摘　要

　　思想投射到语言时，受制于多种因素，比如概念可及性。以往的研究表明，基于生命度的可及性可以影响句法功能、句子结构、语态乃至语序的选择等。关系从句是检验这些成果之于复杂句的理想样本，因为其中心词的位置是固定的，从句语态的选择等形式与中心词的关系密切，特别是生命度等。

　　对此，Gennari et al.（2012）进行五项实验，考察了基于生命度的提取顺序观与基于相似性的竞争观在生成关系从句语态、施事的隐现以及关系化标记的隐现中的作用。其实验结果促发了本文的研究问题：名词短语的竞争与生成关系从句的类型、语态选择、被动句施事的隐现、关系化标记的隐现之间的关系，以及被关系化名词的语义角色与生成关系从句的类型和语态选择的关系。

　　上述实验研究的理论背景为基于生命度的提取顺序观和基于相似性的竞争观。前者关注有生-无生差异，后者侧重有生实体内部相似概念间的竞争。参照 Silverstein（1976）的生命度等级划分——1ST & 2ND > 3RD > PRN/ KIN > HUM > ANI > INA，可以发现：所谓的竞争发生在等级靠左的五个位置之间及内部。如此，提取顺序观和竞争观实际是同质的竞争架构，只是后者的分类更精密。因此，本研究把两个体系整合起来，构建了以上述生命度等级为基础的名词短语竞争体系。概念的相互竞争和干扰也是生成-分布-理解观（PDC）的核心内容，于是，该体系与 PDC 接轨，可以完整地考察关系从句生成与分布的关系。

　　检验来自实验的结论，需要自然语言的验证，为此，本研究选择中英文叙事小说各 5 部，从中选择出符合关系从句标准的语料共 6166 条，建立了英汉平行数据库，标注了来源、页码、限定词、关系代词、中心名词的语法功能、被关系化名词的语法功能、中心名词的生命度、中心名词的语义角色、被关系化名词的语义角色、从句的语态、竞争名词的生命度、被动句施事的隐现。

　　利用 SPSS 对数据统计分析发现，总体上，语料中关系从句的类型和语态的分布大致符合名词短语竞争体系的预测；名词短语的生命度分析越精密，其竞争的作用越明显，比如施事的隐现；另一些关系从句的分布模式更符合 PDC 的预测，如关系化标记的隐现。此外，还需纳入语境等因素，且语义角色在部分从句类型和语态选择上的作用甚至比名词竞争更显著。上述因素均存在跨语言差异。

关键词：名词短语；竞争；语义角色；关系从句；生成

Abstract

The mapping from thought to language is constrained by many factors, among which accessibility is one of the most important. The existing research has found that animacy-based accessibility exerts effects on the choice of syntactic functions, sentence structures and voice as well as word order. When it comes to complex sentences, relative clauses serve as an excellent domain in which to investigate how producers converge on utterance choices in that the positions of the head nouns are default (e.g. initial in English and final in Chinese), and the choice of relative clause structures is largely dependent on the head nouns, especially their animacy.

With this in view, Gennari et al. (2012), based on five experiments, made an attempt at the effects of animacy-based accessibility and similarity-based competition on the production of relative clauses, particularly on the choice of relative clauses, their voice, and the omission of agents in passive structures and the relativizers. Their results aroused the interest of this study in the following questions: the effects of the competition between noun phrases on the choice above, as well as the effects of the semantic role on the production of relative clause types and the choice of their voice.

The theoretical framework of the research by Gennari et al. covers animacy-based accessibility and similarity-based competition, the former of which is focused on animate-inanimate division, while the latter on the conceptual competition between animate entities. A re-reading of Silverstein's animacy hierarchy (1976) tells that the competition said earlier takes place inter- and intra- positions---the five positions of animate entities, which is evident that such accessibility and competition as mentioned above are consubstantial. The only difference between them lies in the latter's more elaborate division. Therefore, it is only natural for the two to be integrated into the same system --- the competition system between nouns. As the conceptual competition and interference are key to Production, Distribution and Comprehension (PDC in short), a bridge is built across the system and PDC itself for a better investigation into the interaction between production and distribution.

As the experiment results welcome tests in natural languages, a parallel database

of 10 novels is built for this purpose, in which five are in English and the other five in Chinese. Altogether, 6,166 relative clauses qualify for the database, which are tagged with the resources, pages, modifiers, relative pronouns, grammatical functions of the head nouns and the relativized nouns, animacy of the head nouns, semantic roles of the head nouns and the relativized nouns, the voice of the relative clauses, animacy of the competing nouns, and the omission of the agents in passive structures, if possible.

The analysis by SPSS finds that, generally, the animacy-based accessibility in the competition system generalizes, to an extent, the shared tendency of the relative clause production, such as the choice of relative clause types and their voice. But a more elaborate research has to be done in light of similarity-based competition, like the omission of agents, and some distributional patterns are better investigated with the application of PDC, like the omission of relativizers, where contextual and semantic factors also come into play. Another important finding is that semantic roles are more powerful than noun phrase competition in the choice of some relative clauses and their voice. What's more, the effect of such factors as mentioned above varies across languages.

Key words: noun phrase; competition; semantic role; relative clause; production