

中国語結果複合動詞の統語構造

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1. The issue

(1) Li (1995, 1999)

Taotao zhui-lei le Youyou. (淘淘追累了悠悠)

Taotao chase-tired Asp Youyou

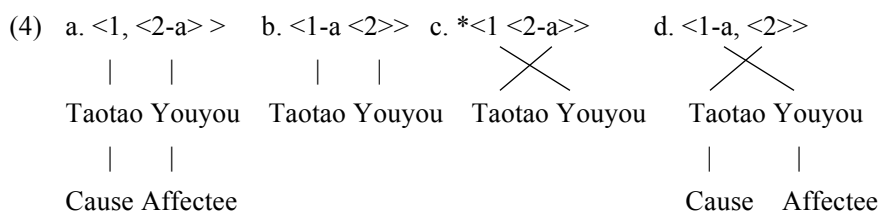
- i. ‘Taotao chased Youyou and as a result Youyou got tired.’
- ii. ‘Taotao chased Youyou and as a result Taotao got tired.’
- iii. *‘Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Taotao got tired.’
- iv. ‘Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Youyou got tired.’

(2) 項の現れ方

- a. [Ag, Th/Th_[+aff]] (=1i)
- b. [Ag/Th_[+aff], Th] (=1ii)
- c. *[Th/Th_[+aff], Ag] (=1iii)
- d. [Th, Ag/Th_[+aff]] (=1iv) (*zhui* [Ag, Th], *lei* [Th_[+aff]])

(3) 意味役割の階層性

ag > ben > go > ins > pt/th > loc Bresnan and Moshi (1990:169)



Li (1995: 270)

(5) *Zhei shuang xie pao-lei le mama.* (这双鞋跑累了妈妈)

This Cl shoes run-tired Asp mother

‘The mother ran and as a result she is tired by this shoes.’

(6) 項の数の制限

RVC constructions represent one type of causative constructions, denoting a change of state, which is transitive in nature. → the number of arguments available in RVC constructions is limited to at most two.

(7) Delimitedness condition: a clause can have only one argument indicating the culminating point of a described event.

2. Proposals

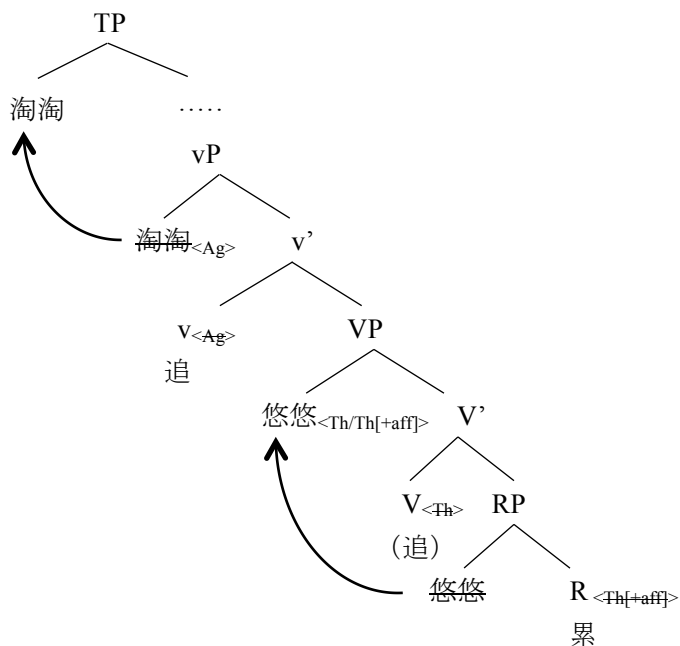
(8) 結果複合動詞の統語構造

[_{TP} T [_{AspP} Asp [_{vP} ARG₁ v [_{VP} ARG₂ V [_{RP} ARG₃ R]]]]]

