

客粤方言“VP 佢”处置结构的来源——从增城程乡话说起

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摘要：关于汉语方言的处置式，目前学界大致认同有两种类型：介词型和代词型，另有兼有两者的混合型。在代词型处置式中，“VP 佢”处置结构目前仅见于粤语、客家话和湘语，只有少数学者对粤语“VP 佢”结构的来源提出了一些看法，而有关客家话、湘语的“VP 佢”结构来源的讨论仍是空白。本文从增城程乡话（客家话）入手，考察该方言中“佢”字句的几种类型及特点：受事前置式（P+V+佢）、混合式（搵/将+P+V+佢）、动宾式（V+P+佢、V+佢+P）和无宾式（V+佢），并通过比较 11 个客粤方言点“佢”字句的结构类型，结合早期传教士的文献材料，探讨“佢”的虚化路径及客粤“VP 佢”处置结构的来源。

关键词：客家方言 粤方言 处置式 “佢” 语法化

再論“後悔”“責怪”義動詞的極性特徵及其冗餘否定格式

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摘要：文章在袁毓林（2012；2014）的基礎上重審現代漢語“後悔”“責怪”義動詞所帶謂詞性賓語的極性特徵，發現這兩類動詞不能允准否定極項“任何”和極小量成分，同時表現出單調向上的蘊含特徵，與典型的隱性否定動詞（如“拒絕”）表現不同，表明“後悔”“責怪”義動詞的補足語其實不具有否定環境的典型特徵，可排除在狹義的隱性否定動詞範圍之外。文章還論證了“認為不該”這種否定性評價義並不是“後悔”“責怪”義動詞的詞匯預設的一部分，過去稱為冗餘否定格式的“後悔（不該）VP”中的“不”其實是真性的否定詞，其中“不該”是屬於另一個小句的成分。這類“冗餘否定”格式成因與“後悔、責怪”義動詞觸發的反事實思維語境有關。

關鍵詞：隱性否定動詞；“後悔”義動詞；“責怪”義動詞；否定極項；冗餘否定；反事實思維

The Polarity Features and Expletive Negation Constructions of The Verbs Meaning ‘Regret’ and ‘Blame’ in Mandarin Chinese Revisited

Abstract: The article re-examines the polarity features of the complements of the verbs meaning ‘regret’ and ‘blame’ in Mandarin Chinese based on Yuan(2012;2014). The article shows that these two kinds of verbs cannot license negative polarity item (NPI) ‘*renhe*’ (‘any’) and NPI-minimizers, and they display upward entailing in monotonicity. Also, it shows that the negative element ‘*bugai*’(‘should not have...’) is not part of the semantic presupposition of these two kinds of verbs. The evidences above illustrate that the polarity features of ‘regret’ and ‘blame’ are contrary to those of negative sentences, thus should not be considered as implicit negative verbs. Based on the findings above, the article shows that the negative element “*bugai*”(‘should not’) in the so-called “redundant/expletive negation” construction “*houhui (bugai) VP*”(‘regret (should not have...)VP’) is actually a real negative and it belongs to another clause. This kind of “expletive negation” is related to the counterfactual thinking context triggered by the meaning of verbs of ‘regret/blame’.

Keywords: implicit negative verbs; ‘regret’; ‘blame’; negative polarity items; expletive negation; counterfactual thinking