

摘 要

一直以来,使役结构都是语言学各流派重要的研究课题。作为当代语言学的一门显学,语言类型学对使役结构的研究也取得了颇为瞩目的成果,其中 Comrie、Dixon、Shibatani、Song 等国外学者通过跨语言的比较,发现了使役结构在人类语言中的一些共性。本文正是在这些共性的基础上,探讨汉日语使役结构的共性和个性。另一方面,我们也发现类型学上对使役结构中的一些现象尚未给予充分的重视,有的问题还值得进一步研究,如使役结构中的结果已然性问题、使役动词的语义地图等。本研究以汉日使役结构为对象,从使役的表达形式、使役结构中的语法关系、使役结构的语义系统三个方面展开对比,寻求两种语言的共性和个性,并在此基础上尝试探索使役结构的类型学共性。

总体上,本研究做了以下四方面的工作:

(1) 较为全面地总结了类型学关于使役结构方面的主要研究成果,在前人的基础上重新界定了汉日语中的使役结构(使役的表达形式),比较了两种语言在表达使役时所采用的策略的异同。汉语使役结构类型较为丰富,日语相对单一。这主要是因为汉语句法历时变化较大,而日语则相对比较稳固。在表达间接使役时,汉语多使用分析型使役结构而日语多使用形态型使役结构,这是由两种语言的语序特征所导致的。

(2) 详细考察了汉日语使役结构中语法关系表达手段的共性和个性。个性方面汉语主要依靠语序而日语主要依靠形态,但在更深层次上日语还是依靠语序,因为语序自由的非使役句在相应的使役句中会表现得很不自由。跨语言的考察显示使役句的语序大多表现为:CA(使役者)→CE1(被使者1)→CE2(被使者2)……R(接受者)——P(受事)。这是人类语言的共性。另一方面,汉语和日语都有被使者标志。汉语中“把”是唯一的被使者标志,而日语有「を」、「に」、「から」等多个标志。通过语料库的调查发现,日语使役句中被使者标志的编码机制基本符合 Comrie(1976)的格等级序列理论,但也存在反例。这些反例是语义的影响所导致的。

(3) 在前人研究的基础上按照类型学的研究范式较为客观地构建了使役的语义系统,即直接使役、强制要求、非强制要求、请求、许可、放任、因果七个

次类。然后详细分析了汉日语典型使役结构在各个次类中的句法语义的共性和差异（具体见第六章）。

（4）对汉日使役结构的对比结果进行跨语言的考察。文章先后探讨了使役结构中的两个现象：1）结果的已然性和2）使役动词的语义地图。跨语言的考察显示结果的已然性和使役动词相关，源于行为动词的动词通常具有已然性，反之则通常不具有已然性。该现象可以从认知的角度做出较为合理的解释。

关键词：使役结构；共性；被使者标志；语序；汉日对比；语义地图

Abstract

Causative construction has been an important topic for each linguistic school for a long time. As a distinguished school in contemporary linguistics, the researches on causative construction done by linguistic typology have made quite remarkable achievements. Comrie, Dixon, Shibatani and Song have found some universals of causative construction in human language. Based on these findings, the thesis discussed the universals and peculiarities of Chinese and Japanese causative construction. In addition, we also find some phenomena in causative construction ignored by linguistic typology, which needs to be further studied, such as telicity of results in causative construction, semantic map of causative verbs etc. The study makes a comparison of Chinese and Japanese causative construction from points of view of expressions for causation, grammatical relation in causative construction, semantic system in causative construction, and seeks the universals and peculiarities of two languages, and also tries to explore typological universals based on these findings.

On the whole, this study has done the following four aspects of the work:

1) It summed up the main research findings in the typological study of the causative construction, redefine the Chinese and Japanese causative construction, and make a comparison of strategies in expressing causation. Comparatively speaking, Chinese implements more various types of causative constructions than Japanese. This is because Chinese experienced great diachronic syntactic change, while Japanese syntax is historically stable. When expressing indirect causation, Chinese uses the analytic type, and Japanese uses the morphological type, which is attributed to their different features in word order.

2) The thesis explored the universals and peculiarities of devices of grammatical relations in Chinese and Japanese causative construction. Chinese relies mainly on word order but Japanese mainly depends on the morphological forms to express grammatical relations. However, on a deeper level, Japanese mainly depends on word

order, because non-causative sentences with free word order can not be very free in corresponding causative sentences. Cross-linguistic studies show the word order of causative sentence mainly is: CA (causer) → CE1 (causee1) → CE2 (causee2)R (recipient) ——P (patient) . This is one of universals of human language. On the other hand, Both Chinese and Japanese have causee markers. In Chinese *ba* is the only causee marker, yet Japanese have several markers such as “o”, “ni”, “kara”. The corpus investigation shows that the encoding mechanisms for causee in Japanese causative sentences accord with Comrie’(1976) case hierarchical sequence. However, there exist some counterexamples, which were caused by semantic influence.

3) The thesis constructed semantic system of causation according to typology research paradigm based on the previous studies: indirect causation, mandatory requirement, non-mandatory requirement, invitation, permission, noninterference, causal etc. Then, the thesis analyzed the syntactic-semantic universals of each subtype in Chinese and Japanese causative construction (See sixth chapters in detail).

4) The thesis made a cross-linguistic study of results of comparison in Chinese and Japanese causative construction. The thesis has discussed two phenomena in causative construction: a) telicity of results and b) semantic map of causative verbs. Cross-linguistic study shows telicity of results is related to causative verbs, because action verbs have often the quality of telicity, otherwise, it doesn't have telicity. This phenomenon can be reasonably explained from the cognitive point of view.

Key words: causative construction; universals; causee marker; word order; contrastive study between Chinese and Japanese; semantic map