

## 摘 要

最近二三十年与格交替在国外语言学界一直是一个热门的话题。汉语也存在着类似英语的与格交替的现象,但国内在这方面只有朱德熙(1979)、顾阳(1999)、沈家煊(1999)、周长银(2000)、刘丹青(2001)、邓思颖(2003)、Feng-his Liu(2006)等少数一些研究。尽管这些研究取得了一些成绩,但还存在一些尚未解决的问题,比如说汉语不同的双及物句式变体间意义有和差异?动词和四个双及物句式之间的关系是怎么样的?到底哪些动词可以进入哪些双及物构式?这些动词是机会均等的进入这些双及物构式,还是表现出一定的倾向性?是什么因素决定了说话者在说话时选择某一句式变体,而不选择另一变体。以上问题也成为了本文要研究问题。

首先在语料方面,我们采用语料库的语料。虽然基于内省的研究有时也是必要的,但是语料库的语料更能反映了语言实际使用的情况,它能向我们揭示一些通过内省研究所无法揭示的语言规律。其次,在研究方法上,本文采用了搭配构式分析法(collostructional analysis)和多因素的使用-特征分析法(multifactorial usage-feature approach),这两种方法结合了认知语言学的理论和语料库语言学的分析技术,并试图对语法和百科知识语义进行操作化。

研究内容上,我们首先使用显著共现词素分析法来考察和四个双及物句式搭配显著的动词。研究结果显示,和S1(V NP NP)搭配上显著的动词有:告诉、赏、报告、还、回、送、教、赠;和S2(V NP 给 NP)搭配上显著的动词有:打<sub>(电话)</sub>、借、分、卖、带、汇、寄;和S3(V 给 NP NP)搭配上显著的动词有:交、递、赐、付、塞、教、分配、奖、送、拨;和S4(给 NP V NP)搭配上显著的动词有:写、提供、介绍、倒、加、留、打<sub>(电话)</sub>、捎、斟。很显然,和每一句式搭配显著的动词在语义上有许多共同点。因此,第二步我们把动词按意义进行编码,对动词的语义类型进行一次显著共现分析,这样就得出和每一个双及物句式搭配上显著的语义类别:和S1搭配上显著的语义类别为“信息的传递”;和S2搭配上显著的语义类别为“方式”、“交际工具”;和S3搭配上显著的语义类

别“固有给予义”和“方式”；和 S4 搭配上显著的语义类别为“制作义”、“未来拥有”、“交际工具”及其它语义类别。根据构式语法的语义相容性原则，这些搭配上显著的动词语义类别可以为我们进一步推知双及物构式的意义提供一些启发。

其次，对影响汉语与格交替的因素进行单因素的检验。这些因素有的是来自前人的研究，也有的是来自对英语与格交替的研究。这些因素主要包括：客体的生命度、接受者的信息度、客体的信息度、成分重量、客体代词与否、接受者代词与否、客体的定指度、接受者的定指度、动词的语义类型。单因素的分析结果显示以上因素对汉语的与格交替全部起作用。

最后，我们对采用多因素的使用-特征分析法对汉语与格交替进行多因素的分析。首先采用多元对应分析来发现汉语双及物构式的使用模式，S1 的使用模式为：某人把某一新信息的、定指的客体给予一个已知信息的、代词的接受者，并且给予物通常为信息，而非某一实体。S2 的使用模式为：某人把一个不定指的、旧信息的客体、给予一个定指的接受者，并且这一给予行为以某种交际工具的形式（寄、汇等）进行的，或本身就是一种方式。S3 的使用模式为：某人把一个不定指的、非代词的客体给予一个已知信息的、定指的、代词的接受者，而这种给予行为一种是固有给予意义的行为，另一种是某种方式的行为。S4 的使用模式为：某人把某一给予物给予一个新信息的、不定指的、非代词的接受者，而这种给予行为通常是以某种交际工具的形式（寄、汇等）进行的，或通过制作某种东西来完成的，或这一给予行为有时发生在将来。接着我们采用多元逻辑回归的统计方法对汉语的与格交替进行回归建模，由所建立的模型可以看出：影响 S1 选择的因素有：接受者的信息度、成分重量、客体的定指度、客体代词与否、动词的语义搭配强度、动词搭配强度；影响 S2 选择的因素有：客体的信息度、客体代词与否、动词的语义搭配强度、动词搭配强度；影响 S3 选择的因素有：接受者的信息度、客体的信息度、接受者代词与否、动词的语义搭配强度、动词搭配强度。多元逻辑回归分析可以帮助我们对汉语双及物句式的选择情况做出预测。最后我们采用聚类分析首先对以上因素进行分类，结果显示这些因素可以分为 3 个大类，其中客体的生命度、客体代词与否、客体的信息度、客体的定指度四个变量为一类；接受者的定指度、接受者代词与否、成分重量、接受者的信息

