致性运算和非同步拼读的约束条件效应

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Binding Condition Effects based on Phasal Agree and Non-simultaneous Spell-Out

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全文: PDF(8334 KB)

摘要: 本文在Chomsky的语段理论 (PT) 和非同步拼读语段以及特征一致性理论的基础上, 结合语段不可穿透条件 (PIC) 等局部性制约, 严格界定并分析了推导约束原则A的LF语段局部约束域, 旨在进一步论证照应语/回指语在局部域的最小LF语段 (vP, 不定式TP, nP) 内受到成分统制先行语的约束, 约束条件是由携带可解释 ϕ -特征的探针[Var:x]与目标携带不可解释/未赋值变量[Var:]特征的一致性确立。代词在最小PF语段(DP)内不受约束。论文还结合Landau (2010) 和Jackendoff (1972) 的研究, 试图解决心理谓词和体验者句式中的照应约束等问题, 进一步分析了基于语段一致性与特征共享的约束条件效应, 证明了语段理论约束条件效应A、B的差别归于语段拼读的非同步性。

关键词: 语段理论; 约束条件效应; 一致性理论; 局部域; LF语段

Abstract:

Based on Chomsky's (2001, 2008 et seq.) phase theory (PT), non-simultaneous spell-out phases (Marušić, 2009), and ϕ -feature probe-goal Agree (p-g) theory (Miyagawa, 2010; Reuland, 2011) and locality constraints (e.g., PIC), this paper properly and systematically investigates the LF phase and PF phase local binding domains for binding conditions A, B respectively. Particularly, anaphors are bound by the c-commanding antecedents in the local domain of minimal LF phases (vP, non-finite TP, nP), and the binding condition is established by the agreement between the probe [Var: x] bearing interpretable ϕ -features and the goal with uninterpretable/unvalued variable feature [Var:]. Whereas pronouns are free of binding by c-commanding DPs unbound in local domains of minimal PF phases (DP, subject-less nP), but can be bound in minimal LF phases. Moreover, this paper attempts to solve the anaphoric bindings in psychological predicates and experiencer constructions in Jackendoff (1972). Additionally, this article further elucidates the binding effects based on phasal agreement and feature sharing. The difference between binding effects A & B in PT can be attributed to the non-simultaneity of spell-out and Agree (p-g) operations.

Key words: phase theory (PT) binding condition effects Agree local domain LF & PF phases

收稿日期: 2015-02-26 **出版日期:** 2018-03-20

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引用本文:

张连文. 基于语段一致性运算和非同步拼读的约束条件效应[J]. 北京第二外国语学院学报, 2015, 37(4): 8-.

Zhang Lianwen. Binding Condition Effects based on Phasal Agree and Non-simultaneous Spell-Out. Journal of Beijing International Studies University, 2015, 37(4): 8-.

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