

## 摘要

宾语区别标记是一种跨语言的现象，指的是语言对作宾语的某些名词或名词短语作有别于主语形态的宾语标记，而对作宾语的其他名词或名词短语不作有别于主语形态的宾语标记的现象。以往对宾语区别标记影响因素的研究主要是从认知的角度出发，集中于直宾本身的显著性特征，即生命度、有定性、确指性和话题性，和主、宾语相对显著性特征，如及物性和个体性等。

本研究提出名词的性、数和语音形式也是影响语言宾语区别标记的因素。本研究以 7 门有性语言为主要考察对象，其中 5 门是斯拉夫语族的语言，其普通名词上的宾语区别标记受生命度影响，另外 2 门是德语和希腊语，其普通名词上的宾语区别标记不受生命度影响。本研究发现了名词的性、数和语音形式在影响这些语言的宾语区别标记时呈现的以下特征：（1）对于作宾语的有生名词而言，阳性名词有宾语标记的可能性大于阴性名词，中性名词有宾语标记的可能性最低，各语言对单数名词和复数名词有宾语标记呈现不一样的偏好；（2）对于作宾语的无生名词而言，阴性名词有宾语标记的倾向性最强，其次是阳性名词，中性名词最不易有宾语标记，单数名词比复数名词更倾向有宾语标记；（3）以元音结尾的阳性单数名词和阴性单数名词不管是有生名词还是无生名词都有宾语标记；（4）对于生命度不影响普通名词上的宾语区别标记的语言（德语和希腊语）而言，阳性名词作宾语时有宾语标记的倾向性高于阴性名词和中性名词，单数名词较复数名词更倾向有宾语标记。

本文对以上现象的解释为，名词的性和数对宾语区别标记的影响是人类对事物生命度和相应的能动性，以及事物的个体性的识别在语言形态上的一种反映，也是与相关的性、数语法范畴和语音形式交互的结果。

因此，宾语区别标记既要从语义和认知的角度去解释，也要考虑语言系统本身的语法特征。本研究为理解宾语区别标记提供了一个多维度的视角。

**关键词：** 宾语区别标记；影响因素；性；数；语音形式

## Abstract

Differential Object Marking (DOM) refers to a linguistic phenomenon that some nouns or noun phrases tend to receive object markings which make them different from subjects when acting as direct objects in a sentence, while others show no object markings that distinguish them from subjects when being direct objects. Previous researches on the influential factors of DOM focus on the semantic prominence of direct object, namely, animacy, definiteness, specificity, topicality and relative semantic prominence between subject and direct object, such as transitivity and individuation. They are all under the framework of meaning and cognition.

The present research claims that grammatical gender, number and phonetic form are also the factors that have impact on DOM. The research focused on 7 languages which have gender system and show DOM on common nouns. Among the 7 languages, 5 languages are Slavic languages whose DOM on common nouns is affected by animacy, and the remaining 2 languages are German and Greek, in which animacy does not influence DOM on common nouns. The findings are as follows: (1) in terms of animate nouns being objects, masculine nouns are the most inclined to receive object marking (OM for short), feminine nouns the second, and neuter nouns the last, and different languages show different preferences for singular nouns and plural nouns to have OM; (2) in terms of inanimate nouns being objects, feminine nouns show the strongest preference to receive OM, masculine nouns the second, and neuter nouns the last, and singular nouns are more likely to have OM than plural nouns; (3) masculine singular and feminine singular nouns that end with a vowel are marked when being objects; (4) for those languages in which animacy does not affect DOM on common nouns (German and Greek), masculine nouns are more likely to receive OM than feminine nouns and neuter nouns, and singular nouns are more inclined to have OM than plural nouns.

The explanations are as follows: DOM reflects human cognition of the animacy, agency, and the individuation of the referents of different kinds of nouns; it is also the result of the interaction between these factors and the formal grammatical properties

of gender, number and phonetic form.

Therefore, DOM can not be explained from the perspective of meaning and cognition alone. The grammatical properties of the language system are also the factors that cause DOM. The research lends a multi-dimensional perspective to a better understanding of DOM in natural language.

**Key words:** differential object marking; influential factors; gender; number; phonetic form