3. Единицы англо-немецкого контраста

The Unity of English/German Contrasts: A Realignment In The Mapping Between Form And Meaning

Conclusions

We began this book by arguing (in section 1.1) that there were three general points of interest about the English/German contrasts: there are precise proper subset relations between most of the contrasting structures; the contrasts are general, subsuming numerous areas of the grammar; and there are generalizations involving the relationship between surface form and meaning which underlie the directionality of contrast. We can now summarize the contrastive typology as follows:

German	**English**
More grammatical morphology	Less grammatical morphology
More specific selectional restrictions	Less specific selectional restrictions
More word order freedom	Less word order freedom
Less semantic diversity of GRs	More semantic diversity of GRs
Less raising	More raising
Less extraction	More extraction
More Pied Piping	Less Pied Piping
Less deletion (of NPs)	More deletion (of NPs)

We have argued that the distribution of the "more" and "less" values in (8.1) admits of a unifying generalization, which can be summarized as follows:

(8.2) *The unity of English/German contrasts*

Where the grammars of English and German contrast, the surface forms (morphological and syntactic) of German are in a closer correspondence with their associated meanings, in the following ways:

a. *Ambiguity (and/or vagueness)*

There is greater ambiguity (and/or vagueness) of surface forms in English, i.e. greater collapsing of semantic distinctions and of different

semantic types onto common surface forms. The result is more of a one-to-one mapping between form and meaning in German, with distinct forms carrying distinct meanings to a greater extent:

cf. ambiguity (/vagueness) in English grammatical morphology (Chapter 2);
broader and vaguer selectional restrictions in English lexical morphology (Chapter 2);
pragmatic ambiguity (/vagueness) in fixed word order (Chapter 3);
ambiguities in semantically diverse SV and SVO sequences (Chapters 4 and 7);
ambiguities in Raising and Equi structures (Chapter 5).

b. *Destruction of semantic clause structure*

There is less correspondence between surface clause structure and semantic clause structure:

(i) The arguments of an immediate predicate (V or Adj) in English surface structures are to a greater extent not arguments of this predicate in semantic representation, but must be matched with a predicate lower in the sentence. I.e. English frequently permits arguments in surface structure in positions where they do not belong semantically. German allows less rearrangement of arguments and predicates, and rearrangement over smaller syntactic domains.

cf. more Raising in English (Chapter 5); more WH-extraction (Chapter 6); less Pied Piping (Chapter 6)

(ii) Conversely, there is greater removal in English surface structures of arguments which are present in semantic representation, i.e. greater deletion of arguments from surface structures in which they *do* belong semantically.

cf. more deletions of NPs in English (Chapter 7).

German is therefore giving us a "tighter fit" between surface form and semantic representation. Even though linguists may differ over what they consider a semantic representation to look like, they are all agreed on the

following essentials: semantic representations cannot be ambiguous; arguments must stand "together with" the predicates with which they are associated semantically; and material that is semantically understood, even though deleted or absent from surface structure, must be present in semantic representation. Now it is precisely these essentials that we are concentrating on in our comparative study. German has less surface ambiguity, less rearrangement of arguments and predicates, and less deletion than English.

We have argued further that the changes that led to these contrasts were a response to morphological syncretism. Syncretism automatically creates greater ambiguity in the morphology itself. Within the syntax it then results in more pragmatically ambiguous fixed word orders and in the erosion of semantic distinctions in basic grammatical relations that were previously kept separate. More semantic types are thereby mapped onto simple SV and SVO sentence patterns, and these patterns then come to absorb numerous predicate types whose arguments must be expressed by prepositional phrases rather than case-marked NPs in German. The loss of surface cases also removes the explicit marking of government and frees NPs of the restrictions that force them to be physically present within the c-command domains of their governing nodes. Extractions and deletions out of their dominating categories thereby become more productive, and Pied Pipings less so. (P. 121-123).

(From: John A. Hawkins. A comparative Typology of English and German – unifying the contrasts)

4. Параметрические различия между английским и немецким языками

Andrew Radford
Parametric differences between English and German

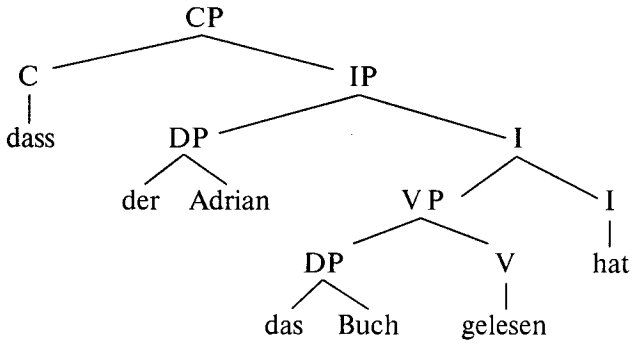
So far, our discussion of parametric variation has been limited to different varieties of English. What of parametric variation between different languages? To illustrate interlanguage variation, we'll conclude this section with a brief look at clause structure in a language, German, which is closely related to English in historical terms, but which is suffietiently

different to illustrate further the nature of syntactic variation. As a starting point for our discussion consider the following sentence:

(368) Ich weiss [dass der Adrian das Buch gelesen hat]
I know [that the Adrian the book read has]
"I know that Adrian has read the book"