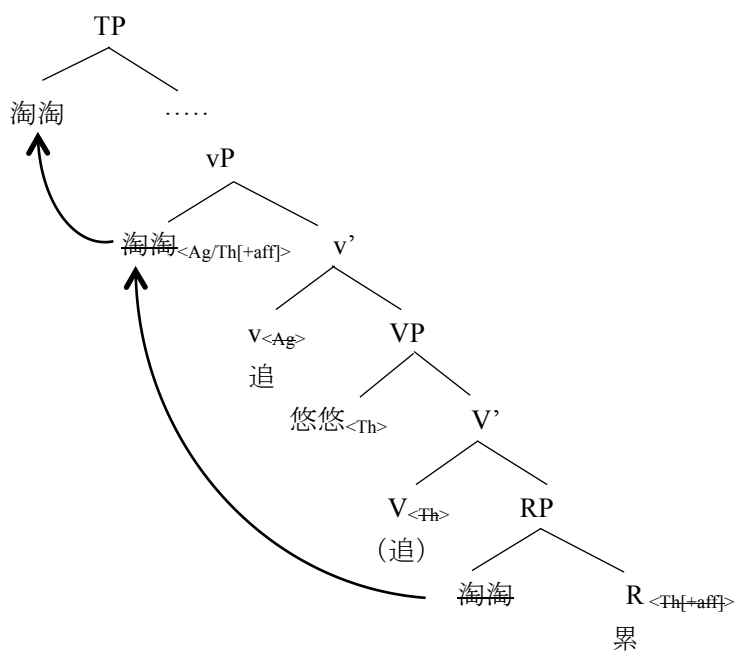
[_{TP} 淘淘 [_{AspP} 追累了 [_{vP} Arg₁ 追累 [_{VP} Arg₂ 追累 [_{RP} Arg₃ 累]]]]]

(9) T head needs to attract the closest argument by the EPP requirement imposed on it.

