

MASTER'S THESIS

粵語與格結構的被動句

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粵語與格結構的被動句

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摘要

本文主要從語義和句法兩方面，分析粵語與格結構的被動句。粵語被動句有敘述不幸事件、限界事件的語義限制。粵語的五類與格動詞：「送」類、「寄」類、「摘」類、「炒」類和「教」類，一般都能符合這個限制。有些與格動詞沒有被動句式，是因為未能定界事件，例如「炒」類動詞，或者未達到描述不幸事件的限制，例如「教」類動詞（「問」字是例外）。

與格動詞的句法特徵，例如直接賓語和間接賓語的先後次序，間接賓語要否由介詞引領，都反映在四種與格結構 S1-S4 之中：S1: Subj + V + DO + DM + IO。S2: Subj + V + DM + IO + DO。S3: Subj + V + IO + DO。S4: Subj + V + DO + IO (Subj:主語, V:動詞, DO:直接賓語, IO:間接賓語, DM:與格標誌, 本文假設是介詞) 本文發現，只有緊隨動詞而不用介詞引領的賓語，才可以成為被動句主語。「送」類、「寄」類動詞以直接賓語為被動句主語，句式必須是 S1 或 S2。「摘」類動詞和「問」字以間接賓語為被動句主語，而句式必須是 S3。S4 是「送」類動詞特有的句式，尤以與格動詞「畀」為常見，但它和被動標誌「畀」有語音排斥而令被動句不合格。

本文沿用 Feng (1990)、Ting (1995)、Huang (1997) 的空運符移位模型來分析被動句的結構，並且展示這種模型可以運用到 VP 殼模型 (Larson 1988, 1990, 鄧思穎 1993, Cheng 等 1996)，分析粵語與格結構的被動句。本文認為，粵語與格結構是使動結構的特例，可以用 VP 殼模型來解釋。粵語被動句則是使動結構的作格化，一般作格化是刪除使動動詞的域外論元，粵語被動句的作格化是把域內論元轉化為次要謂語，體現為空運符結構。這種分析可以解釋為甚麼粵語以同一個語素「畀」來作為被動標誌、使動動詞和與格動詞。

以往的文獻對粵語被動句著墨不多，而對粵語與格結構的研究也缺少被動變形的分析，相信本文可以補充這方面的不足和提供有用的分析方法。

Abstract

This dissertation makes a semantic and syntactic analysis for the passivization of dative construction in Cantonese. Cantonese passive construction is subject to semantic constraints: adversity and telicity. There are five types of dative verbs in Cantonese: 'give' verb, 'send' verb, 'pluck' verb, 'fry' verb and 'teach' verb, and most of them meet these semantic constraints. Some dative verbs do not allow passivization, because they cannot delimit an event, for example, 'fry' verb, or do not express adversity, for example, 'teach' verb (except the verb 'ask').

The syntactic features of Cantonese dative verbs, such as the word order of the direct object and the indirect object, whether the indirect object is introduced by preposition or not, are reflected in the four types of dative constructions in Cantonese: S1: Subj + V + DO + DM + IO. S2: Subj + V + DM + IO + DO. S3: Subj + V + IO + DO. S4: Subj + V + DO + IO (Subj: subject, V: verb, DO: direct object, IO: indirect object, DM: dative marker, assumed to be a preposition.) We find that the objects that can be passivized are those adjacent to the verb and not introduced by a preposition. For example, 'give' verbs and 'send' verbs allow the direct object to be passivized in S1 and S2. 'Pluck' verbs and the verb 'ask' allow passivization of the indirect object in S3. S4 is the sentence pattern for 'give' verbs, especially for the dative verb *pei*³⁵(畀). Owing to the violation of phonological identity with the passive marker *pei*³⁵, it does not allow passive construction.

Following Feng (1990), Ting (1995) and Huang (1997), we propose that Cantonese passive is formed by null operator movement, and show that this model can be applied to the VP shell model to analyze the passivization of dative construction in Cantonese. Cantonese dative construction is a special instance of causative construction, which can be explained by the VP shell model. Cantonese passive is an ergativized version of causative, not by eliminating the external argument, but by turning its internal argument into a secondary predicate, realized as a null operator structure. This can explain why Cantonese uses the same morpheme *pei*³⁵ for dative, causative and passive. We believe this study can throw some light into the analysis of passive and dative constructions in Cantonese.

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