度为另一类；动词搭配强度、动词的语义搭配强度为第三类；然后我们对四个双及物句式进行聚类分析，结果显示 S1 和 S3 之间的最相似，它们两个形成一类。然后他俩再和 S2 形成一类，最后 S1、S2、S3 一起和 S4 形成一类。

**关键词：**汉语与格交替；多因素分析；搭配构式分析法，双及物构式

## Abstract

The study of dative alternation has been a hot topic in foreign countries in the last twenty or thirty years. There exists the phenomenon similar to English dative alternation in Chinese. There are only small amount of studies dealt with this phenomenon in China (Zhu Dexi, 1979; Gu Yang, 1999; Shen Jiaxuan, 1999; Zhou Changyin, 2000; Liu Danqing, 2001; Deng Siying, 2003; Liu Feng-his, 2006). Although these studies have made some achievements, there are still some problems to be unsolved. For example, what are the differences of meaning between these ditransitive variants, which verb can enter which ditransitive constructions, do these verbs equally enter these ditransitive construction, or show a certain preference? What factors determine the speaker's choice of one variant, but not another variant. Thus the above issues have become questions of the study of this thesis.

Different from the previous studies, the thesis uses corpus data. Although introspection is sometimes necessary, corpus data can reflect the actual use of language. It can reveal to us some language rules which can not be got through introspection research. In terms of methodology, the thesis adopts collostructional analysis and multifactorial usage-feature approach. These approaches, which combine theory of cognitive linguistics and techniques of corpus linguistics, try to operationalize grammar and encyclopaedic semantics.

Firstly we use distinctive collexeme analysis to find out the verbs which are distinctive to four Chinese ditransitive constructions. The study shows that verbs that are distinctive to  $S_1$  are: *gaosu, shang, baogao, huan, hui, song, jiao, zeng*; verbs that are distinctive to  $S_2$  are: *da, jie, fen, mai, dai, hui, ji*; verbs that are distinctive to  $S_3$  are: *jiao, di, ci, fu, sai, jiao, fen pei, jiang, song, bo*; verbs that are distinctive to  $S_4$  are: *xie,*

*tigong, jieshao, dao, jia, liu, da, shao, zhen*. It is evident that there exist some similarities of meaning between verbs distinctive to the same construction. Therefore, we further encode verb semantically and make a distinctive collexeme analysis of semantic class of verb. The result shows that the semantic class distinctive to  $S_1$  is *transition of information*; the semantic classes distinctive to  $S_2$  are: *manner, instrument of communication*; the semantic classes distinctive to  $S_3$  are: *inherently having, manner*; the semantic class distinctive to  $S_4$  are: *make-up, future having, instrument of communication* and *others*.

Secondly, we test the factors which influence the Chinese dative alternation using mono-factorial statistical analysis. These factors include: animacy of theme, status of information of receiver, status of information of theme, heaviness of receiver and theme, pronounality of theme, pronounality of receiver, definiteness of theme, definiteness of receiver and verb's semantic class. The result shows that all above factors play a roles in the Chinese dative alternation.

Lastly, we analyze the Chinese dative alternation using multivariate statistical methods. We firstly use multiple correspondence analysis to find out the usage pattern of Chinese ditransitive constructions. Then we use multiple logistic regression to identify the found patterns. In addition, this methods can help us to make prediction of the speaker's choice of Chinese dative alternation. At last, we use cluster analysis to classify Chinese four ditransitive constructions.

**Key words:** Chinese dative alternation; multivariate analysis; colostructions analysis; ditransitive construction