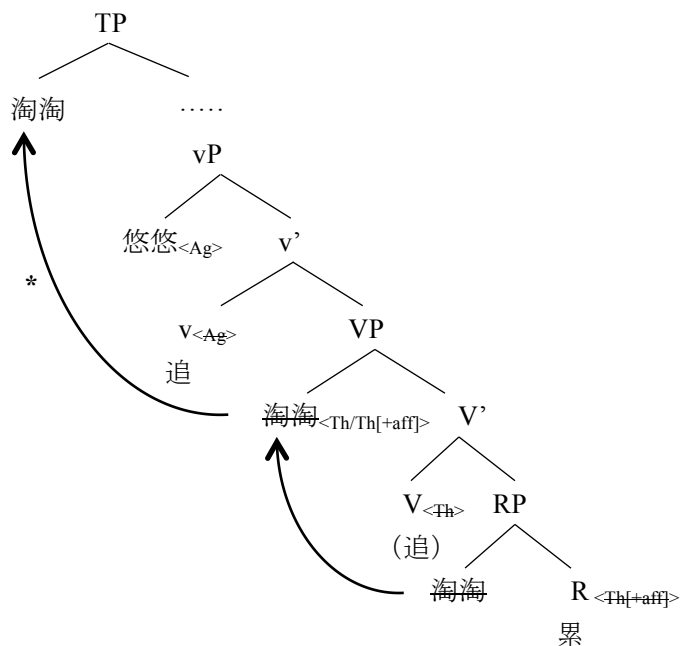
(10) (1i)の解釈



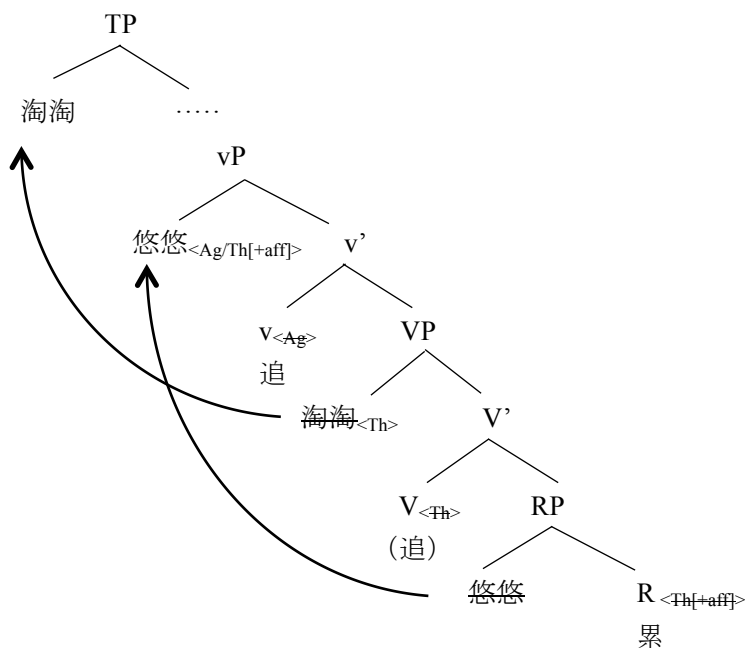
(11) (1ii)の解釈



(12) *(1iii)の解釈



(13) (1iv)の解釈



(14) Taotao_i zai ziji_{i/*j} de yuanzi li zhui-lei le Youyou_j.

(淘淘_i在自己_{i/*j}的院子里追累了悠悠_j)

Taotao at self Poss garden in chase-tired Asp Youyou

- i. 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result Youyou got tired at Taotao's garden.'
- ii. 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result Taotao got tired at Taotao's garden.'
- iii. *'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Taotao got tired at Taotao's garden.'
- iv. 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Youyou got tired at Taotao's garden.'

3. Affectedness

(15) *Zhangsan dong-si le Lisi.* (张三冻死了李四)

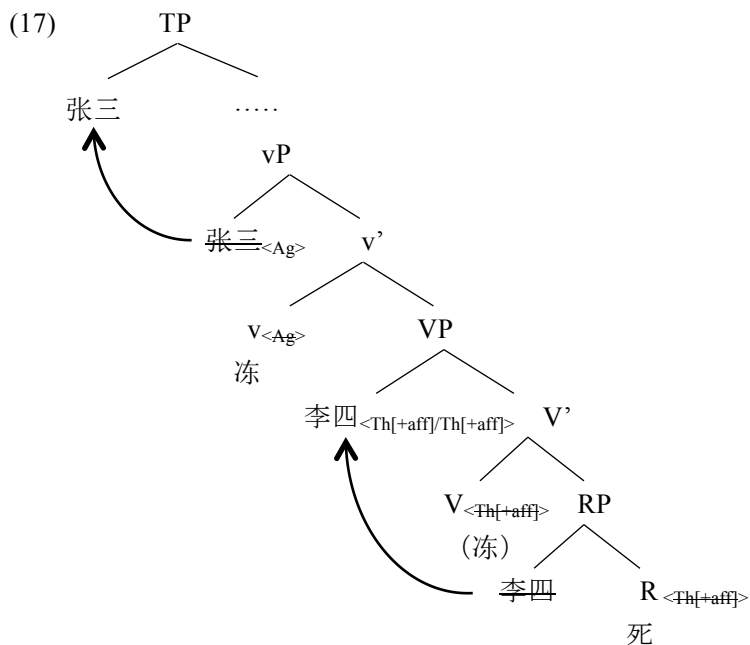
Zhangsan freeze-dead ASP Lisi

- i. ‘Zhangsan froze Lisi and as a result Lisi is dead.’
- ii. *‘Zhangsan froze Lisi and as a result Zhangsan is dead.’
- iii. *‘Lisi froze Zhangsan and as a result Zhangsan is dead.’
- iv. *‘Lisi froze Zhangsan and as a result Lisi is dead.’

Yu (2013:26)

(16) The affectedness condition

An RVC clause can have only one affected argument.



