

语言学丛书

汉语

使动及其中介语

CAUSATIVITY IN
L2 CHINESE GRAMMARS

表征

赵 杨 著



北京大学出版社
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

语言学丛书

汉语使动及其中介语表征
Causativity in L2 Chinese Grammars

赵 杨 著



北京大学出版社
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

汉语使动及其中介语表征(Causativity in L2 Chinese Grammars)/赵杨著.

—北京:北京大学出版社,2006.3

(语言学丛书)

ISBN 7-301-10501-0

I. 汉… II. 赵… III. 汉语-语法-研究-英文 IV. H146

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2006)第003169号

书 名: 汉语使动及其中介语表征

著作责任者: 赵 杨 著

责任编辑: 孙 娟

标准书号: ISBN 7-301-10501-0/H·1652

出版发行: 北京大学出版社

地 址: 北京市海淀区成府路205号 100871

网 址: <http://cbs.pku.edu.cn> 电子信箱: zpup@pup.pku.edu.cn

电 话: 邮购部 62752015 发行部 62750672 编辑部 62752028

印 刷 者: 世界知识印刷厂

发 行 者: 北京大学出版社

经 销 者: 新华书店

890毫米×1240毫米 A5 11.25印张 326千字

2006年3月第1版 2006年11月第2次印刷

定 价: 23.00元

未经许可,不得以任何方式复制或抄袭本书之部分或全部内容。

版权所有,翻版必究

Abstract

Chinese does not allow causative alternating unaccusative verbs or object-Experiencer psych verbs. It employs analytical causative (headed by *shi* 'make'), resultative (headed by *de*) and compound causative (with an activity predicate V_1 and a result predicate V_2 forming a V_1 - V_2 compound) constructions to represent causativity. The present study explores syntactic and semantic properties of these verbs and constructions within the generative framework. It is proposed that Chinese unaccusative verbs and psych verbs involve a single VP and that Chinese resultative and compound causative constructions involve a functional category AspP (Aspect Phrase). An empirical study is conducted to look into the mental representations of these Chinese verbs and constructions in English-, Japanese- and Korean-speaking learners' L2 Chinese grammars. The aim of the research is to find out whether L1 transfer persists in L2 Chinese and whether L2 learners can acquire the functional AspP (Aspect Phrase) involved in Chinese resultative and compound causative constructions. The experiment consists of a cloze test, a production test, an acceptability judgment test and a comprehension test. It involves 55 English speakers, 56 Japanese speakers, 73 Korean speakers and 28 native Chinese as controls. Both developmental patterns and variations between different language groups are examined to see whether L2 Chinese learners can acquire native-like mental representations of the structures examined and whether L2 groups from different L1s show any variation in their L2 Chinese mental representations. The results suggest that L2 Chinese learners are more likely to make causative errors with Chinese unaccusative verbs than with psych verbs and that compound causative constructions are more difficult to acquire than resultative constructions in L2 acquisition of Chinese. It is concluded that L1 transfer does not happen everywhere and that functional categories unavailable in the learners' L1s can be properly represented in L2 Chinese grammars.

内容简介

汉语词汇使动已渐渐消失,因此,非宾格动词和心理动词不能用作使动词,汉语使动通过分析型使动结构、结果补语结构和复合使动结构来表现。分析型使动结构和结果补语结构分别由“使”和“得”引导,复合使动结构由一个行为动词和一个表示结果的成分组成,两者构成 V_1-V_2 复合结构。本书以生成语法理论为框架,探讨非宾格动词、心理动词和上述三种使动结构的语义和句法特征。作者认为,汉语的非宾格动词和心理动词投射到句法上的是动词短语(VP),而不是动词短语壳(VP shell);汉语的结果补语结构和复合使动结构含有一个功能范畴,即体短语(AspP)。作者对非宾格动词、心理动词和三种使动结构在中介语中的表征做了实证研究,主要目的有两个:一是考察第一语言迁移情况,二是考察学习者能否习得汉语结果补语结构和复合使动结构中包含的功能范畴。实证研究由完形填空和试验主体两部分构成,试验主体部分使用了产出测试、可接受性判断测试和理解测试三种测试工具,试验对象包括55名母语为英语的学习者、56名母语为日语的学习者和73名母语为韩语的学习者,控制组由28名母语为汉语的成年人组成。为了发现以汉语为第二语言的学习者和以汉语为母语的学习者是否具有同样的句法表征以及英、日、韩不同母语背景的学习者在习得汉语过程中是否存在差异,作者对同一母语背景的学习者做了发展研究,对不同母语背景的学习者做了比较研究。研究结果显示,与心理动词的习得相比较,以汉语为第二语言的学习者更容易在非宾格动词上出现使动错误;在三个使动结构的习得上,复合使动结构对学习来说最难掌握。作者的结论是,第一语言迁移现象并不是随处都出现,第二语言有而第一语言无的功能范畴可以在中介语中具有适当表征。

