

# 邢臺話「了<sub>1</sub>」的兩個變體

范曉蕾 [Xiaolei Fan]

北京大學/Peking University

河北邢臺話的動後時體詞「了<sub>1</sub>」有兩個語音形式：強變體「啵 [lau]」和弱變體「嘸 [lǎ]」，二者在很大程度上是條件變體。經考察，漢語「了<sub>1</sub>」的使用受制於調語的整體屬性（現實性狀況、話語地位）和調語的構件屬性（賓語類型、動詞類型）兩大類語法因素，而邢臺話「了<sub>1</sub>」兩變體的分佈同樣受制於這些因素：調語的整體屬性決定「了<sub>1</sub>」兩變體分佈的基本格局，調語的構件屬性決定既定的「啵」或「嘸」可換為另一變體的特殊情況。各項語法因素制約「了<sub>1</sub>」變體的作用強度存在一個優先等級「現實性狀況 > 話語地位 > 賓語類型 > 動詞類型」。最重要的是，「了<sub>1</sub>」兩變體的分佈呈現出一個顯著的態勢：某語法環境中「了<sub>1</sub>」的句法自由度越高，則越排斥強變體「啵」、越接受弱變體「嘸」。由此可對其他方言「了<sub>1</sub>」變體的分佈態勢提出多項理論預測，該現象也反映出北方漢語的「了<sub>1</sub>」是一個複雜的語法異質語素。本文「了<sub>1</sub>」的語法分析範式應有助於深入發掘漢語方言「了<sub>1</sub>」語素的事實，並推進對多項理論問題的認識。

**關鍵詞：**了<sub>1</sub>，條件變體，語法因素，北方方言，語法異質

## The verbal-*LE* variants in Xingtai dialect

### Abstract

In the Xingtai dialect (i.e. Jilu Mandarin spoken in Hebei Province), verbal *LE* 了 has two phonetic variants, i.e. a strong one 啵 [lau] and a weak one 嘸 [lǎ], and they are conditional variants in the sense that the replacement of one by the other in most contexts will cause ungrammaticality. It is found that the use of verbal-*LE* variants is subject to the following grammatical factors: the realis/irrealis nature of situation, the discourse status of VP, the type of object, the type of verb. Their effective strength on conditioning the use of verbal *LE* just forms a priority hierarchy: {realis/irrealis nature of situation > discourse status of VP > object type > verb type}. Most importantly, the use of verbal-*LE* variants is closely related with the syntactic freedom of verbal *LE*; that is, in a syntactic context, if verbal *LE* can co-occur with more types of object and verb as well as sentential *LE*, then the weak *LE* is more likely to be used and the strong *LE* is disfavored. The analysis of verbal *LE* in the Xingtai dialect not only leads to several predictions about the use of verbal-*LE* variants in other dialects, but also reflects the fact that verbal *LE* in Northern Chinese is a morpheme heterogeneous in categorical status, representing different stages in the process of grammaticalization. In general, an in-depth exploration of verbal *LE* in dialects can greatly enhance our understanding of this important word of Chinese.

**Keywords:** verbal *LE*, conditional variants, grammatical factors, northern Chinese dialects, heterogeneity