

# 爱知大学博士学位论文

汉语方言从构式到程度词的语义演变研究

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## 摘要

本文探讨来源与特定构式相关的程度词的形成问题。主体部分共分三章，涉及到状语位置的程度副词，补语位置的程度词（程度补语），以及与程度义相关的附缀。

第二章讨论了从程度构式到主观程度副词的语义演变案例 6 个，这些程度副词的来源构式或者含有程度疑问词“几/多/好”等，或者含有源自这些程度疑问词的程度副词。具体结论如下：

湖南南部方言的主观程度副词“晓了”和“晓得”均来源于高程度构式“晓不得+好+X”，其中“了”是源构式的省缩形式“晓得+好+X”中“得”和“好”的合音，而“晓得”则是该省缩形式脱落疑问代词“好”形成的。跨方言的比较发现，由否定词、知晓义动词和疑问代词参与构成的高程度构式在汉语方言中发生了不同程度的省缩，大致可分为直接脱落型和合音型两大类，其影响因素涉及到句法、语义、语音和语用等多个方面。本研究为构式省缩理论在汉语方言中的应用提供了一个参考样本，说明了构式的习语化以及构式变化在词汇项语法化过程中的强大作用。

陕南方言的“管（X）”类程度副词包括基本形式“管几”“管多”以及两个变体“管”和“管几多”。程度副词“管多”“管几”应该是在高程度构式“NP+管+几/多+VP”中动词“管”（“别管”义）和疑问代词“几/多”连用固化而形成的，其中“管”的形义不一致是该语法化过程的重要影响因素。另外，程度副词“管”当来自“管多”的省缩，程度副词“管几多”的形成则可能与方言接触和融合有关。

余干方言的“话几”是对具有[+量差]的对象进行程度赋值，表示高程度是其核心语义；主要修饰性质形容词、双音节状态形容词、心理动词或其它具有性状义的非心理动词短语。“话几+AP/VP”主要作谓语、补语或宾语中心语的定语。本文认为，“话几”来源于构式“NP+话得+几（样）+AP/VP”的省缩，经历了“（话得几样→）话得几/话几样→话几”的过程。源构式中“话得”隐含了说话人主观上对“几（样）+AP/VP”结构所表示高程度的进一步肯定，因而“话几”也带有较强的感叹语气。本研究说明了汉语方言中也存在由言说动词构成的高程度构式，并揭示了言说动词语法化的一条新路径，即成为程度副词的词内成分，且居于词首位置。

光山方言的程度副词“该几”具有较强的主观性，这使得“该几+VP”结构在主句、状语从句或关系从句的谓语或补语位置上均受到不同程度的限制。“该几”是认识情态副词“该”和程度副词“几”在程度感叹构式“该+几+VP”中连用固化而成，且“该”还经历了认识情态义弱化及加强语气功能突显的过程。本文揭示了认识情态副词“该”语法化的一条新路径，即发展为程度副词的词内成分，再次说明了构式在词汇形成过程中的重要作用。

新县方言的程度副词“嘛几”具有高度的主观性，这使得“嘛几”对非真实语境具有较强的敏感性：在否定句、疑问句、祈使句、将来时、从属性的条件句等句法环境下均受到限制。“嘛几”来源于程度感叹构式“莫+要+几+VP”：“莫”和“要”合音成“嘛”，再与“几”

发生跨层词汇化，而且“莫要/嘛”也经历了认识情态义弱化和增强语气功能突显的过程。文章最后指出，程度构式“莫+要+几+VP”和普通话的相关构式“不要+太+VP”程度义来源并不相同，前者与揣测义有关，后者与劝止义有关。

新县方言的构式“还没几+XP+（的）”主要充当谓语或补语，表示说话人认为XP的性状达到了很高的程度，XP多为具有[+量差]义的谓词性成分。该构式带有强烈的感叹语气，其程度义的获得与回声反问语境有密切关系，并经历了泛回声化发展。此外，该构式还存在“还没+V（得）+几+A+的”等变体；组构成分“的”的删略导致“还没几”有向程度副词语法化的倾向，这为删略导致的语法化提供了一种新的演变类型和方言实例。