(18) *ba* (把) 構文

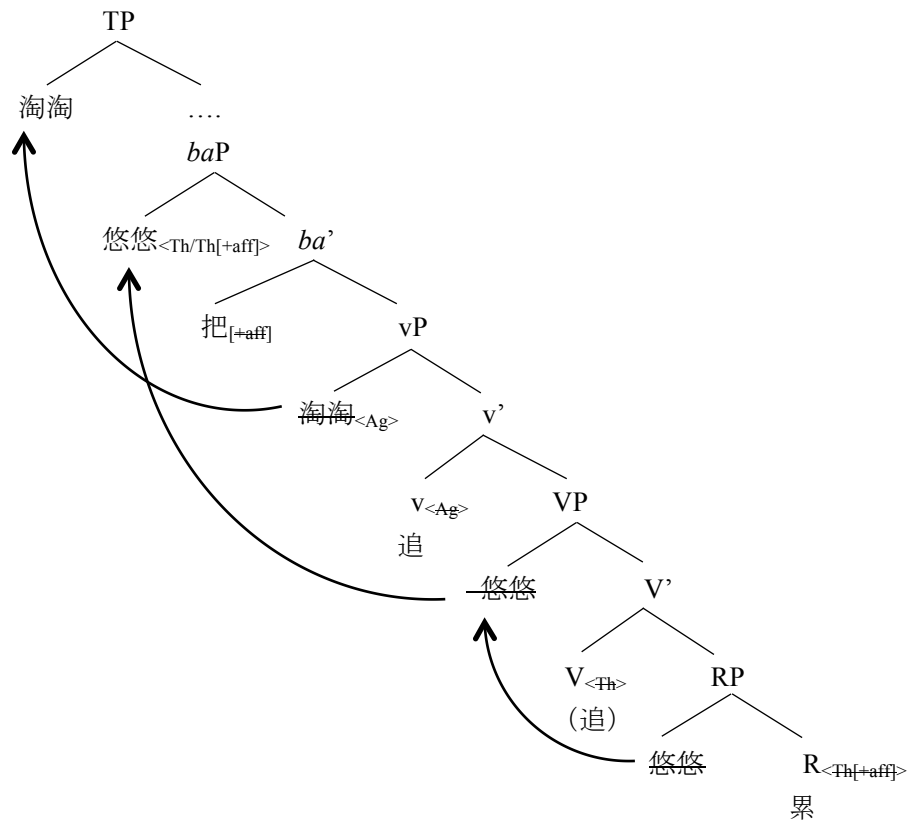
Taotao ba Youyou zhui-lei le. (淘淘把悠悠追累了)

Taotao Ba Youyou chase-tired Asp

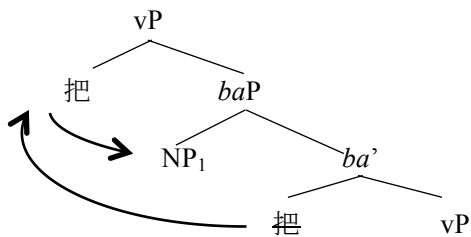
- i. ‘Taotao chased Youyou and as a result Youyou got tired.’
- ii. ‘Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Youyou got tired.’
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- iv. *‘Youyou chased Taotao and as a result Taotao got tired.’

Li (1995:271)