Preface

As explicitly revealed by the title of this book *Causativity in L2 Chinese Grammars*, what is presented before us is a fruitful record of the writer's study of causativity in Chinese and its acquisition in CSL (Chinese as a second language). When the two come together, the writer clearly informs us that Chinese does not allow (causative alternating) unaccusative verbs or object-Experiencer psych verbs, but that it employs analytical causative, resultative, and compound resultative.

The above understanding results from the writer's years of persevering efforts in doing a syntactic, morphological, and semantic analysis of data collected from English, Japanese and Korean learners of Chinese within the generative approach, although, honestly speaking, I am an outsider myself. Nevertheless, I am still deeply impressed by the writer's logicity in reasoning, and sharp-witted mind in observation as well. Thus, the book is appreciated for its aim to solve practical problems of language acquisition and use. It is also highlighted by the writer's own creative postulation of Asp(ect) P(hrase), a functional category.

The writer's achievements in his research are also due to his patient and thorough review of literature, from which research questions were pinned down, and to his carefully worked out methodology, especially the employment of the production test, acceptability judgement test, and comprehension test. Throughout the procedure, the writer did not hesitate to explain why a question was raised and why an unexpected result turned up. In this sense, in spite of the fact that the study is confined to one aspect of Chinese grammar and mainly 3 non-Chinese languages are involved, one has to

recognize that the book is the first ever study of the acquisition of causativity in L2 Chinese, and that it should be highly commended for its implications to general theories of second language acquisition.

As a friend of the writer Zhao Yang, once an MA student of the English department of Peking University and a colleague of mine after his graduation, I heartily congratulate all his achievements and share all his delights. I am confident that Zhao will scale a new height in his future work as he is now professionally devoting himself to the teaching of L2 Chinese to overseas students in Peking University.

Hu Zhuanglin
Peking University
February 8, 2006

序

正如标题《汉语使动及其中介语表征》所示，我们面前的这本书是作者对汉语使动及其在汉语作为第二语言习得的研究成果。当汉语本体问题和习得问题结合在一起的时候，作者清晰地告诉我们，汉语不允许非宾格动词转换为使动动词，也不允许以宾语为经验者的心理动词，但是汉语的使动则是通过分析型使动结构、结果补语结构和复合使动结构来表达的。

在过去的几年里，作者以生成语法为框架，研究母语为英语、日语、韩语的学习者对汉语使动的习得，并对搜集到的语料从句法、词法和语义等层面进行分析。本书所展示的研究成果正是源于作者这种锲而不舍的努力。老实讲，我对作者研究的课题是个门外汉，不过，作者推理的逻辑性和观察的敏锐性仍给我留下了深刻的印象。本书的研究目的是解决第二语言习得和应用中的实际问题，作者创造性地提出了“体短语”这一功能范畴，这些都成为本书的亮点。

作者的研究成就也源于他对相关文献的详细、全面的掌握，在回顾前人研究成果的同时，作者明确提出了自己的研究课题，周密设计了研究方法，在实证研究中采用了产出测试、可接受性判断测试和理解测试三种方法。在整个研究过程中，作者对出现的问题，逐一进行了解释，当结果与假设不一致时，也做出了说明。尽管作者把研究范围限制在汉语语法的一个方面，只涉及到三种母语背景的汉语学习者，但是我们应该承认，本书是研究使动在汉语中介语中的表征的第一部著作，对第二语言教学和理论有重要贡献。

本书作者赵杨曾在北京大学英语系攻读英语语言学硕士学位，毕业后留校任教。作为他的朋友和同事，我对他取得的学术成绩表示衷心的祝贺，并一同分享研究给他带来的快乐。赵杨现在北

大致力于汉语作为第二语言习得的教学和研究，我坚信，他一定会在这一领域取得更大的成绩，在未来的研究中达到一个新的高度。

胡壮麟

2006年2月8日于北京大学

Acknowledgments

This is my PhD thesis at the University of Cambridge, originally entitled *Causativity in Chinese and Its Representations In English, Japanese and Korean Speakers' L2 Chinese Grammars*.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of many individuals and institutions. First of all, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Boping Yuan, for insightful discussions, constructive instructions and critical examinations throughout the project, and for the time that he spent reading drafts of the thesis.