第三章主要从“述程式”的构式视角，探讨了4类程度补语如何获得相应的程度义，主要结论如下：

程度补语“完”主要见于东北、胶辽、中原、兰银、西南等官话以及吴语、徽语、平话，不同方言间句法搭配能力存在差异。尚存争议之处是完结义动词充当的结果补语是否必须经过全称量化才能发展为程度补语。本文梳理了蕴含性全称量化用法受到的句法限制，提出补语“完”典型全称量化用法的判定标准，进而分区域探讨了语义演变路径，认为在“完”具有典型全称量化用法的广西境内一些西南官话中，程度补语“完”的确是完结义动词经由全称量化词发展而来，是转喻作用的结果；其余大部分方言则是由完结义动词直接发展而来，包括“性状变化到终结点→性状的程度达到极限”和“动作到达终结点→动作相关情态的程度达到极限”，是隐喻和转喻共同作用的结果。本文的研究证实，对于同一个功能词来说，即使来源义相同，不同区域的汉语方言也完全可能选择不同的演变路径，这也在一定程度上说明了词汇语义演变研究中引入区域类型学（Areal typology）视角的必要性。同时，本文的研究也深化了对汉语全称量化表达的认识。

新兴述程式“X+得+一通/一比/一批/一匹”表示X（相关）的性状程度极高，主要做谓语，X以单音节消极义性质形容词为主。它们互为自由变体，共同来源于以南京方言为代表的江淮官话述程式“X+得+一屁屁糟”，是其省缩式“X+得+一屁”的雅化表达。程度补语“一屁屁糟”及其省缩式（包括雅化变体）的形成是认知上的转喻和类推机制、经济原则、网络书面交际环境等共同作用的结果，“屁”的书写变体的选择在深层次上还受到语音的制约。本文的研究再次体现了程度词与詈骂词之间的语义联系，能为相关方言工具书的编纂和修订提供一定的参考。

构式“X成啥了”表示主体在谓词性成分X所表示的性状或生发的情状方面达到了极高的程度，谓词性成分X主要包括具备[+可度量]义的性质形容词、心理动词、状态动词和具备[+情状生发]义的行为动词。该构式程度义的获得是由语用推理引发的，构式的形成受到汉语程度表达系统的客观制约和礼貌原则的影响。同时，用疑问代词虚指某种异常样态以表示高程度，具有较强的交互主观性，代表了汉语直陈类异常态程度补语的一大类型。

新兴构式“X到没朋友”表示说话人认为主体的性状X达到了极高程度，X主要为性质形容词，但部分动词、名词经过构式压制也能占据X的位置。影响构式程度义凸显的因素

主要有主体的生命度和性状 X 的主观评价义，具体表现为主体的生命度越低，或者性状 X 的主观评价义越正面、积极、肯定，构式程度义越凸显。该构式从实义短语发展为极性程度构式，经历了类推泛化的过程，其中隐喻的认知机制和陌生化的修辞表达是重要动因，其程度义与粤语相关构式“X 到有人有”或“X 到有人陪”有相似的来源。

第四章讨论了两个相对独立的语义演变案例，分别是：从构式到相对最高级程度副词，从构式到与程度义有关的附缀。主要观点如下：

在西南官话吉永片程度构式“NP+一个儿+VP/AP+不定量词”中，数量短语“一个儿”通过复指 NP，使其与语境中的“多个对象”形成鲜明对比，从而突显 NP 的独特性和与众不同性，间接地表达了“NP 最 VP/AP”的极比意义。吉首方言的程度副词“个儿”应该是此类构式省缩脱落了数词“一”和不定量词而形成的。西南官话常澧片和怀靖片部分方言中还存在由“一个人”“(一)条人”“独”等与不定量词共同构成的同类构式。本研究有助于重新审视从数量到程度的语义演变规律及其影响因素，再次说明了转喻的认知机制和结构省缩等因素在词汇语法化演变中具有重要作用。

