

摘要

本研究采用田野调查的方法收集并分析方言语料,依次描写了东莞粤语万江话处所动词的形式、功能与使用规律。本研究的主要发现有:

万江话有三个处所动词,分别是“喺[hei³⁵]”、“□[k^hei³⁵]”和“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”。“喺[hei³⁵]”和“□[k^hei³⁵]”均可用作动词、介词和非完整体标记。“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”可用作动词和介词。换言之,“喺[hei³⁵]”和“□[k^hei³⁵]”的多功能模式是“处所动词-介词-非完整体标记”,“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”的多功能模式是“处所动词-介词”。

本文考察了“喺[hei³⁵]”、“□[k^hei³⁵]”、“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”用作动词的差异。在基本处所结构“目标物+处所动词+背景物(+方位词)”(结构A)中,三个处所动词可以自由替换。在处所结构“目标物+动词+处所介词+背景物(+方位词)”(结构B)中,处所介词只能是“喺[hei³⁵]”而不能是“□[k^hei³⁵]”和“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”。在不同语用和句法环境下,对结构A和结构B有不同的选择倾向。在个别句式,对三个处所动词也有不同的选择倾向。在语体色彩方面,“喺[hei³⁵]”和“□[k^hei³⁵]”是现今通用的说法,“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”在老一辈中更常用。

本研究进而考察“喺[hei³⁵]”、“□[k^hei³⁵]”、“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”用作介词的差异。“喺[hei³⁵]”所在的介词结构可出现在动词之前或之后,“□[k^hei³⁵]”和“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”所在的介词结构一般不能出现在动词之后。这与上述结构B对三者的选择情况一致。结构B要求处所介词出现在动词之后,因此只能使用“喺[hei³⁵]”而不能使用“□[k^hei³⁵]”和“□[ɣ^hui²⁴]”。

此外,本文也考察了“喺[hei³⁵]”和“□[k^hei³⁵]”用作体标记的异同及万江话中六个非完整体标记的功能差异。考察发现,“紧[ken³⁵]”是表示进行体、持续体和存续体的动词词尾。“住[ɣi³³²]”是表示持续体和存续体的动词词尾。“喺[hei³⁵]”是主要表示存续体的动词词尾,在存在构式中也可以表示持续体和进行体。动词前的“喺度[hei³⁵teu³³²]”和“□度[k^hei³⁵teu³³²]”是主要表示进行体的、意义半实半虚的状语性体标记,二者可互相替换。动词后的“喺度[hei³⁵teu³³²]”是表示持续体和存续体的、意义半实半虚的补语性体标记。

关键词: 处所动词; 处所介词; 非完整体标记; 粤语

Abstract

This thesis adopts fieldwork methodology for data collection and is dedicated to describe the forms, functions and syntactic distributions of locative verbs in the Dongguan Wanjiang dialect of Chinese. Major findings of this study are as follows:

Three locative verbs are found in the Dongguan Wanjiang dialect, namely “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]”, “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” and “□[t^hui²⁴]”. “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” and “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” can be used as verbs, prepositions and imperfective aspect markers, while “□[t^hui²⁴]” can function as verb and preposition. Generally speaking, the multifunctional pattern of locative verbs “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” and “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” is “Locative verb - Preposition - Imperfective aspect marker”, while that of “□[t^hui²⁴]” is “Locative verb - Preposition”.

In the basic locative construction “Figure + Locative verb + Ground (+ Localizer)” (hereafter “CA”), “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]”, “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” and “□[t^hui²⁴]” are interchangeable. In the other locative construction “Figure + Verb + Locative preposition + Ground (+ Localizer)” (hereafter “CB”), only “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” can be used as locative preposition. Tendencies for using CA and CB vary in pragmatic conditions and syntactic contexts. Some types of clauses show preference for using “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” and “□[k^hɛi³⁵]”. Moreover, “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” and “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” are frequently used in the current Wanjiang dialect, while “□[t^hui²⁴]” is mainly accepted by the older generation.

A prepositional phrase headed by “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” can appear either before or after verbs, while one headed by “□[k^hɛi³⁵]” or “□[t^hui²⁴]” can only precede verbs. This phenomenon is in line with the fact that only “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” is allowed in CB.

Six imperfective markers in the Wanjiang dialect, including those related to “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” and “□[k^hɛi³⁵]”, are also described. The verbal suffix “紧[kɛn³⁵]” has progressive, durative and continuative aspect meanings. The verbal suffix “住[t^hi³³²]” bears durative and continuative aspect meanings. The verbal suffix “𠵼[hɛi³⁵]” is mainly a continuative aspect marker, which can also mark durative or progressive aspect in the existential construction. “𠵼度[hɛi³⁵tɛu³³²]” and “□度[k^hɛi³⁵tɛu³³²]” preceding verbs are adverbial progressive aspect markers, while “𠵼度[hɛi³⁵tɛu³³²]” following verbs is a complementary continuative aspect marker.

Keywords: locative verbs; locative prepositions; imperfective markers; Cantonese