I am also indebted to Jin Limin for helpful discussions and advice on my thesis; to Li Xiaoqi, Jiang Baohong, Rao Qin, Tian Yuan, Zhang Shiliu and Zheng Jie for helping me with the organization of some of the experiments; to David Carruthers, Katharine Carruthers, Roger Curtis, Paul Williams and Shan Chuan-Kuo for reading different chapters of the thesis and giving suggestions on the content and language; to Hou Yuli and Weng Jianqing for the illustrations used in the pilot study and the main study; to all the participants who took part in the experiment.

I owe my thanks to Professor Hu Zhuanglin for kindly writing the preface and to Miss Sun Xian of the Peking University Press for her patience and effort in editing this book.

I am grateful to the Cambridge Overseas Trust and Trinity Hall for their generous financial support throughout the project.

I would like to give my special thanks to my wife Yu Bin and my daughter Jingyi for their love, support and understanding.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	A/Adj	adjective
ANIM	animate	ANTICAUS	anticausative
AP	adjective phrase	ASP	aspect marker
Asp	aspect	AspP	aspect phrase
C	complementizer	CAUS	causative
CL	classifier	COMP	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase	DAT	dative case
DEC	declarative case	Exp	experiencer
F	function category	FP	functional phrase
GEN	genitive case	IL	interlanguage
INTR	intransitive	IP	inflectional phrase
L1	first language	L2	second language
N	noun	NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase	Obj	object
PASS	passive	PAST	past tense
PP	prepositional phrase	PRES	present tense
RC	result clause	REFL	reflexive pronoun
SC	small clause	Spec	specifier
Subj	subject	TOP	topic
TopP	topic phrase	TRANS	transitive
V	verb	VP	verb phrase
XP	X phrase	YP	Y phrase

Contents

Figures	i
Tables	ii
Abbreviations	v
1 Introduction	1
2 Unaccusative verbs and psych verbs	8
2.1 Unaccusative verbs and causativity	9
2.1.1 Subclasses	11
2.1.2 Case	12
2.1.3 Causative alternation	13
2.1.3.1 Morphological formation	14
2.1.3.2 Semantic representations	15
2.1.3.3 Syntactic derivations	20
2.1.4 Unaccusative verbs in Chinese	25
2.1.4.1 Surface and deep unaccusativity	25
2.1.4.2 Causative alternation	27
2.1.4.2.1 Non-accomplishment verbs	27
2.1.4.2.2 Partitive case	30
2.1.4.2.3 θ -roles	33
2.1.5 Unaccusative verbs in Japanese	34
2.1.6 Unaccusative verbs in Korean	36
2.1.7 Summary	37
2.2 Psych verbs and causativity	39
2.2.1 Semantic representations	39
2.2.2 Syntactic derivations	41
2.2.3 Psych verbs in Chinese	44
2.2.3.1 SE verbs and OE verbs	44
2.2.3.2 Decausativized psych verbs	44

2. 2. 3. 3	Syntactic derivations	46
2. 2. 4	Psych verbs in Japanese	49
2. 2. 5	Psych verbs in Korean	50
2. 2. 6	Summary	51
2. 3	Summary	53
3	Resultative and compound causative constructions	60
3. 1	Resultative constructions in English	62
3. 1. 1	The result XP and DOR	64
3. 1. 2	Semantic and syntactic representations	67
3. 1. 2. 1	The small-clause proposal	67
3. 1. 2. 2	The ternary-analysis approach	70
3. 1. 2. 3	A solution with VP shell	71
3. 2	Resultative and compound causative constructions in Chinese	72
3. 2. 1	Previous studies on resultatives and compound causatives	74
3. 2. 1. 1	Y. Li (1990, 1995, 1998)	74
3. 2. 1. 2	C. – T. Huang (1992)	78
3. 2. 1. 3	Tang (1997)	80
3. 2. 2	A proposal of AspP	84
3. 2. 2. 1	The derivation of resultative constructions	85
3. 2. 2. 2	The derivation of compound causative constructions	90
3. 3	Resultative and compound causative constructions in Japanese	95
3. 4	Resultative and compound causative constructions in Korean	98
3. 5	Summary	100