本文揭示了物品（东西）义名词语法化的一条新路径，即在转喻机制的作用下，“形容词+家伙”和“程度词+形容词+家伙”独立成句表示感叹引发结构整体的功能由指称向陈述转变，“家伙”则相应地由名词向附缀演变——强调和突显形容词及形容词短语表达的性质和状态。该过程的影响因素涉及结构整体的句法位置和语用环境、定语标记的隐现、“家伙”自身语义的泛指性和类推机制的作用。形容词附缀“家伙”的来源与近代汉语感叹句“好家伙”相关，是该句式形容词发生类推扩展的结果，而形容词短语附缀“家伙”则直接继承了近代汉语感叹句“程度词+形容词+家伙”的相关用法。

**关键词：**程度副词，程度构式，程度补语，结果补语，附缀，省缩，合音，固化，主观性，非真实语境，全称量化，詈骂词，生命度，主观评价义，同位复指，感叹，反问，差比句，认识情态，转喻

## Abstract

This article explores the formation of degree words whose sources are related to specific constructions. The main part is divided into three chapters, involving degree adverbs in adverbial positions, degree words in complement positions (degree complements), and affixes related to degree meanings.

Chapter 2 discusses six semantic evolution cases from degree constructions to subjective degree adverbs, where the source constructions of these degree adverbs either contain degree interrogative words such as *jǐ 几/duō 多/hǎo 好* or contain degree adverbs derived from these degree interrogative words. The specific conclusions are as follows:

Both the subjective degree adverbs *Xiaoliao 晓了* and *Xiaode 晓得* in southern Hunan dialect are derived from the high degree Construction *Xiaobude 晓不得+ hao 好 + X*, in which the character *liao 了* is a phonological condensation form of *de 得* and *hao 好* in the Construction *Xiaode 晓得+hao 好+X*, the reduced form of the original Construction, while *Xiaode 晓得* is formed by the cancelling of the interrogative pronoun *hao 好* in the reduced form. Through cross dialect comparison, it is found that the high degree Constructions composed of negatives, knowing verbs and interrogative pronouns have been reduced to varying degrees in Chinese dialects, which can be roughly divided into two categories: direct omission and phonological condensation, its influencing factors involve syntax, semantics, pronunciation and pragmatics etc. This study provides a sample for the application of Construction ellipsis theory in Chinese dialects research, and shows that the idiomatization of Construction and Construction changes play a powerful role in the grammaticalization of lexical items.

The degree adverbs of *Guan 管(x)* in southern Shaanxi dialect include the basic form *Guanji 管几* and *Guanduo 管多*, as well as two variants *Guan 管* and *Guanjido 管几多*. The degree adverbs *Guanji 管几* and *Guanduo 管多* should be formed by the solidification of the verb *Guan 管* (meaning not to *guan 管*, that is to say, not to ask or to consider) and the interrogative pronoun *Ji 几* or *Duo 多* in the degree Construction *NP + Guan 管 + Ji 几/ duo 多 + VP*, and the inconsistency between the form and meaning of *Guan 管* is an important factor in the grammaticalization process. In addition, the degree adverb *Guan 管* comes from the ellipse of *Guanduo 管多*, while the formation of the degree adverb *Guanjido 管几多* may be related to the contact and integration of dialects.