(Names like *Adrian* in colloquial German can be premodified by a determiner like *der* "the", suggesting that they are indeed DPs: we can also use a null determiner in place of *der*.) The bracketed clause in (368) has the structure (369) below (we don't show the internal structure of the two DPs *der Adrian* and *das Buch*, since this is of no immediate concern):

(369)



One important word order difference between German and English which is immediately apparent from (369) is that verbs and auxiliaries are positioned *after* their complements in German but before their complements in English: so, in English we have ***bought*** *a book* and ***has*** *bought a book*, whereas in German we find (the equivalent of) *a book* ***bought*** and a *book bought* ***has***. This suggests that a further parameter of variation between languages (which we will call the **head parameter**) relates to the relative ordering: of heads with respect to their complements: more specifically, we say that English has **head-first** word order within VP and IP (because a head verb or auxiliary precedes its complement), whereas German has **head-last** order within VP and IP; but both have the same head-first order within CP and DP, since complementisers and determiners in both languages precede their complements. Note that this parameter (like the others we have already examined) is binary, in that heads can *either* precede *or* follow their complements.

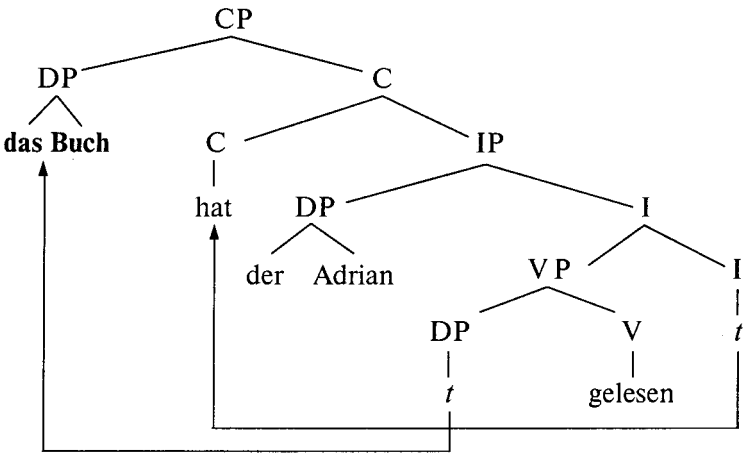
But now contrast the bracketed clause in (368) with the clause in (370):

(370) Das Buch hat der Adrian gelesen
The book has the Adrian read
"The book, Adrian has read"

There are three important differences between the two. Firstly, the clause in (368) contains the complementiser *dass* "that" (because it is a complement clause, here serving as the complement of the verb weiß "know"), but that in (370) doesn't (because it isn't a complement clause). Secondly, the auxiliary *hat* "has" is positioned at the end of the clause in (368), but in front of the subject *der Adrian* in (370). And thirdly, the complement *das Buch* "the book" is positioned immediately in front of the verb *gelesen* "read" in (368), but in front of the auxiliary *hat* "has" in (370). How can we account for the change in word order between (368) and (370)?

Given our framework, the obvious analysis is to say that those constituents which have changed their position in (370) relative to the position they occupy in (368) have undergone movement. Thus, the auxiliary *hat* "has" originates at the end of the clause (as in (369)), but is then moved into the complementiser position at the beginning of the clause – precisely as happens in the case of auxiliary inversion in English: and the DP *das Buch* "the book" is preposed from its original complement position immediately in front of the verb *gelesen* "read" and moved into the specifier position within CP (in much the same way that operator phrases are in English). As a result, (370) will be derived as in (371):

(371)

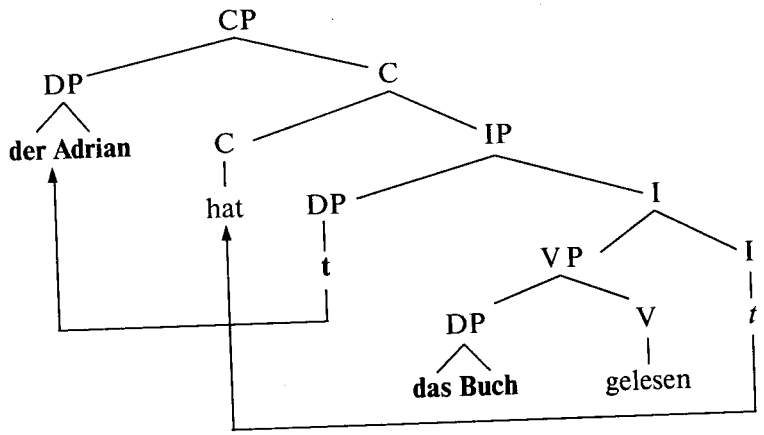


Here, we see that the auxiliary *hat* "has" originates in INFL and moves to C, and the DP *das Buch* "the book" originates in complement position within VP and moves into specifier position within CP. Now consider the following sentence:

(372) Der Adrian hat das Buch gelesen
The Adrian has the book read
"Adrian has read the book"

Since the auxiliary *hat* "has" doesn't occupy its normal position at the end of the clause here, it seems once again to have moved from INFL to C. And this time, the subject *der Adrian* is positioned in front of the auxiliary, so seems to have moved from specifier position in IP into specifier position within CP. This means that (372) has the derivation in (373):

(373)



(P. 349-355)

(From: Andrew Radford, Martin Atkinson, David Britain, Harald Clahsen, Andrew Spencer. Linguistics: An Introduction)