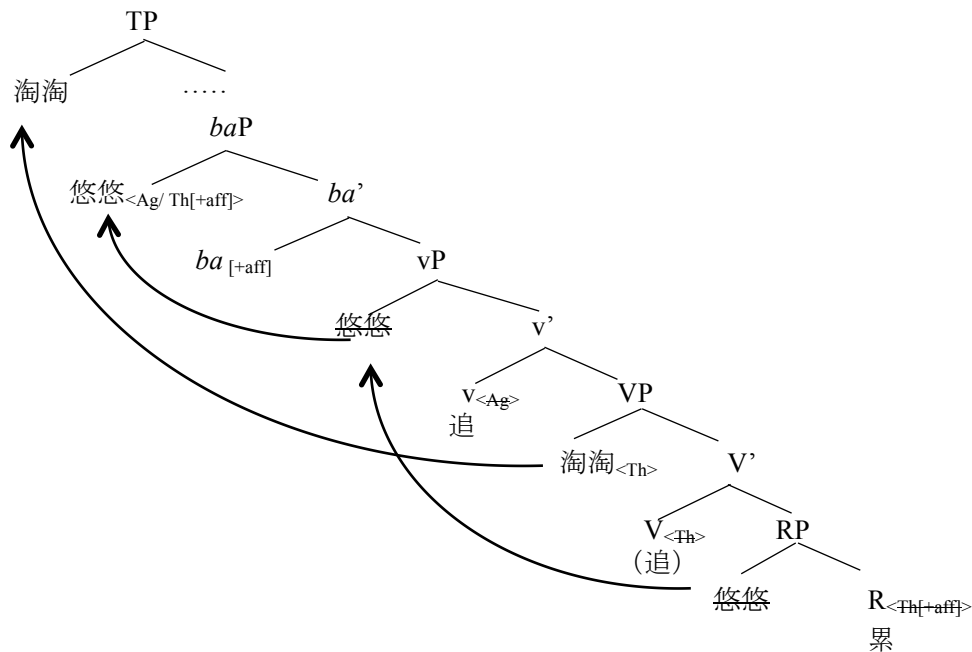
(19) (18i)の解釈可能性



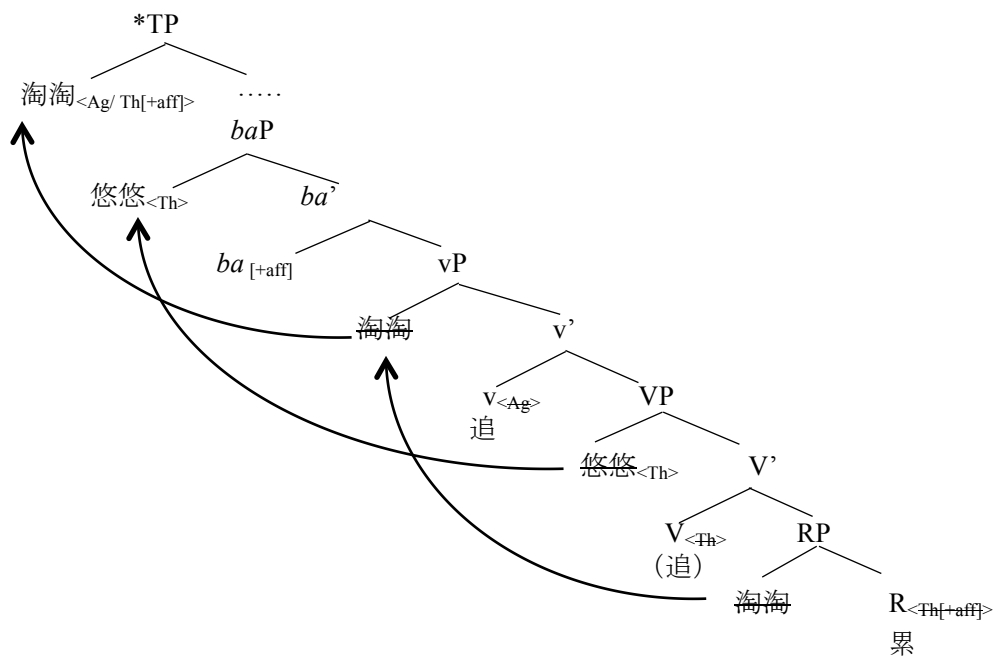
(20) ba NP の語順 (cf. Huang et al. 2009)