The degree adverb *ua<sup>23</sup>te<sup>213</sup> 话几* of Yugan dialect is to assign degrees to objects with quantity difference, indicating that high degrees are its core meaning. It mainly modifies property adjectives, two syllable state adjectives, psychological verbs or other non-psychological verb phrases with property meanings. The structure *ua<sup>23</sup>te<sup>213</sup> 话几+ AP / VP* is mainly used as predicate, complement

and the attribute of object. This paper holds that  $ua^{23}t\epsilon i^{213}$  话几 comes from the contraction of the Construction  $NP + ua^{23}t\epsilon^0$  话得 +  $t\epsilon i^{213}$  ( $io\eta^{23}$ ) 几 (样) +  $AP/VP$  and goes through the process of ( $ua^{23}t\epsilon^0 t\epsilon i^{213} io\eta^{23}$  话得几样  $\rightarrow$ )  $ua^{23}t\epsilon^0 t\epsilon i^{213}$  话得几/ $ua^{23}t\epsilon i^{213} io\eta^{23}$  话几样  $\rightarrow$   $ua^{23}t\epsilon i^{213}$  话几. In the source Construction,  $ua^{23}t\epsilon^0$  话得 implies the speaker's subjective further affirmation of the structure  $t\epsilon i^{213}$  ( $io\eta^{23}$ ) 几 (样) +  $AP/VP$ , so  $ua^{23}t\epsilon i^{213}$  话几 also has a strong exclamation tone. This study shows that there are also high degree Constructions composed of verbal verbs in Chinese dialects, and reveals a new path for the grammaticalization of verbal verbs, that is, to become an intra-word component of degree adverbs and occupy the first position of words.

The degree adverb  $[k\ae^{44}t\epsilon i^{213}]$  该几 in the Guangshan dialect exhibits a notable degree of subjectivity, rendering the related structure  $[k\ae^{44}t\epsilon i^{213}]$  该几 +  $VP$  subject to varying extent of constraints when functioning as the predicate or complement of the main clause, as well as when serving as the predicate or complement of adverbial or relative clauses. The adverb  $[k\ae^{44}t\epsilon i^{213}]$  该几 is formed through the combination of the epistemic adverb  $[k\ae^{44}]$  该 and the degree adverb  $[t\epsilon i^{213}]$  几 within the degree-exclamatory Construction  $[k\ae^{44}]$  该 +  $[t\epsilon i^{213}]$  几 +  $VP$ . Moreover, the adverb  $[k\ae^{44}]$  该 undergoes a process of weakening epistemic meaning and emphasizing the mood. This study unveils a novel grammaticalization pathway for the epistemic adverb  $[k\ae^{44}]$  该, whereby it evolves into an internal component of a degree adverb, underscoring once again the pivotal role of Constructions in the lexical formation process.

The degree adverb  $[m\omega^{31}t\epsilon i^{213}]$  嘛几 in the Xin County dialect displays a significant degree of subjectivity, contributing to its heightened sensitivity in non-veridical contexts. It exhibits strong restrictions in syntactic environments such as negative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences, future tense, and conditionals. The origin of  $[m\omega^{31}t\epsilon i^{213}]$  嘛几 can be traced back to the degree-exclamatory Construction  $[mu^{43}]$  莫 +  $[iau^{31}]$  要 +  $[t\epsilon i^{213}]$  几 +  $VP$ , where  $[mu^{43}]$  莫 and  $[iau^{31}]$  要 blend to form  $[m\omega^{31}]$  嘛, which then undergoes lexicalization with  $[t\epsilon i^{213}]$  几. Furthermore, the constituent  $[mu^{43}iau^{31}]$  莫要 or  $[m\omega^{31}]$  嘛 experiences a process of weakening epistemic meaning and emphasizing the mood. The article concludes by highlighting that the degree Construction  $[mu^{43}]$  莫 +  $[iau^{31}]$  要 +  $[t\epsilon i^{213}]$  几 +  $VP$  and the related Construction  $bu^{35}yao^{51}$  不要 +  $tai^{51}$  太 +  $VP$  in Mandarin do not share the same source of degree meaning. The former is associated with conjectural meaning, while the latter is linked to dissuasive meaning.

