

漢語動詞雙音化過程中的形式選擇和功能表現

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以往文獻對於漢語詞彙雙音化中具體是什麼樣的雙音形式替代了什麼樣的單音形式及其中的選擇規律缺乏研究。本文以動詞的雙音化為考察對象，重點討論的是動賓式和動補式這兩種雙音複合模式與單音形式之間的對應規律，發現雙音化時不同的形式選擇與原單音動詞不同的詞彙語義特徵有關。不包含內在終結點的動詞雙音化時，傾向於選擇動賓式。動賓式雙音複合詞和原來的單音動詞形式相比，有的是增加了動詞部分，很多情況下增加的是輕動詞，原單音動詞變為賓語，可以轉類為名詞而成為名詞性賓語，也可以仍然保持動詞性而充當謂詞性賓語；有的是增加了賓語部分，或者是增加一個原單音動詞詞彙語義中本就包含的受事成分作賓語，或者是增加一個環境論元作賓語；還有的是採用了與原來的單音動詞完全沒有相同之處的動賓形式。包含內在終結點的動詞在雙音化時傾向於選擇動補式，詞彙語義中所隱含的結果狀態比較顯著的單音動詞傾向於在前面添加一個動詞來構成動補式雙音詞，而詞彙語義中所隱含的結果狀態不顯著的則傾向於添加一個虛化的補語來構成動補式雙音詞。內部結構不同的雙音形式對應不同的功能特徵。

關鍵詞：雙音化，詞彙化，動詞，詞彙史

Patterns and functions of verbal disyllabification

Abstract

Disyllabification is an important change that has been taking place in the history of the Chinese language. In the literature, there has been much discussion of disyllabification. However, we still know very little about what kind of monosyllabic words were replaced by what kind of disyllabic words and the underlying conditions for the choices. In this paper, we explore the disyllabification paths that different kinds of monosyllabic verbs have taken and the functions of different types of disyllabic words. It shows that the semantic features of monosyllabic verbs determine to some degree the patterns of their disyllabification. When a monosyllabic verb is atelic, it tends to undergo disyllabification by forming a verb-object compound, either by adding a verbal element or by adding an object element. When a monosyllabic verb is telic, it tends to undergo disyllabification by forming a verb-result compound, by adding either a verb or a result component. Different patterns of disyllabification tend to have different functions.

Keywords: disyllabification, lexicalization, verb, lexical change