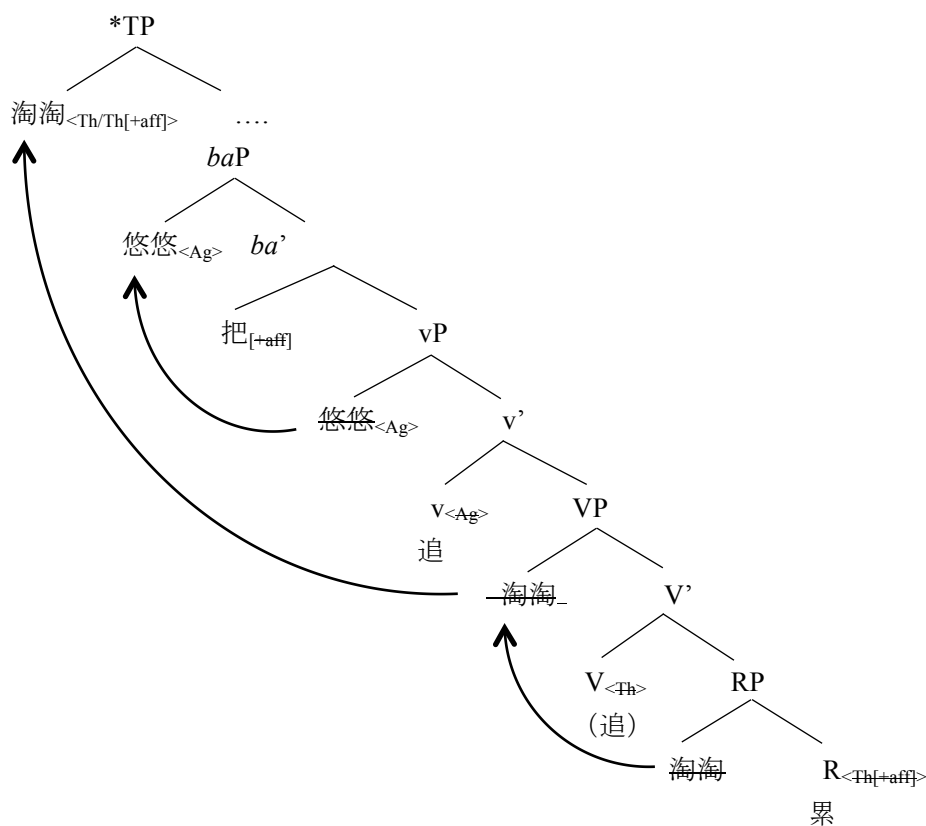
(21) (18ii)の解釈可能性



(22) (18iii)の解釈不可能性



(23) (18iv)の解釈不可能性



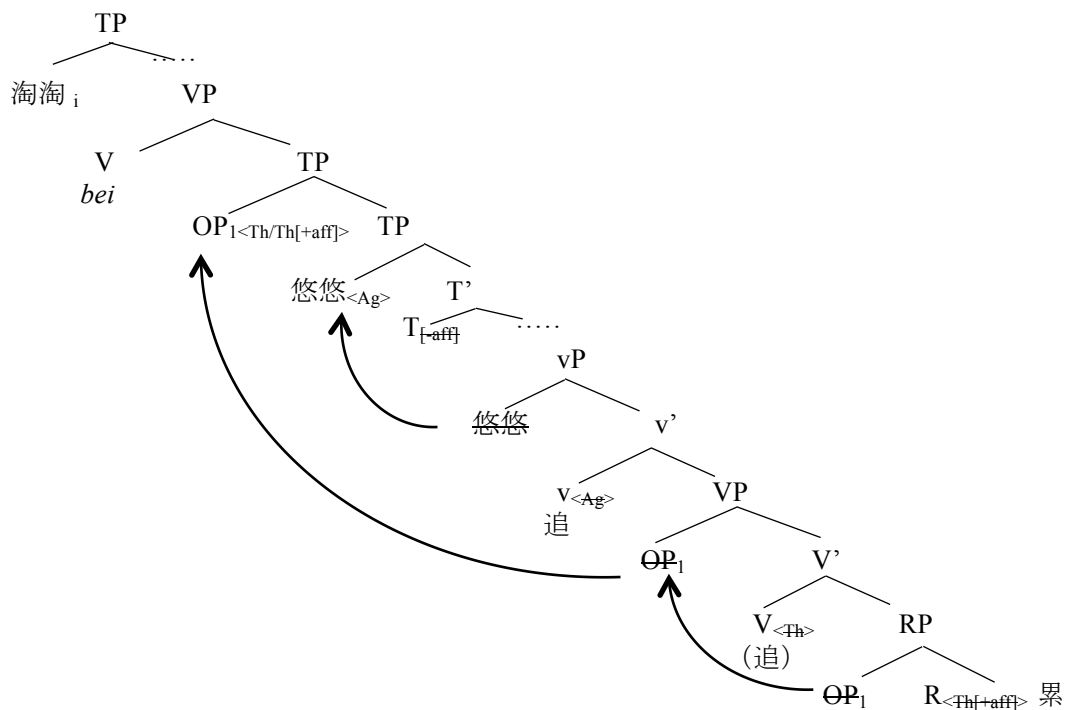
(24) 受身文

Taotao bei Youyou zhui-lei le. (淘淘被悠悠追累了)

Taotao Bei Youyou chase-tired Asp

- i. 'Taotao was chased by Youyou and as a result Taotao got tired.'
- ii. *'Youyou was chased by Taotao and as a result Youyou got tired.'
- iii. *'Taotao was chased by Youyou and as a result Youyou got tired.'
- iv. *'Youyou was chased by Taotao and as a result Taotao got tired.'

(25) (24)の構造



4. Intransitive verbs + R

(26) a. *Zhangsan tiao-fan le.* (张三跳烦了)