The Construction  $h\grave{a}im\acute{e}ij\grave{i}$  还没几 +  $XP$  + ( $de$  的) in Xin County dialect primarily functions as a predicate or a complement. It conveys that the speaker perceives the quality of  $XP$  to have reached a high degree, and most  $XP$  are of gradability. This construction carries a strong exclamation tone, and the high degree meaning is closely related to echo question contexts, and gradually it can also be used in contexts which doesn't contain echo questions. Additionally, variations of this construction exist, such as  $h\acute{a}im\acute{e}i$  还没 +  $V$  ( $de$  得) +  $j\grave{i}$  几 +  $A$  + ( $de$  的). The omission of the

component *de* 的 leads the lexical chunk *háiméijǐ* 还没几 tend to grammaticalize into a degree adverb, providing a novel example and evolution type for grammaticalization resulting from ellipsis.

Chapter 3 mainly explores how four types of degree complements obtain corresponding degree meanings from the perspective of the construction of *predicate+complement*. The main conclusions are as follows:

The degree complement *wán* 完 is mainly found in Mandarin dialects such as Northeast, Jiaoliao, Zhongyuan, Lan-Yin, and Southwest Mandarin, as well as Wu, Hui, and Pinghua dialects. There are differences in the co-occurrence with the head predicates among different dialects. The contentious issue lies in whether the resultative complement *wán* 完 must undergo a process of universal quantification before developing into a degree complement. This article explores the syntactic constraints on the usage of implicit universal quantification and proposes criteria for determining the typical uses of universal quantification of the complement *wán* 完. It then analyzes semantic evolution across regions: In certain Southwest Mandarin dialects within Guangxi, where the typical universal quantification usage of *wán* 完 exists, the degree complement *wán* 完 indeed evolves from an achievement verb through universal quantification, and it is a result of a metaphorical extension. In contrast, in most other dialects, the degree complement *wán* 完 directly evolves from an achievement verb, including two pathways: 1) the changes in properties and states reaching an end point → the degree of properties and states reaching the limit; 2) the action reaching an end point → the degree of the action related states reaching the limit, and both are influenced by metaphor and metonymy. This research confirms that for the same functional word, even with identical source meanings, different Chinese dialects from various regions may adopt distinct pathways of semantic evolution. It also underscores the necessity of introducing an areal typological perspective into the study of lexical semantic evolution. Furthermore, this study enhances our understanding of universal quantification in Chinese.

The emerging constructions  $X+De$  得+yībī 一遍/ yībǐ 一比 /yìpī 一批 /yìpǐ 一匹 are used to express an extremely high degree of the quality related to X. They primarily function as a predicate and are commonly paired with monosyllabic negative adjectives to describe the nature of X. These variations are interchangeable and all result from the construction  $X+De$  得+yībīdiǎozāo 一屁屁糟 and its abbreviated form  $X+De$  得+yībī 一屁 in Nanjing dialect, a representative of Jianghuai Mandarin. The formation of the degree complement *yībīdiǎozāo* 一屁屁糟 and its abbreviated forms (including the refined variants) is influenced by cognitive metaphors, analogy mechanisms, economy principles, and the online written communication context, with the choice of variant for the character *bī* 屁 being influenced by phonetics at a deeper level. This study once again illustrates the semantic connection between degree words and expletives, providing reference for the compilation and revision of relevant dialect dictionaries.

The Construction *X+cheng sha le* 成啥了 in Chinese indicates that the subject has reached an extremely high degree in the state or situation represented by the predicate X. The predicate X mainly includes property adjectives, psychological verbs, stative verbs with [+measurable] meaning, and behavioral verbs with [+situation generation] meaning. The acquisition of the degree meaning of the Construction is triggered by pragmatic inference, and the formation of the Construction is influenced by the objective constraints of the Chinese degree expression system and the principle of politeness. At the same time, using interrogative pronouns to refer to a certain abnormal state to express a high degree has strong interactive subjectivity and represents a large type of degree complements in Chinese that directly express abnormal states.

