

湘语非完整体标记“在屋里”的 聚焦度及其演变研究

王芸华

湘潭大学，湘潭

摘要

湘语中的“在屋里”既能表示某一时点动作正在进行，也能表示某一时段动作的持续进行或惯常发生，还可以与形容词共现表示某种状态，呈现出“低聚焦”的特点。“在屋里”在演变过程中与“在这/那里”相互竞争，经历了“高聚焦>低聚焦>零聚焦”的动态过程，其“低聚焦”性与“在这/那里”的“高聚焦”性在非完整体内部形成对立。“在屋里”的虚化受原型模型的驱动，同时隐喻、类推和重新分析等机制发挥了重要作用，其过程同时伴随主观性增强的特征。


关键词

湘语 非完整体 聚焦度 语法化

1. 引言

湘语中“屋里”可表达“房间里”的意思，此时一般要跟量词

致谢 本文为中国国家社科基金一般项目“类型学视野下的湘语体范畴研究”（编号：19BYY053）的阶段性成果之一。主要发音合作人：王媚（双峰）、廖晶（衡阳）、伍占凤（邵阳）、吕莉（湘乡）、李琴（邵东）、许娟娟（衡南）。本文初稿得到池昌海先生指导，修改过程中得到姜淑珍、段文华、吴鹏等友人的帮助，《中国语言学报》（*Journal of Chinese Linguistics*）的匿名审稿专家亦提出了中肯的修改意见。对提供帮助的上述人士，作者谨此一并致谢！谬误与不妥之处概由作者负责。

王芸华 (Yunhua Wang) [wangyunhua1000@126.com]; 湘潭大学文学与新闻学院 (School of Literature and Journalism, Xiangtan University, No.27 Yanggutang Street, Yuhu District, Xiangtan City, Hunan Province, China);  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3978-3343>

ON FOCALITY OF THE IMPERFECTIVE MARKER *ZAI WU-LI* IN XIANG DIALECT AND ITS GRAMMATICALIZATION

Yunhua Wang

Xiangtan University

ABSTRACT

Zai wu-li (literally “in the house”) in Xiang dialect can be used to denote the progressiveness of an act in a particular time point, and the continuity or habituality of an act in a period of time, and can co-occur with adjectives to indicate a certain state. It displays a feature of low focality. Competing with *zai zhe-er/na-er* (meaning here/there), *zai wu-li* has undergone a dynamic evolution of “high focality>low focality> non-focality”, and its low focality contrasts with the high focality displayed by *zai zhe-er/na-er* in Xiang dialect within the imperfective system. The grammaticalization of *zai wu-li* is largely driven by prototype model, while mechanisms like metaphor, analogy and reanalysis also play a role. The grammaticalization process is accompanied by the enhancement of subjectivity.

KEY WORDS

Xiang dialect Imperfective Focality Grammaticalization