Zhangsan jump-bored Asp

‘Zhangsan jumped and as a result he is bored.’

b. *Zhangsan pao-po le zhei shuang xie.* (张三跑破了这双鞋)

Zhangsan run-worn.out Asp this shoes

‘Zhangsan ran and as a result the shoes is worn out.’

c. *Zhei shuang xie pao-lei le mama.* (这双鞋跑累了妈妈)

this CL shoes run-tired Asp mother

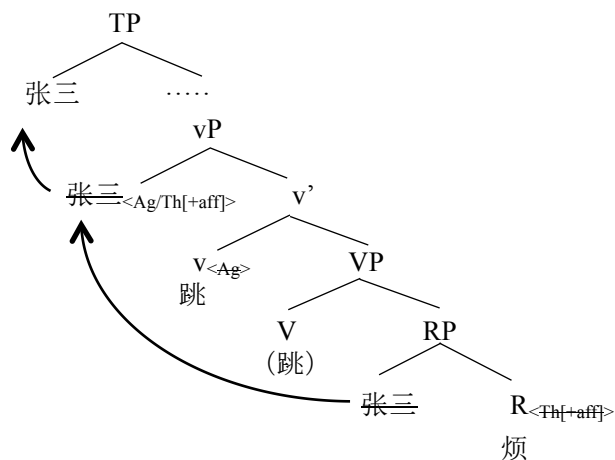
‘The mother ran and as a result she got tired by this shoes.’

d. *Yanre de tianqi pao-lei le mama.* (炎热的天气跑累了妈妈)

very hot Poss weather run-tired Asp mother

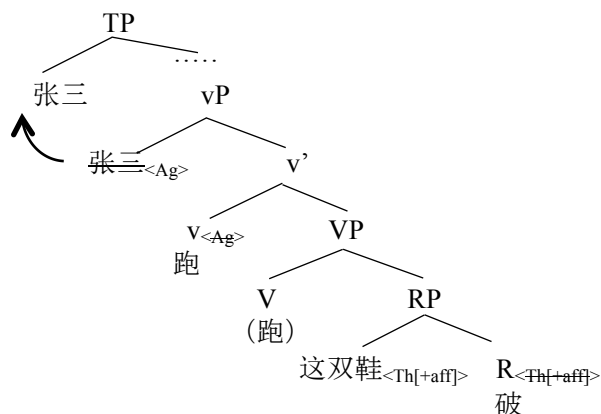
‘The mother ran and as a result she got tired by very hot weather.’