The emerging construction *X+dào* 到+ *méipéngyou* 没朋友 in Chinese signifies that the speaker perceives the attribute X of the subject to have reached an extremely high degree. Here X primarily consists of gradable adjectives, but in some cases, verbs and nouns, after undergoing construction coercion, can also occupy the position of X. Factors influencing the prominence of this construction's degree meaning are primarily the subject's vitality and the subjective evaluative meaning of attribute X. Specifically, when the subject's vitality is lower or when attribute X carries a more positive, affirmative, or favorable subjective evaluation meaning, the construction's degree meaning will be more prominent. The construction has evolved from a content phrase into a construction of extremely high degree meaning, undergoing a process of analogical generalization. Metaphorical cognitive mechanisms and estranged rhetorical expressions play crucial roles in this evolution, and its high degree meaning results from the same sources as that of construction *X+dou<sup>3</sup>* 到+ 有人有 *mou<sup>5</sup> yen<sup>4</sup> yeo<sup>5</sup>* or construction *X+dou<sup>3</sup>* 到+ 有人陪 *mou<sup>5</sup> yen<sup>4</sup> pui<sup>4</sup>* in Cantonese.

Chapter 4 discusses two independent semantic evolution cases, one is from construction to relative highest degree adverbs and the other is from construction to affixes related to degree meaning. The main viewpoints are as follows:

In the degree constructions *NP+ [i<sup>11</sup>kuɔr<sup>214</sup>] 一个儿+VP/AP+ non-definite quantifier* in the Jiyong dialect of Southwest Mandarin, the quantitative phrase *[i<sup>11</sup>kuɔr<sup>214</sup>] 一个儿* forms a sharp contrast with multiple objects in the context by referring to NP, highlighting the uniqueness of NP, and indirectly expressing the meaning that NP is most VP/AP. The degree adverb *[kuɔr<sup>214</sup>] 个儿* in Jishou dialect should be formed by the omission of the numeral *[i<sup>11</sup>] 一* and the non-definite quantifier in this kind of constructions. In some dialects of the Changli and Huaijing dialects of Southwest Mandarin, there are also similar constructions composed of *[i<sup>35</sup>ko<sup>35</sup>ηən<sup>13</sup>] 一个人* or *[t<sup>hi</sup>iau<sup>21</sup>zən<sup>21</sup>] 条人* or *[hou<sup>45</sup>] 独* etc. with non-definite quantifiers. This study helps to re-examine the semantic evolution patterns from quantity to degree and their influencing factors, and once again demonstrates the important role of metonymy and structural contractions in the evolution of lexical grammaticalization.



This paper reveals a new path of the grammaticalization of object (thing) nouns, which is that under the mechanism of metonymy, the phrases *adjective+Jiahuo* and *degree adverb+adjective+Jiahuo* 家伙, which used as exclamatory expressions, have undergone a function shift from reference to predicative nature. Correspondingly, *Jiahuo* 家伙 has evolved from a noun to a suffix that emphasizes and highlights the nature and state expressed by the adjective and adjective phrase. The influencing factors of this process involve the syntactic position and pragmatic context of the adjective structure, attributive marker, the generality of the meaning of *Jiahuo* 家伙 itself, and the role of analogical reasoning. The origin of the adjective suffix *Jiahuo* 家伙 is related to the modern Chinese exclamatory sentence *Hao Jiahuo* 家伙 and it is a result of the extension of the adjective in this sentence through analogy. The adjective phrase suffix *Jiahuo* 家伙 directly inherits the related usage of the modern Chinese exclamatory sentence degree adverb+adjective+*Jiahuo* 家伙.

**Key words:** degree adverb; degree construction; degree complement; result complement; affixation; ellipse; phonological condensation; solidification; subjectivity; non-veridical contexts; universal quantification; expletives; vitality; subjective evaluation meaning; anaphoric; exclamation; echo question; comparative sentences; epistemic modality; metonymy.