4	Second language acquisition and causativity	108
4.1	A brief review of SLA studies	109
4.1.1	L1 transfer	111
4.1.2	Interlanguage	114
4.1.3	Functional categories	116
4.1.4	Learnability problems	118
4.2	SLA studies of causativity	121
4.2.1	Previous studies	121
4.2.1.1	Juffs (1996b)	121
4.2.1.2	White et al (1999)	123
4.2.1.3	Montrul (1999)	124
4.2.1.4	Montrul (2000)	127
4.2.1.5	Montrul (2001a)	129
4.2.1.6	Cabrera and Zubizarreta (2003)	132
4.2.2	Summary of the findings	134
4.3	Summary	136
5	Research methodology of the present study	138
5.1	Causativity in Chinese, English, Japanese and Korean	139
5.2	Research questions and hypotheses	146
5.2.1	Unaccusative verbs and psych verbs	146
5.2.2	Resultative and compound causative constructions	148
5.2.3	The analytical causative construction	152
5.3	Participants	152
5.4	Procedures and Instruments	156
5.4.1	Data-collecting procedures	156
5.4.2	Instruments	157
5.4.2.1	The production test	158
5.4.2.2	The acceptability judgment test	160

5. 4. 2. 2. 1	Psych verbs and unaccusative verbs in the AJ test	161
5. 4. 2. 2. 2	Resultative and compound causative constructions in the AJ test	164
5. 4. 2. 3	The comprehension test	169
5. 5	Summary	174
6	Results and discussion; psych verbs and unaccusative verbs	176
6. 1	Psych verbs	177
6. 1. 1	Results of the AJ test	178
6. 1. 1. 1	Psych verbs used in the analytical causative construction	180
6. 1. 1. 2	Psych verbs misused as OE verbs	181
6. 1. 2	Results of the production test	182
6. 1. 2. 1	Psych verbs used in the analytical causative construction	183
6. 1. 2. 2	Psych verbs misused as OE verbs	186
6. 1. 3	Summary	190
6. 2	Unaccusative verbs	192
6. 2. 1	Results of the AJ test	192
6. 2. 1. 1	L2 Chinese learners' judgments on the ungrammatical alternating unaccusative structures	195
6. 2. 1. 2	Comparisons between judgments on unaccusative verbs and transitive verbs	199
6. 2. 2	Results of the production test	201
6. 2. 3	Summary	204
6. 3	Comparisons between psych verbs and unaccusative verbs in the group's judgments	205
6. 4	Discussion	207

6.4.1	The acquisition of Chinese analytical causative construction	208
6.4.2	Causative errors with unaccusative verbs	209
6.4.3	Fossilized representations of unaccusative verbs ...	211
7	Results and discussion: resultative and compound causative constructions	218
7.1	Resultative constructions	219
7.1.1	Results of the AJ test	219
7.1.2	Results of the comprehension test	224
7.1.2.1	Resultative construction; Type A	226
7.1.2.2	Resultative construction; Type B	229
7.1.3	Summary	232
7.2	Compound causative constructions	233
7.2.1	Results of the AJ test	233
7.2.1.1	Comparisons between L2 proficiency groups and comparisons between L2 groups from different L1s	236
7.2.1.2	A closer examination of different types of compound causatives	239
7.2.2	Results of the comprehension test	242
7.2.3	Summary	249
7.3	Comparisons between results on the resultative construction, the compound causative construction and the V – NP – XP structure	249
7.4	Discussion	254
7.4.1	The acquisition of the resultative construction	254
7.4.2	The acquisition of the compound causative construction	256
7.4.2.1	L2 Chinese representations of compound causatives	257

7. 4. 2. 2 L1 transfer	264
8 Representations of causativity in L2 Chinese:	
summary, implication and conclusion	269
8. 1 Summary of the empirical study	270
8. 2 General discussion; theoretical issues in SLA revisited ...	273
8. 2. 1 L1 transfer	273
8. 2. 2 Functional categories	277
8. 2. 3 Fossilization	279
8. 3 Implications for future research	280
8. 4 Conclusion	282
References	283
Appendixes	308
1 General introductions and personal information	308
2 Cloze test	309
3 The production test	311
4 The acceptability judgment test	312
5 Pictures used in the comprehension test	320
6 Testing items used in the experiment	321
7 Descriptive statistics	327
8 Pair-wise comparisons between judgments on compound causatives in the AJ test	335