(27) (26a)の構造



(28) *Tiao-fan le Zhangsan.* (*跳烦了张三)
 jump-bored ASP Zhangsan
 Intended reading: 'Zhangsan jumped and as a result he is tired.'

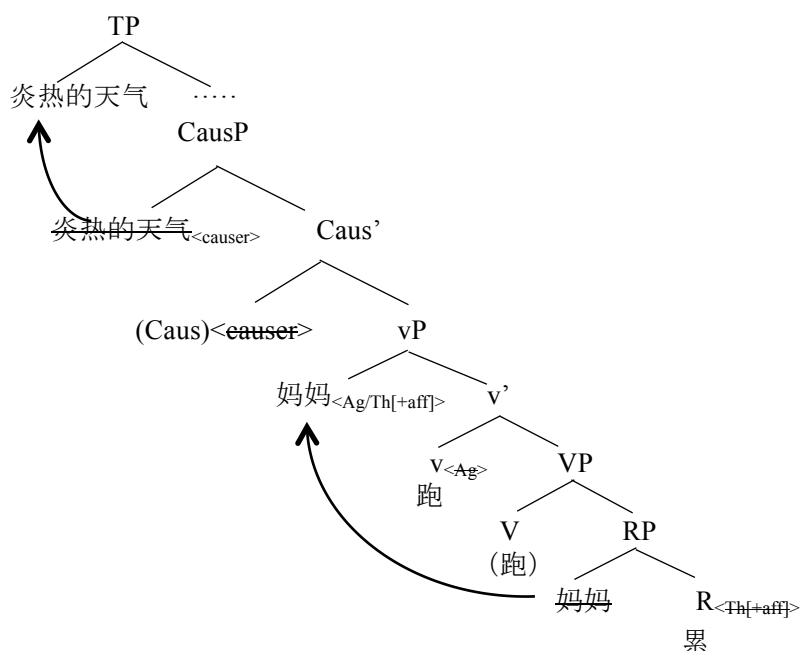
(29) (26b)の構造



(30) **Zhei shuang xie pao-po le Zhangsan.* (*这双鞋跑破了张三)
 this CL shoes run-worn.out Asp Zhangsan
 Intended reading: 'Zhangsan ran and as a result he is worn out by this shoes.'

(31) a. *Zhangsan ba zhei shuang xie pao-po le.* (张三把这双鞋跑破了)
 Zhangsan Ba this CL shoes run-worn.out Asp
 'Zhangsan ran and as a result the shoes was worn out.'
 b. *Zhei shuang xie bei Zhangsan pao-po le.* (这双鞋被张三跑破了)
 this CL shoes Bei Zhangsan run-worn.out Asp
 'This shoes was worn out by Zhangsan's acting of running.'

(32) (26d)の構造



- (33) a. **Mama pao-lei le yanre de tianqi.* (*妈妈跑累了炎热的天气)
 mother run-tired Asp very hot Poss weather
 Lit. 'The mother ran-tired very hot weather.'
- b. *Yanre de tianqi ba mama pao-lei le.* (炎热的天气把妈妈跑累了)
 very hot Poss weather Ba mother run-tired ASP
 'The mother ran and as a result she is tired by very hot weather.'
- c. **Mama bei yanre de tianqi pao-lei le.* (*妈妈被炎热的天气跑累了)
 mother Bei very hot Poss weather run-tired Asp
 Lit. 'Mother was tired by running by very hot weather.'

(34) Causer

- a. *Zheishuang poxie rang mama pao de henbushufu.* (这双破鞋让妈妈跑得很不舒服)
 this worn-out shoes Caus mother run DE sick
 'The mother run and as a result she got sick by this worn-out shoes.'
- b. *Yanre de tianqi rang mama pao de henbushufu.* (炎热的天气让妈妈跑得很不舒服)
 very hot weather Caus mother run DE sick
 'The mother run and as a result she got sick by very hot weather.'

5. Conclusion

References

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